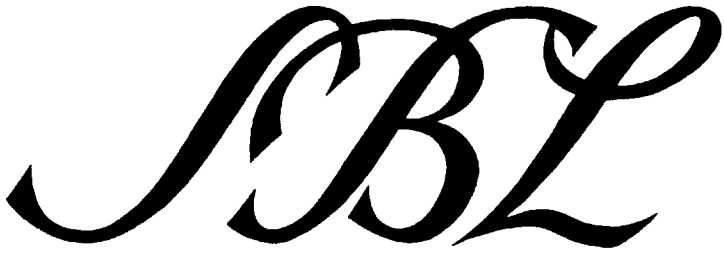

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WHAT LAWS WERE "NOT GOOD"? A CANONICAL APPROACH TO THE THEOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF EZEKIEL 20:25–26

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Ezekiel 20:25–26 is one of the most infamous interpretive cruxes of the book of Ezekiel. As Hartmut Gese put it, "Die Auslegung von Ez 20,25f., . . . ist schon seit den Anfängen alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft als besonders schwieriges Problem empfunden worden."[1] In these two verses, the writer of the book, whom we will call "Ezekiel" without prejudice toward debates about authorship, makes the shocking claim that the LORD gave Israel "laws that were not good," which not only failed to give the people life but actually defiled them:

וגם אני נתתי להם חקים לא טובים ומשפטים לא יחיו בהם[25] ואטמא אותם[26]
במתנותם בהעביר כל פטר רחם למען אשמם למען אשר ידעו אשר אני יהוה

[25]Moreover, I gave them laws that were not good and rules by which they could not live: [26]When they set aside every first issue of the womb, I defiled them by their very gifts—that I might render them desolate, that they might know that I am the Lord. [NJPS][2]

[1] Hartmut Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25 f. und die Erstgeburtsopfer," in *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Herbert Donner, Robert Hanhart, and Rudolf Smend; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 140.

[2] Unless otherwise noted, English biblical quotations are from the NJPS *Tanakh*.

What were these "not good" laws to which Ezekiel refers? There has been no lack of proposals, as Daniel I. Block has shown in his recent commentary, where over a half-dozen interpretive options are ably summarized.[3] On the one hand, some interpreters opt to emend the text, like Johann Lust, who would delete most of v. 26 as a later (erroneous) interpolation. Similarly, Julius A. Bewer reverses vv. 25–26 and v. 27, so that Ezekiel's shocking claim merely echoes Israel's blasphemous misconstrual of the LORD's demands.[4] On the other hand, most scholars accept the text in its present form and explain it in terms of Ezekiel's ongoing prophetic revision of older Exodus traditions,[5] regarding either Israel's moral condition[6] or its deity.[7]

In this article we wish to suggest a new solution, which identifies Ezekiel's "not good" laws with the Deuteronomic law code. Our approach is primarily synchronic, based on a literary reading of Ezekiel in its final form and canonical setting; but we will also draw on recent historical-critical and literary-critical scholarship on Ezekiel's use of Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions in ch. 20.

In the following, we will first establish the correspondence of the laws with the Deuteronomic code through an analysis of the literary structure and narrative sequence of ch. 20. Second, we will attempt to explain why Ezekiel, who thinks and writes from a Priestly perspective, would consider at least certain laws of the Deuteronomic code to be "not good."[8] Third, we will propose an explanation for the bizarre statements of v. 26—which describe the LORD defiling Israel through the offering of their firstborn—in terms of the conflict between Priestly and Deuteronomic laws concerning the sacrifice of firstlings.

[3] See Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 639–41.

[4] Johann Lust, *Traditie, Redactie en Kerygma bij Ezechiel: Een Analyse van Ez XX 1–26* (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1969), 134–46; Julius A. Bewer, "Textual and Exegetical Notes on the Book of Ezekiel," *JBL* 72 (1953): 159–61.

[5] Block, *Ezekiel*, 640.

[6] Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 369.

[7] According to David J. Halperin, Ezekiel's God is "a monster of cruelty and hypocrisy" (*Seeking Ezekiel: Text and Psychology* [University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993], 170).

[8] In this article we use the term "Priestly" in a broad sense, including the Holiness Code and the work of the "Holiness School," if there was one. On the characteristics of the Holiness School, see Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). For a challenge to the existence of a distinct Holiness Code, see Volker Wagner, "Zur Existenz des sogenannten 'Heiligkeitsgesetz,'" *ZAW* 86 (1974): 307–16. We neither deny nor affirm a division between Priestly and Holiness sources and schools; for our purposes it is enough that they were at least closely related and share largely the same perspective vis-à-vis the Deuteronomic school. Ezekiel draws equally on both Priestly and Holiness texts (Risa Levitt Kohn, *A New Heart and New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile, and the Torah* [JSOTSup 358; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002], 85), and it is not germane to our argument to emphasize the distinction.

I. Narrative Flow and Literary Structure

There has been considerable debate over the literary structuring of Ezek 20, particularly concerning whether vv. 5–31 should be divided into three, four, or five sections.[9] In what follows we adopt Block's analysis of vv. 5–26; he identifies three "panels": vv. 5–9, 10–17, and 18–26. Five elements occur in each of these panels: a divine oath ("I lifted my hand," נשׂאתי ידי, v. 5; אשׂא ידי, vv. 15, 23); the statement "I am the LORD" (אני יהוה, vv. 7, 12, 20); a revolt by Israel (vv. 8, 13, 21); a threat of divine "wrath" or "making an end" (לכלות אפי, לשׁפך חמתי, vv. 8, 13 [לכלותם], 21); and divine restraint ("I acted for the sake of my name," אעשׂ למען שמי, vv. 9, 14 [אעשׂה], 22). Moreover, the three panels correspond to the three stages of Israel's exodus and wilderness wanderings: the first panel (vv. 5–9) concerns the LORD's dealings with Israel in Egypt; the second panel (vv. 10–17) with the first generation in the wilderness and the Sinai event; and the third panel (18–26) with the second generation in the wilderness and, we propose, the giving of the Deuteronomic law on the plains of Moab.[10]

In order to see how these correspondences can be made, let us start with the second panel (vv. 10–17) and see how the events mentioned by Ezekiel in ch. 20 follow the sequence known from the pentateuchal narrative. Verses 10–12 state that the LORD "brought them out of Egypt," "led them into the wilderness," and then "gave them My laws." This would describe the exodus event (Exod 12–18) and the giving of the law at Sinai (Exod 19–31). Next v. 13 insists, "the House of Israel rebelled against Me in the wilderness," probably an allusion to the incident of the golden calf (Exod 32). The LORD's wish to destroy Israel in the desert, but decision to refrain for the sake of his name (vv. 13b–14), is recorded in Exod 32:7–14, where Moses intercedes with God on behalf of the people. When in the following verse Ezekiel describes the LORD saying "I swore to them in the wilderness that I would not bring them into the land," this would refer to Israel's rebellion after the twelve spies

[9] For a review of the various divisions scholars have proposed for Ezek 20:5–26, see Leslie C. Allen, "The Structuring of Ezekiel's Revisionist History Lesson (Ezekiel 20:3–31)," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 448–62, esp. 448–51.

[10] See Block's layout of the divisions of the text (*Ezekiel*, 622–24). Corrine Patton also recognizes the correspondence between the narrative of Ezek 20 and the narrative sequence of the pentateuchal accounts of the exodus: "The clearest references to the exodus in the book of Ezekiel occur in ch. 20. The text shows clear familiarity with the exodus tradition: sojourn in Egypt (5–8), deliverance by the LORD (9–10), two generations in the wilderness (10–25), the giving of the law in the wilderness (11–13 and 25–26) and entry into the land (28). . . . The scheme certainly matches historical reviews present and presumed in Deuteronomic texts, including the historical review in Deuteronomy 1–11, the speech of Solomon in 1 Kings 8, and the speech of Joshua in Joshua 24" ("'I Myself Gave Them Laws That Were Not Good': Ezekiel 20 and the Exodus Traditions,'" *JSOT* 69 [1996]: 74–75).

scouted the land (Num 13–14), when the LORD did indeed swear concerning the first wilderness generation that "none of the men . . . shall see the land I promised on oath to their fathers" (Num 14:20–23, cf. Deut 2:14).

Ezekiel 20:18–26 now explicitly speaks of the second generation in the wilderness, corresponding to the pentateuchal narrative from Num 25 through the end of Deuteronomy. The rebellion of the second generation in the desert in v. 21 ("The children rebelled against Me") would refer to the sin of Baal-Peor (Num 25). Some scholars have argued, somewhat implausibly, that the participants in the orgiastic cult at Baal-Peor were the last aging survivors of the first generation.[11] We follow those commentators, for example, Thomas B. Dozeman, for whom "Numbers 22:1–36:13 describes the second generation of Israelites on the plains of Moab."[12] The juxtaposition of Baal-Peor in Num 25 with the second census in Num 26, together with the second generation's responsibility to avenge itself on the Midianites (Num 31), implies that it was the second generation rather than the first that fell into this sin. In fact, some commentators have argued that the sin of Baal-Peor was *the* catastrophic event for the second generation, as the golden calf was for the first.[13] Thus, the context of Ezek 20:23 is that of the second generation, and it is in v. 23 that clear allusions to Deuteronomic material first occur. Verse 23 says "I swore to them in the wilderness that I would scatter them among the nations." To what could this refer?

Ezekiel's expression "I swore" (lit., "I raised my hand," אשׂא ידי) occurs here in the third panel, just as it appears once in each of the first two panels (vv. 5, 15). There is an intriguing correspondence between these three references to God's oaths and the only three times where the same expression is used in the pentateuchal traditions to refer to God swearing: (1) the oath of Ezek 20:6 to bring the Israelites out of Egypt alludes to Exod 6:8, in the context of Israel's final days of residence and imminent departure from captivity; (2) the oath of Ezek 20:15 alludes to Num 14:30 and the surrounding context, where God swears to disinherit the first generation in the wilderness (cf. 14:21); and finally, (3) Ezek 20:26, the oath to scatter the people among the nations, draws on Deut 32:40.[14] This climactic verse of Deuteronomy comes after the closing section of the book (chs. 27–31), in which the eventual curse of Israel's exile is announced as not merely possible but inevitable (see Deut 27:15–26; 28:15–68; 29:1–4, 22–28; 30:1–3; 31:16–22).[15] Immediately after-

[11] E.g., Dennis Olson, *The Death of the Old and the Birth of the New: The Framework of the Book of Numbers and the Pentateuch* (BJS 71; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

[12] Thomas B. Dozeman, "The Book of Numbers," *NIB* 2:4.

[13] See Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publicaton Society, 1990), xv, 211, 214.

[14] See Block, *Ezekiel*, 626 n. 63.

[15] See n. 19 below.

ward, the Song of Moses is heard by the second generation in the wilderness, where they are told of their future scattering and regathering (32:1–43).[16] At the climax of the song comes the dramatic divine oath of 32:40, which sets its seal not only on the song but on "all the words which I [Moses] enjoin upon you this day" (Deut 32:46 RSV) including the earlier passages which announced the inevitability of the scattering of Israel among the peoples.

Thus, Ezek 20:23 sums up the prophet's synthetic interpretation of this Deuteronomic material; the covenant curses in Deut 27–28 state that when Israel breaks the covenant, they will be scattered (28:64, הפיץ [hiphil of פוץ]). God then gave to Moses not only a guarantee of Israel's eventual disobedience and dispersion among the nations (Deut 27:15–26; 28:15–68; 29:1–4, 22–28; 30:1–3; 31:16–22) but also this command: "Therefore, write down this poem and teach it to the people of Israel; put it into their mouths, in order that his poem may be My witness against the people of Israel" (Deut 31:16–19). God's third and final oath comes at the climax of this song: "For I lift up my hand to heaven, and swear . . . I will take vengeance . . ." (32:40–41 RSV).[17] Thus, the mighty oath of Deut 32:40 confirms the LORD's intention to enact all the preceding promises, including the inevitable scattering of Israel. It is in this sense that Ezek 20:23 alludes to Deut 32:40.[18]

But how can we confirm that when Ezekiel says in 20:23, "I swore to them in the wilderness that I would scatter them," he refers to Deuteronomy and not just to the covenant curses of the Holiness Code of Lev 26? First, although Lev 26 threatens dispersal (26:33) as a possibility, it is *only* in Deuteronomy that Israel is *assured*—by, among other things, a divine oath sung by Moses—that they will be *inevitably* scattered.[19] Second, the word for scattering in Ezek

[16] The dispersion of Israel is implied by vv. 30, 36d; regathering is implied by vv. 26–27, 36a–b, 43.

[17] David Rolph Seely, "The Raised Hand of God as an Oath Gesture," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman* (ed. A. B. Beck et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 411–21, esp. 413.

[18] Another possibility, suggested by Kohn, is that Ezek 25:23 is a direct reference to Deut 4:27 (*New Heart*, 100 n. 32). The context of 4:26–27 includes language characteristic of oaths ("I call heaven and earth as my witness" [v. 26a]). If the כי introducing v. 25 is taken temporally ("When . . ." [see GKC §164*d*]), the whole passage 4:25–31 may be read in the indicative as sworn prediction of apostasy, exile, and restoration. Whether Ezek 20:23 is working from this passage, Deut 32:40 as proposed above, or both, it is notable that Ps 106:26–27 also knows of an oath sworn in the desert to scatter the people of Israel.

[19] Consider the following: (1) if the introductory כי in Deut 4:25–31 is taken as "when" rather than "if" (see n. 18), the passage reads as Moses' sworn prediction that Israel will break the Deuteronomic covenant and experience judgment (i.e., dispersion and exile); (2) although there ought to be corresponding blessings for the Levites to pronounce in ch. 27, only the curses are given (Deut 27:11–26); (3) the curses for disobedience (28:15–68) are two to three times longer than the promises for obedience (28:1–14) and are far more detailed and programmatic; (4) similarly, the threats for disobedience in 29:16–30:10 are oddly long and programmatic, as if the author

20:23a, "I swore . . . I would scatter them" (הפיץ, hiphil of פוץ) is the same term that is used in Deut 4:27, 28:64, and 30:3. When the Holiness Code speaks of "scattering," it uses the word זרה (see Lev 26:33; Ezek 20:23b). The occurrence of both terms in Ezek 20:23 suggests that Ezekiel has not only the covenant curses of Lev 26 in mind but also, and particularly, the curses of Deuteronomy.[20]

Thus, there are good reasons to think that, by the time we reach v. 25 in Ezekiel's narrative, Ezekiel is speaking about the Deuteronomic code. Verse 25 says, "Moreover, I gave them laws that were not good and rules by which they could not live." This is the second law-giving mentioned in the passage; we have related the first law-giving (20:11) to Sinai. This second law-giving should be associated with the delivery of the Deuteronomic code on the plains of Moab, which the interpretive tradition (witness the name "Deuteronomy") as well as the canonical text (Deut 28:69) both identify as a second giving of the law.[21] Although some miscellaneous laws are given to the second generation in Num 26–36, they are overshadowed in significance by the delivery of the Deuteronomic code, which was the great law-giving event explicitly for the second generation (cf. Deut 2:14–16). The relation of Deuteronomy to the second generation and particularly to the apostasy at Beth-Peor is underscored by the fact that, according to the narrative of Deuteronomy, Israel has not moved from Beth-Peor when Moses imposes on them the Deuteronomic laws (cf. Deut 4:44–46).

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is not really in doubt about which of the two options (obedience or disobedience) the Israelites will choose; (5) Deut 31:16–22 consists of a divine prophecy of Israel's inevitable disobedience and actualization of the covenant curses; (6) Deut 31:26–29 consists of Moses' solemn prediction to the Israelites of their future complete violation of the covenant; (7) the Song of Moses (32:2–43) castigates the Israelites so thoroughly for their rebelliousness against the LORD that when the LORD swears to "take vengeance on my adversaries and requite those who hate me" (v. 41), the reader is tempted to take this as a reference to the Israelites themselves, who from v. 5 through v. 38 have never responded to the LORD with anything but rebellion. Corinne Patton astutely comments that, according to Ezek 20:25, "Israel has been set up for failure" ("I Myself," 79). One can only agree, and the same conclusion could be drawn from a canonical reading of Deuteronomy. The end of the book "takes for granted that the people will indeed fail to be the true people of the covenant and that this will result in the full force of the curses of ch. 28 falling on them" (J. Gordon McConville, *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomic Theology* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993], 135).

[20] This is a classic example of fusion of Priestly and Deuteronomic thought in Ezek 20, which Kohn has demonstrated at greater length (*New Heart*, 98–103). Ezekiel probably saw in the covenant curses of Deuteronomy the further extrapolation and augmentation of what was present already in Lev 26.

[21] Patton recognizes that Ezekiel presents multiple law-givings during the exodus and wilderness wanderings: "Ezek. 20.25–26 suggests that the giving of the law was not a one (or even two) time occurrence . . . ." ("I Myself," 75). On Deuteronomy as a second giving of the law, see Joseph Blenkinsopp (*The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* [ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992], 209–10).

It is also significant that in 20:25 Ezekiel uses the masculine plural חקים to describe the "not good" laws, while everywhere else in the chapter he refers to God's "statutes" using the feminine plural חקות.[22] Likewise, the masculine form חקים is the term used in Deut 11:32 and 12:1 to introduce the Deuteronomic code proper (Deut 12–26). Masculine forms of this word occur elsewhere in Deuteronomy (4:1, 6, 40, 45; 5:28; 6:1, 20, 24; 7:11; 16:12; 17:11, 19; 26:12, 16, 17; 27:10) with twice the frequency of חקות (6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15, 45; 30:10, 16). In contrast, חקים occurs only twice in Leviticus (10:11; 26:46), while the feminine חקות occurs eleven times (18:4–5, 26; 19:19, 37; 20:8, 22; 25:18; 26:3, 15, 43). Moreover, חקים appears here in Ezek 20:25 paired with משפטים, and "the expression חקים ומשפטים is found exclusively in D."[23] This corroborates the sense that Ezekiel refers here to Deuteronomic rather than Priestly laws.[24]

When we continue tracing the narrative of the text (temporarily setting aside the difficult issue of v. 26), we encounter other evidence that Ezekiel has moved to speaking about the Deuteronomic code. The following section (20:27–29) clearly refers to Israel's entrance into the land: "When I brought them into the land . . . and they saw any high hill or any leafy tree . . . they slaughtered their sacrifices there and presented their offensive offerings there. . . ." These verses represent violations of the law of the central sanctuary in Deut 12, and Ezekiel alludes to this very chapter in a wordplay. Upon entrance to the land, instead of seeking out "the site that the LORD will choose" (Deut 12:5), the Israelites sacrificed promiscuously. The contrast with Deut 12 is brought out by the repetition of the word שׁם, "there." This word occurs repeatedly in Deut 12, in order to emphasize that it is *there*, that is, at the central sanctuary, that the Israelites should bring their gifts. But Ezekiel uses שׁם four times in 20:28, pointing out that it was *not* to the central sanctuary but *there,* to the high places and sacred groves, that the Israelites brought their sacrifices.[25] The contrast with and reference to Deut 12 are unmistakable.[26] In short, Israel failed to keep even the laws of the Deuteronomic code, which, as

[22] Block comments, "The masculine form, *ḥuqqîm*, contrasts with Ezekiel's consistent designation of Yahweh's covenant requirements in this chapter and elsewhere as feminine, *ḥuqqôt*" (*Ezekiel*, 636). Likewise Katheryn Pfisterer Darr, "the form is masc. pl., differentiating between these statutes and those given in v. 11" ("Ezekiel" *NIB* 6:1283). See also Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25," 140 n. 6.

[23] Kohn, *New Heart*, 99 n. 24.

[24] Block argues that the laws of v. 25 are clearly distinguished from the Sinaitic laws mentioned earlier in the chapter, for four reasons: (1) they are given to the second generation; (2) they are characterized as non–life-giving; (3) they fundamentally contradict the earlier laws; and (4) they are called חקים rather than חקות (*Ezekiel*, 640). These four points are characteristics of the Deuteronomic code, even (2), considering our argument in n. 19 above.

[25] Block, *Ezekiel*, 644

[26] Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 385.

we shall argue below, Ezekiel viewed as a lower law than the Priestly legislation.[27] Thus, from Ezekiel's Priestly perspective, the nation clearly brought the Deuteronomic curse of exile upon itself.

To summarize, the narrative sequence of Ezek 20 strongly suggests the correspondence of the "not good laws" with the giving of the Deuteronomic code. Ezekiel 20:23–26, which describes a second law-giving to Israel, is sandwiched between the rebellion of the second generation in the wilderness (20:21–22, which should be identified with the apostasy of Baal-Peor), and the entrance into the land (20:27–29). In the pentateuchal narrative, Moses delivers the Deuteronomic code at this very point. Ezekiel's reference to the *inevitability* of scattering, which is unique to Deuteronomy, along with the use of Deuteronomic diction (הפיץ and חקים), serve to corroborate that Ezek 20:23–26 refer to this body of law.

II. Why Would Ezekiel Consider the Laws of D "Not Good"?

If indeed Ezek 20:25 is referring to the Deuteronomic code as the "not good" laws, why would the prophet regard D as "not good"? Perhaps because Ezekiel writes from a Priestly perspective that views many of the distinctive laws of Deuteronomy as clearly inferior or even offensive.

That Ezekiel represents a Priestly viewpoint is hardly controversial. Risa Levitt Kohn, the author of a recent study of the subject, comments, "The Priestly Torah appears to be the standard by which Ezekiel evaluates Israel's successes and failures. As a result, Ezekiel's indictments of the people are based precisely and directly on the words of the P text."[28] The affinities of Ezekiel's language with P and particularly the Holiness Code are well documented.[29]

[27] Cf. Kohn: "Essentially, Ezekiel's contemporaries did not follow the precepts of *either* Torah" (*New Heart*, 113).

[28] See Kohn, *New Heart*, 77. Kohn does not distinguish between P and H.

[29] See Patton, "I Myself," 81: "It is clear that the author of Ezekiel knew some legal corpus in pre-exilic Israel. . . . To be sure, these laws resemble those in P, particularly in the Holiness Code, more often than their counterparts in Deuteronomy or the Covenant Code." For older scholarship examining the relation of Ezekiel and P/H, see August Klostermann, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs," *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche* 38 (1877): 401–45; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtliche untersucht* (WMANT 6; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1961), esp. 30; Louis Horst, *Leviticus xvii–xxvi und Hezekiel: Ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchkritik* (Colmar: Eugen Barth, 1881); and Leonard E. Elliot–Binns, "Some Problems of the Holiness Code," *ZAW* 67 (1955): 26–40. More recent studies of Ezekiel and P/H include Menachem Haran, "The Law Code of Ezekiel XL–XLVII and Its Relation to the Priestly School," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 45–71; Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (CahRB 20; Paris: Gabalda, 1982); Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward a Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*

Recent commentators have also begun to recognize the influence of D language and thought patterns in Ezekiel. As Kohn remarks, "Despite his apparent affinities with P, Ezekiel was also influenced by the language and concepts of D."[30] She singles out Ezek 20 for extended analysis as "one of the most striking examples of the fusion of Priestly and Deuteronomic language and theology" in the book.[31] Jacques Pons has also devoted an essay to the literary relation of Ezek 20 to Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic material, concluding that the presence of D language is "incontestable" but ironically serves to subvert Deuteronomistic theology.[32]

Moshe Weinfeld, in his thorough analysis of the differences between Priestly and Deuteronomic thought,[33] describes D as engaged in a "secularization" of P laws. If, as Weinfeld and others argue, much of P represents an older theology than that of D, adherents of Priestly thought may have found the "secularization" of the Deuteronomic legislation both threatening and deficient.[34]

Several laws of D degrade from the standard of P: for example, *ḥerem* war-

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(HSM 12; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); Mark F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel* (JSOTSup 90; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990). For an overview of the classic positions of Julius Wellhausen, Yehezkel Kaufmann, G. R. Driver, and others concerning the relationship of Ezekiel and P/H, see Kohn, *New Heart*, 6–29.

[30] Risa Levitt Kohn, "A Prophet Like Moses? Rethinking Ezekiel's Relationship to the Torah," *ZAW* 114 (2002): 246. See also Patton, "I Myself," 83–84: "On the other side, Deuteronomic influence can be seen in the 'outstretched arm' of 20.33, and the root *bḥr* (20,5). Additionally, the book of Ezekiel characterizes Israel's sin as rebellion (the verbs *mrh* and *mrr*, as well as the noun *mry*). While the term appears in Numbers . . . the use there is quite different. . . . However, the word appears seven times in Deuteronomy to refer to the sin of the people as a whole. . . . Ezekiel's use of the term, then, mirrors that in Deuteronomy, rather than that of P. . . . Ezekiel shows familiarity with Deuteronomic tradition, whether as a school of thought in Israel or in exile, or through contact with the Deuteronomic prophetic schools (Hosea and Jeremiah)."

[31] Kohn, *New Heart*, 98; see her six-page analysis of Ezek 20 (pp. 98–104). Unfortunately, owing to typographical error or some other cause, Kohn's text of Ezek 20 repeatedly misidentifies the phrase חקותי ואת־משפטי as Deuteronomistic, whereas it is Priestly, as Kohn herself recognizes (p. 99 n. 24).

[32] Jacques Pons, "Le vocabulaire d'Ézéchiel 20: Le prophète s'oppose à la vision deutéronomiste de l'histoire," in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Interrelation* (ed. J. Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 214–33. Pons's conclusions are quite in line with the thesis of the present article: "Nous pensons avoir montré dans cet exposé que: —Éz 20 ne pouvait pas être l'œuvre d'un rédacteur dtr. —La présence incontestable d'un vocabulaire Dt/dtr venait d'un emploi voulu par le prophète. —Éz utilisait ce vocabulaire pour s'opposer à la théologie dtr" (p. 232). Pons also recognizes the affinity between Ezek 20 and Ps 106 (pp. 232–33).

[33] Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 210–24.

[34] Kohn notes, "Much of D . . . would have been anathema to the priestly writer: general Levite priesthood, the importance of the king and prophet; the tradition of Aaron as sinner. Yet Ezekiel is not shy about deriving terminology and ideas from D" ("Prophet Like Moses?" 246).

fare (Deut 20:16–18), the extermination of the inhabitants of a region, is not to be found anywhere in the Priestly laws, which seem content with the expulsion of the land's previous occupants. Divorce is implicitly permitted by D (Deut 24:1–4), but never mentioned in P. The fallow laws of the sabbatical year (Lev 25:1–7) are very important to P, intimately tied up with continued inhabiting of the land (Lev 26:34–35), but D completely omits them, substituting a seven-year cycle of debt release (Deut 15:1–6).[35]

But most of all, it is the provision for profane slaughter in Deut 12:15–25—a necessary corollary of D's centralization of the cult—that has the greatest potential for offending P sensibilities.[36] In the Priestly tradition (Lev 17:1–9) all slaughter of clean sacrificial animals must take place at the sanctuary, where the blood is dashed around the altar to make expiation for the offerer (v. 11). Even the blood of clean but nonsacrificial animals, that is, game, must be poured out and carefully covered with earth (Lev 17:13).

The contrast with Deut 12 is potentially shocking. Here, clean sacrificial animals may be slaughtered like game, and not only is the blood *not* dashed against the altar, but it is poured out on the ground like water (Deut 12:16) without even being covered with earth. The blood of clean sacrificial animals in D is treated with less care than the blood of game animals according to P. Arguably, this mistreatment of the sacred expiatory substance would result—from a Priestly perspective—in the defilement of both the land and people. Thus, Ezekiel's problem with the Deuteronomic code would have been not simply that it lowered the legal bar but that it actually sanctioned defiling practices.[37]

III. The Meaning of Ezekiel 20:26

If we can accept that the Deuteronomic code contained provisions offensive to Priestly sensibilities, we may have the resources to address the thorny issue of the meaning of Ezek 20:26, where the prophet states on behalf of the LORD, "When they set aside every first issue of the womb, I defiled them by their very gifts—that I might render them desolate, that they might know that I am the LORD."

[35] See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 223. For discussion of other differences between P and D legislation, see Scott W. Hahn, "Kinship by Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments" (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1995), 95–119.

[36] See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 213–14.

[37] See Patton, "I Myself," 79: "In a divinely granted law code, if only one law was granted in order to lead the people into sin, then the whole legal collection can never bring life; it is a law code that cannot be the basis for any restoration. . . . Israel is literally 'damned if they do and damned if they don't.'" See n. 19 above.

To what could this statement possibly refer? One common interpretation sees this as a reference to worship of Molech. The strength of this case is the use of the Hebrew word העביר (hiphil of עבר), "to cause to pass over, to consecrate, to offer," which is associated with child sacrifice to Molech in other contexts (see v. 31). However, העביר is also used in contexts that refer to legitimate sacrifice to the LORD (Exod 13:12). Furthermore, verbs other than העביר are frequently used to describe worship of Molech; therefore, as Hartmut Gese concludes, העביר "ist also als kultischer Terminus gar nicht auf den Molochkult beschränkt."[38] The mere use of the word is insufficient to establish that the verse refers to child sacrifice; Ezekiel himself uses the term frequently in contexts having nothing to do with such practices (5:1; 14:15; 20:37; 37:2; 46:21; 47:3–4 [3x]; 48:14).[39]

Moreover, v. 26 does not comport with worship of Molech, since Molech did not demand the firstborn of man or beast, being a rather omnivorous and unparticular god from all accounts.[40] Yet v. 26 clearly refers to the firstborn, without further specifying humans (*contra* NJB, REB): the Hebrew reads כל־פטר רחם, "every opener of the womb."[41] Gese emphasizes, "In sämtlichen

[38] Gese, "Ezekiel 20,25" 146. Gese counts ten or eleven cases where sacrifice to Molech is designated by העביר (Lev 18:12; Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; Jer 32:35; Ezek 16:21; 20:31 [Gese considers the text doubtful]; 23:37; 2 Chr 33:6) and nine cases where a different term is used (Lev 20:2–4 [3x]; Deut 12:31; Jer 7:31; 19:5; Ezek 16:20; 23:39; 2 Chr 28:3). George C. Heider, too, notes that העביר is not limited to the Molech cultus (*The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* [JSOTSup 43; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985], 256).

[39] Curiously, some English translations, for example, the RSV, translate העביר in v. 26 as "offer *by fire*," although the word אש, "fire," does not occur in v. 26, as it does in v. 31 and other biblical uses of העביר, for example, 2 Kgs 23:10; Deut 18:12.

[40] Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25," 144–45. The relevant passages are Lev 18:21; 20:2–5; Deut 12:31; 18:10; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; Jer 3:24; 7:31; 32:35; Ezek 16:20; 20:31; 23:37–39; 2 Chr 28:2–3; 33:6; Ps 106:37–38. Gese comments, "Wenn in den historischen Fällen des Ahas- und Manasseopfers ein Sohn erwähnt wird (2Kön 16,3; 21,6), so ist das als Faktum und nicht als bedingung des Molochopfers zu verstehen; denn in der algemeinen Darstellung 2 Kön 17,17; 23,10 werden die Töchter ausdrücklich erwähnt" (p. 145). Heider remarks on Ezek 20:26: "This is the only passage in which the cult of Molek is explicitly described as of firstborn, presumably male children. Otherwise, the cult is said to involve both sexes (2 Kgs 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10) and even multiple members of a single family (2 Chr 28:3; 33:6) . . ." ("A Further Turn on Ezekiel's Baroque Twist in Ezek 20:25–26," *JBL* 107 [1988]: 722 n. 10; see also *Cult of Molek*, 254). But Heider merely assumes that Ezek 20:26 refers to worship of Molech. Milgrom demurs: "The suggestion that the Molek cult was dedicated to the sacrifice of the male firstborn must be dismissed out of hand . . . . Daughters as well as sons were sacrificed to Molek (Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 7:31; 32:35) . . . . Children of the same family were sacrificed [2 Chr. 28:3; 33:6]" ("Were the Firstborn Sacrificed to YHWH? To Molek? Popular Practice or Divine Demand?" in *Sacrifice in Religious Experience* [ed. A. I. Baumgarten; Leiden: Brill, 2002], 54), concluding, "There is no connection between the firstborn and Molek" (p. 55).

[41] The phrase פטר רחם is synonymous with the word בכר, which is made clear by passages

Texten des Alten Testaments, die vom Molochopfer sprechen, wird die Erstgeburt nie erwähnt!"[42]

Parenthetically, many scholars recognize that the phrase is a reference to Exod 13:12, since Ezek 20:26 uses virtually the same diction.[43] Notably, Exod 13 goes on to refer specifically to "every first-born (בכר) of man" (v. 13 RSV), only to exclude them from the consecrated "firstlings" mentioned in the previous verse. In other words, Exod 13:13 distinguishes human firstborn from "every opener of the womb" in order to exclude them from being offered. Thus, in the closest biblical parallel to Ezek 20:26a, the context makes clear that human sacrifice is *not* the referent. This supports our reading of Ezek 20:26 as referring to the sacrifice of *animal* firstlings, not humans.

Some scholars suggest a variation on the Molech-cult interpretation of v. 25, positing that the verse refers to the sacrifice of firstborn human children to the LORD; this reading is based on an overly literal interpretation of Exod 13:1–2; 22:28b; 34:19, or similar passages.[44] However, there is no biblical or archaeological evidence for the practice of child sacrifice to the LORD in ancient Israel;[45] it is simply posited as the background for the legal and prophetic texts that state that child sacrifice is not part of the worship of the LORD.[46] In all the relevant passages from both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, child sac-

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that place the terms in apposition: Exod 13:2; Num 3:12. Neither term applied to females (cf. Exod 13:11–16; 34:19 [according to the LXX, Vulg., Theodotion, and Targums]; Num 3:11–15).

[42] Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25," 145.

[43] See Heider, "Further Turn," 723 n. 11.

[44] The most prominent recent proponent of this view is Jon D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 3–17.

[45] Greenberg comments: "Outside of our passage no evidence *for such an interpretation of these laws*, or *for such a practice*, exists; indeed, it is intrinsically improbable. . . . The charge that the Israelites regularly offered up every firstborn as a sacrifice . . . [is] unprecedented and incredible . . . [a] manifest exaggeration" (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 369–70, emphasis added). Likewise, Gese remarks, "Es ist so gut wie ausgeschlossen, daß die hinter dem Auslösungsgebot stehende Anschauung in Israel je zu einer allgemein geübten Praxis eines menschlichen Erstgeburtsopfers geführt hat; nur in Ausnahmefällen könnte es zu einem solchen Opfer gekommen sein, wie es etwa der moabitische König nach 2Kön 3,27 darbringt" ("Ezechiel 20,25," 144). Milgrom concurs ("Were the Firstborn Sacrificed?" 55). Even Levenson points out that no human society is known to have practiced the human sacrifice of every firstborn son and admits that there is no explicit evidence for child sacrifice to the LORD in the Bible (*Death and Resurrection*, 3). He does, however, see Mic 6:6–8; Judg 11:29–40; 2 Kgs 3:27; and Gen 22 as implicit evidence of an ancient Israelite belief in the sacrifice of firstborn sons. Yet on closer examination, Mic 6:6–8 is a poetic rhetorical question; Judg 11:29–40 concerns a daughter; 2 Kgs 3:27 concerns a Moabite king; and Isaac is never actually sacrificed in Gen 22, wherein he is characterized as the "only son" (את יחידך אתבנך), never the "firstborn" (בכר or פטר רחם). Thus, none of the texts he cites is suitable to demonstrate Levenson's hypothesis. Ezekiel 20:26 cannot be used as evidence for his view, since whether the verse refers to child sacrifice at all is the point under dispute.

[46] This is Greenberg's approach; while admitting that there is no evidence for the practice of

rifice is connected to the worship of other deities, usually explicitly.[47] If child sacrifice was practiced as part of the cult of the LORD, it seems odd that these prophets, the others (or their "schools"), the Deuteronomistic Historian, and the Chronicler all refrain from mentioning or condemning the practice.

Instead of positing an otherwise unattested practice of the sacrifice of firstborn children to the LORD, or insisting that the sacrifice of firstborn must refer to the worship of Molech, who is known to have had no such restrictions on his diet, we propose to understand Ezek 20:26 according to our working hypothesis that Ezek 20:23–26 is an Ezekielian polemic against the Deuteronomic code. When we begin to approach the interpretation of the verse from this perspective and suddenly discover that, in fact, Deuteronomy *does* make adjustments to the laws of the firstlings that would offend Priestly sensibilities, it seems to be more than mere coincidence.

The Deuteronomic code introduces three changes to the regulations governing the firstlings. The first is the allowance of profane slaughter. Whereas under the Priestly legislation the people were required to visit the sanctuary or sanctuaries[48] for the slaughter of any and all animals (Lev 17:1–8), the Deuteronomic code required the sanctuary visit *only* for the (annual)[49] slaugh-

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ritual sacrifice of the firstborn to the LORD (see previous note), he sees behind Deut 12:29–31; Jer 7:31; 19:5; and 32:35 the popular belief that "YHWH accepted, perhaps even commanded, it" (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 369). But the child sacrifices condemned by Jeremiah in 7:31, 19:5, and 32:35 were offered to Baal/Molech at Topheth in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, and it seems unlikely that the Judahites were claiming that the LORD had commanded child sacrifice to Molech (see following note).

[47] E.g., Jer 3:24; 7:31; 32:35; Ezek 16:20–21; 20:31; 23:37–39. The fact that child sacrifice took place at the high place of Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom (Jer 7:31)—dedicated to Baʿal and Molech (Jer 32:35)—shows that it was separate from the cult of the LORD at the Temple. Still, Levenson argues that the worship at the high place of Topheth was understood by the people as to the LORD, whereas Jeremiah ascribes it to Baʿal and Molech (*Death and Resurrection*, 4–5, 10). If this were so, however, one would expect the one to whom the worship at Topheth was offered to be a point of dispute between Jeremiah and his contemporaries, yet it never appears as such. Furthermore, even if the child sacrifice at Topheth were to be shown to be to the LORD, it still does not provide an example of the sacrifice of firstborn sons, since the sacrifices there were nondiscriminatory with respect to gender or birth order (see n. 40 above).

Ezekiel, for his part, castigates the people for entering the LORD's sanctuary on the same day on which previously they had offered their children as sacrifices to idols (Ezek 23:38–39). It is clear from his statements that child sacrifice was not taking place in the temple nor as part of the cult of the LORD: he rebukes the people for defiling the temple by *entering* it on the same day they were involved in child sacrifice, not for *offering* child sacrifice to the LORD or in the temple. If such things were being done, he would have phrased his rebuke differently, in order to address those issues.

[48] On the possibility of multiple sanctuaries in H, see Milgrom, "Does H Advocate the Centralization of Worship?" *JSOT* 88 (2000): 59–76

[49] See Deut 15:20, "year by year" (שנה בשנה).

ter of the firstlings (Deut 12:6, 17; 15:19, 20) and voluntary sacrifices.[50] Therefore, the annual sanctuary pilgrimage to offer tithes and sacrifice firstlings (Deut 14:22–23) became a, if not *the*, distinctive practice of the Deuteronomic legislation when it was instituted, replacing the more frequent visitation of the sanctuary or sanctuaries mandated beforehand. Gese observes:

> Mit der deuteronomischen Kult-zentralisation und der not-wendigen Freigabe der Profanschlachtung veränderte sich nun auch die Möglichkeit, die Erstgeburtsopfer vor anderen aus-zuzeichnen, grundlegend. . . . Dem ursprünglichen Text in c. 20 aber ist ohne Zweifel zu entnehmen, daß *das Gebot des tierischen Erstgeburtsopfers für die nicht zum Leben führende Zweitoffenbarung so typisch ist wie das Sabbatgebot für die wahre Sinai-offenbarung.*[51]

The converse, or implication, of the Deuteronomic limitation of sanctuary visitation to the sacrifice of firstlings and voluntary offerings was the profane slaughter of non-firstlings (Deut 12:15–28). The offensiveness of this practice to Priestly sensibilities is summarized by Weinfeld:

> Whereas before the reform all slaughter—except that of game animals—was deemed to be a sacral act and was prohibited even for non-sacrificial purposes unless the blood was sprinkled upon the altar (Lev. 17:1–7; cf. I Sam. 14:32–5), it was now permissible to perform non-sacrificial slaughter without being obliged to sprinkle the blood upon an altar (Deut. 12:15, 16, 20–4). It need hardly be said that the sanctioning of profane slaughter freed a significant aspect of Israelite daily life from its ties to the cultus. The more crucial import of the law, however, is that by sanctioning non-sacrificial slaughter it repudiates the hallowed Israelite dogma which ascribed a sacral quality to the blood and prohibited one from pouring it upon the ground. According to the Priestly document or, to be more precise, the Holiness Code, the blood of slaughtered animals potentially valid for sacrifice must be sprinkled upon the altar . . . (Lev. 17:13): for all spilt blood, even of fowl and beasts of prey, cries out for vengeance and satisfaction. . . . The author of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, declares that the blood of all animals slaughtered for non-sacrificial purposes may be poured upon the ground like water (12:16 and 24), thereby asserting that blood has no more a sacral value than water has.[52]

[50] By "voluntary" is meant those sacrifices that Milgrom describes as arising "in answer to an unpredictable religious or emotional need" (*Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991], 134), but are not mandated on a regular basis. None of the types of non-firstling sacrifices explicitly mentioned in Deut 12:6, 12, 17, 26, 27 are obligatory. Curiously, the expiatory sacrifices (traditionally translated "sin" [חטאת] or "guilt" [אשם] offerings), which would be obligatory if an Israelite had committed sin or become ritually unclean, are not mentioned in Deut 12. It is unclear whether their omission is intentional.

[51] Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25," 148, 147 (emphasis added).

[52] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 213–24.

A priest like Ezekiel observing the crowds of Israelites coming to the Jerusalem temple to perform their annual sacrifice of firstlings would be struck by the mute testimony these visits bore to the *absence* of these same crowds the rest of the year—in the same way that the overflowing crowds on important holy days today make the year-round absence of those same congregants all too obvious to the modern clergy person. During the rest of the year, as Ezekiel knew, the Israelites were slaughtering clean animals promiscuously and pouring out the sacred blood upon the ground like water (*contra* Lev 17:1–9). In that sense, the annual sacrifice of firstlings was a painful reminder for a priest trained in the Holiness Code of the deficiency of sacrificial practice among the populace, which was actually defiling both them and the land.

The second change in the law of firstlings allowed for the substitution of animals. The relevant texts of the Holiness Code seem to rule out the substitution or redemption of dedicated clean animals (Lev 27:9–10, 28). While the text is not absolutely explicit, the most logical reading of Lev 27 would be that the laws forbidding substitution and redemption of dedicated animals apply *a fortiori* in the case of firstlings, who are innately dedicated to the LORD apart from human action (Lev 27:26), and this reading of Lev 27 seems confirmed explicitly by another Priestly text, Num 18:17. The Deuteronomic code, however, seems clearly to permit the redemption of firstlings and other offerings for money, which can be used to purchase substitute sacrificial animals at the site of the central sanctuary (Deut 14:22–26). From the Priestly perspective of Lev 27, however, such transactions are just not possible. The firstborn belongs *innately* to the LORD, and one cannot simply transfer the animal's status to a different animal via an economic transaction.[53] Even if one tried illicitly to substitute or exchange one animal for another, the result according to Priestly law would be not the transfer of status from one to another but the consecration of both animals (Lev 27:10). Thus, when the Israelites who lived at a distance from Jerusalem gathered at the central sanctuary annually to offer the animal substitutes they had purchased in place of their firstlings, from a strict Priestly perspective the whole offering would be a charade. Even if the animals, as illicit substitutes, also had consecrated status (Lev 27:10), their sacrifice did not fulfill the worshipers' obligation, since the original consecrated animals (i.e., the firstlings)—still owed to the LORD—remained unsacrificed back at the worshipers' homes. Furthermore, substitution and redemption applied only to unclean animals (Lev 27:11–27). It follows that to exchange the firstlings for cash and purchase substitutes at the central sanctuary were to treat the clean as an unclean thing.[54] Therefore, Israelites who followed the prescriptions of

[53] See ibid., 215.

[54] Ibid.; Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3C; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 2388–91.

Deut 14:22–26 that allowed for the purchase of substitutionary sacrificial animals at the central sanctuary would, according to the Priestly legislation, not only fail to fulfill their original obligation but would indirectly be treating their innately holy firstlings with contempt.

The third and final change in the laws for firstlings concerned the agent who conferred consecrated status on the animal. The Priestly legislation forbids humans from consecrating the firstlings:

אך בכור אשר־יבכר ליהוה בבהמה לא־יקדיש איש אתו אם־שור אם־שה ליהוה הוא (Lev 27:26)

> A firstling of animals, however, which—as a firstling—is the Lord's, cannot be consecrated by anybody; whether ox or sheep, it is the LORD's.

On the other hand, the Deuteronomic code expressly commands what P forbids:

כל־הבכור אשר יולד בבקרך ובצאנך הזכר תקדיש ליהוה אלהיך (Deut 15:19a)

> You shall consecrate to the LORD your God all male firstlings that are born in your herd and in your flock . . .

The two codes operate according to different logics concerning by whom and how the firstlings achieve their consecrated status. According to P, God consecrated all Israelite firstlings to himself in the exodus event; they come from the womb already divinely consecrated, and no person may further consecrate them:

כי לי כל־בכור ביום הכתי כל־בכור בארץ מצרים הקדשתי לי כל־בכור בישראל מאדם עד־בהמה לי יהיו אני יהוה (Num 3:13)

> For every firstborn is mine: at the time that I smote every firstborn in the land of Egypt, I consecrated every firstborn in Israel, man and beast, to Myself, to be Mine, the LORD's.

The Deuteronomist, on the other hand, while recognizing that the firstlings should be offered to the LORD, does not seem to regard them as having innately consecrated status; rather, they require a human act of consecration.[55] Whatever kind of rite may have been implied by "consecration" (הקדש), from a Priestly perspective it was unnecessary and presumptuous, since it

[55] Thus Weinfeld notes: "The author of Deuteronomy instructs the Israelites to consecrate the first-born of his animals to the Lord (Deut. 15:19), a command which openly contradicts the injunction in Lev. 27:26. . . ." According to P, "man can neither make the firstling holy nor secularize it by redemption" (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 215).

implied that an already holy animal was non-holy and in need of a human—indeed, a layperson—to sanctify it. Just as redeeming the firstlings for money and purchasing substitutes at the sanctuary treated a clean animal as unclean, so consecrating the firstlings treated the holy as non-holy.

Thus, the distinctively Deuteronomic practice of making an annual pilgrimage to the central sanctuary represented a defiling concession (i.e., a cultic sin of omission): the sacrifice of (only) the firstlings—with its corollary, the profane slaughter of all non-firstlings—was completely deficient by stricter Priestly standards, especially concerning the handling of blood. Furthermore, the consecration of firstlings that was commanded by the Deuteronomic code and the substitution that was allowed were totally inadequate from the Priestly perspective.

The logic of Ezek 20:25–26 now becomes apparent. Ezekiel refers to the Deuteronomic code as "not good laws" and "rules by which they could not live," because, on the one hand, they degraded the pristine Priestly standards and, on the other, they were interwoven with predictions of human disobedience and inevitable divine judgment. In this defective Deuteronomic sacrificial system ("I defiled them by their very gifts"), Ezekiel singles out for special censure the distinctively Deuteronomic practice of the annual pilgrimage to present tithes and firstlings ("when they offer [only] all the firstlings"),[56] since the Deuteronomic regulations governing firstlings were so wholly deficient. All this was "so that I might render them desolate," a sentiment that seems quite in keeping with (at least the canonical form of) Deuteronomy, which, despite its protestations of making a well-meant offer of life to Israel (e.g., Deut 30:11–20), is filled with threats and outright promises of the inevitable actualization of the covenant curses.[57]

To summarize: from Ezekiel's Priestly perspective, the laws of the Deuteronomic code were defiling in their effects; though not intrinsically "evil" (רעים), they were most certainly "not good" (לא טובים).[58] Just as the previous verses repeatedly single out the Sabbath as a characteristic and representative law of the (Priestly) revelation from Sinai, so v. 26 mentions the changed provisions concerning the offering of the firstlings as characteristic and representative of the "not good" laws given on the plains of Moab (Deut 4:44–49; 29:1).

What is shocking about Ezekiel's formulation is that he accepts the divine authority of both the D and P legal corpora and concludes that the D laws were

[56] Our translation.

[57] The root שמם, "to desolate" (and the related noun שממה), is heavily associated with covenantal curses (cf. the use the word[s] in Lev 26:22, 31–35, 43). We concur with Darr, Greenberg, Block, and Heider that אשמם ought to be translated here as "I might desolate" or "devastate" rather than "horrify." The sense is not that the LORD intended to produce a subjective emotion in the Israelites (horror), but to render them utterly destitute in fulfillment of the covenant curses.

[58] The distinction is made by Block, *Ezekiel*, 636.

intentionally given to render Israel so defiled that exile would be inevitable. Scattered among the nations, Israel would thus be compelled to recognize the LORD's sovereignty ("that they might know that I am the LORD" [v. 26; cf. Deut 29:22–30:6]).

IV. Conclusion

The identity of the "not good" laws of Ezek 20:25 has vexed biblical scholarship for centuries. We have argued that the literary structure and narrative sequence of Ezek 20 place the giving of the "not good" laws in the same narrative position that the Deuteronomic law-giving occupies in the hexateuch, between the rebellion of the second wilderness generation and the entrance to the land. This conclusion of narrative analysis is confirmed by the fact that the oath to scatter the Israelites referred to in v. 23 is best explained as an extrapolation from God's pledge in Deut 31–32 that Israel would break the covenant and thus actualize the attendant curses, among which was dispersal to foreign lands. Additional confirmation is provided by Ezekiel's use of terms favored by D rather than P in vv. 23–26, namely, הפיץ for "scatter," and חקים rather than חקות for "laws."

We have shown how several provisions of the Deuteronomic code would be perceived from a Priestly perspective as violations of a higher standard of holiness.[59] This applies specifically to the Deuteronomic provisions limiting sacrificial slaughter to firstlings and voluntary offerings and allowing the redemption of firstlings and the purchase of substitutes for sacrifice at the central sanctuary, which would be illicit and offensive according to the Holiness Code (Lev 17:1–9; 27:9–33). Strangely, in Ezek 20:26 Ezekiel seems to attribute these defective provisions of the Deuteronomic code to the LORD as an intentional method of defiling the Israelites, thus provoking the covenant curses and the eventual recognition of the LORD's sovereignty.

[59] For a review of the rabbinic and patristic approaches to Ezek 20:25, some of which have certain similarities to our own, see P. W. van der Horst, "Laws that were not good: Ezekiel 20:25 in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity," in *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honor of A. S. van der Woude* (ed. J. N. Bremmer and F. García Martínez; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992), 94–118.

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PLOTTING ANTIOCHUS'S PERSECUTION

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The history of religious persecution could be said to have begun in 167 B.C.E. when the Seleucid king Antiochus IV issued a series of decrees outlawing Jewish religious practice. According to 1 Maccabees, anyone found with a copy of the Torah or adhering to its laws—observing the Sabbath, for instance, or practicing circumcision—was put to death. Jews were compelled to build altars and shrines to idols and to sacrifice pigs and other unclean animals. The temple itself was desecrated by a "desolating abomination" built atop the altar of burnt offering. The alternative account in 2 Maccabees adds to the list of outrages: the temple was renamed for Olympian Zeus, and the Jews were made to walk in a procession honoring the god Dionysus. Without apparent precedent, the king decided to abolish an entire religion, suppressing its rites, flaunting its taboos, forcing the Jews to follow "customs strange to the land."

Antiochus IV's persecution of Jewish religious tradition is a notorious puzzle, which the great scholar of the period Elias Bickerman once described as "the basic and sole enigma in the history of Seleucid Jerusalem."[1] Earlier foreign rulers of the Jews in Jerusalem, including Antiochus's own Seleucid forebears, were not merely tolerant of the religious traditions of their subjects; they often invested their own resources to promote those traditions.[2] According to Josephus, Antiochus III, whose defeat of the Ptolemaic kingdom at the battle of Panium in 200 B.C.E. established Seleucid control over Palestine, allowed the Jews to live in accordance with their native laws and promised to protect and subsidize the Jerusalem temple (*Ant.* 12.129–53).[3] 2 Maccabees suggests that

[1] Elias Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* (trans H. Moehring; SJLA 32; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 61–62.

[2] See Erich Gruen, "Seleucid Royal Ideology," *SBLSP* 38 (1999): 24–53.

[3] The authenticity of the two royal documents recorded in this passage is an open question. See Elias Bickerman, "Le Charte Séleucid de Jérusalem," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian His-*

such behavior was standard policy among the Seleucids, "even to the extent that King Seleucus of Asia defrayed from his own revenues all the expenses connected with the services of the sacrifices" (3:2–3). Such descriptions are consistent with Seleucid behavior as known from other sources. Thus, for example, a clay cylinder from the time of Antiochus I found in the Ezida temple complex at Borsippa presents the king as a patron of the Babylonian cult, the "caretaker of Esagila and Ezida," who undertook to rebuild these important sanctuaries.[4]

Against this backdrop, according to Erich Gruen, Antiochus IV's attempt to abolish Jewish tradition "stands out starkly and glaringly in contrast."[5] Sixty-five years after Bickerman tried to explain the persecution, it continues to defy explanation, becoming only more puzzling as more is learned about how Seleucid rulers normally related to the religions of their subjects. There has been no shortage of attempts to explain it.[6] One theory imputes the persecution to mental illness.[7] In another, the king is motivated by a love of Greek culture, forcing it on the Jews because of their stubborn adherence to their native traditions.[8] In still others, the king's behavior is reactively pragmatic, a response to a budgetary shortfall or a Jewish revolt.[9] According to Bickerman, the impetus came not from Antiochus but from Jewish reformers who urged the king to persecute their traditionalist rivals.[10] Not one of these reconstructions escapes being selective in what it stresses as salient facts, and they all must inevitably rely on speculation to fill in yawning gaps in the documentation.[11] This is true even of

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tory (AGJU 9; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 2:44–85; idem, "Une Proclamation Séleucide Relative au temple de Jérusalem," in ibid., 86–104.

[4] Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa," *JHS* 111 (1991): 71–86.

[5] Gruen, "Seleucid Royal Ideology," 47.

[6] For a recent review of these attempts, see Erich Gruen, "Hellenism and Persection: Antiochus IV and the Jews," in *Hellenistic History and Culture* (ed. P. Green; Hellenistic Culture and Society 9; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 238–64.

[7] See, e.g., Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jews in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973), 146.

[8] See Edwyn R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1902), 2:153.

[9] See Klaus Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa: Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte (175-163 v. Chr.)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 111–40; Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961), 186–203.

[10] Bickerman, *God of the Maccabees,* 76–92.

[11] For example, consider Bickerman's theory that it was hellenized Jewish reformers who proposed the persecution, a view most directly supported by *Ant.* 12.384: "For this man [the hellenizing high priest] Menelaus was to blame for all the trouble, *since he had persuaded the king's father (Antiochus IV) to compel the Jews to abandon their father's religion*" (*God of the Maccabees,* 83). Bickerman's use of this testimony does not factor in that Josephus's account is a late and tendentious revision of the earlier accounts in 1 Maccabees—and possibly 2 Maccabees, as in this pas-

the most recent efforts to explain the persecution—that of Gruen, for example.[12]

What allows for, and indeed motivates, so many different explanations for the persecution is the slim and biased testimony of our sources—Daniel, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and Josephus's narratives. What we know of these works shows that, with the exception of the brief and coded references to the persecution in the book of Daniel, all of the descriptions were written long after the events, and all, including the material in Daniel, were shaped by the rhetorical objectives of their respective authors.[13] To choose between them, declaring this one trustworthy and that one irrelevant, is a necessarily arbitrary exercise, since each is suspect for one reason or another and there is practically no extratextual evidence against which to measure them.[14] Not even a coherent chronology of events can be reconstructed with any certitude.[15] This is not to deny that there are facts to be retrieved from these texts; but if scholarship demonstrates anything, it is that these facts support multiple, even conflicting theories. Some scholars have been tempted to give up on explanation altogether. One leading historian concludes: "It is best to confess, however, that there seems no way of reaching an understanding of how Antiochus came to take a step so profoundly at variance with the normal assumptions of government in his time."[16]

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sage (cf. 2 Macc 13:4, the apparent source of Josephus's statement). For the objectives that may have shaped Josephus's revision, see Isaiah Gafni, "Josephus and *1 Maccabees,*" in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. L. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 116–31.

[12] As M. Gwyn Morgan makes clear in her response to Gruen's proposal (in *Hellenistic History and Culture,* ed. Green, 264–69).

[13] On these goals, see Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (CBQMS 12; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981); Seth Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion," *JJS* 42 (1991): 16–38; Gafni, "Josephus and *1 Maccabees.*"

[14] Archaeology has uncovered evidence consistent with some of the claims in a source such as 1 Maccabees. The excavation of Gezer seems to confirm elements of the description of Simon's conquest of that city and its resettlement with observant Jews (1 Macc 13:43–48). See Ronny Reich, "Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population of Hasmonean Gezer," *IEJ* 31 (1981): 48–52. This does not mean, however, that all of the claims in 1 Maccabees are accurate; and at present, there is no evidence to corroborate the Maccabean account of Antiochus's persecution.

[15] Bickerman (*God of the Maccabees,* 101–11) tried to resolve the confusion about when things happened by arguing that the sources date events according to two different calendars, Macedonian and Babylonian (a view recently refined by Lester L. Grabbe, "Maccabean Chronology: 167–164 or 168–165 B.C.E.," *JBL* 110 [1991]: 59–74). This view has been challenged by others (Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform,* 15–28), however, with the result that key events in this period can be dated very differently. Apart from this issue, there are inconsistencies in the sequence of events in 1 and 2 Maccabees: for example, in 1 Maccabees Antiochus's death occurs after the restoration of the temple, while in 2 Maccabees it happens before.

[16] Fergus Millar, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism,'" *JJS* 29 (1978): 1–21, esp. 16–17.

Even if one concludes that the persecution is inexplicable, there may yet be a way to reach another kind of understanding—by turning from the event itself to how it is represented, following the "linguistic turn" of historiography in the last three decades. The best known exponent of this approach, Hayden White, does not deny the existence of historical "facts"—that things can be known about the past—but he sees the integration of this information within a narrative form as a literary process, requiring the same kind of imagination that is involved in writing narrative fiction, and even sharing the same basic plotlines.[17] White's efforts to blur the boundaries between historical and fictional discourse have become a justification for rejecting the very possibility of objective history, of narrating the past as it really happened.[18] White himself does not place history, the past as it "really" happened, completely beyond reach, however, and neither must we.[19] His own studies suggest, for example, that it is possible for a historian to explain and contextualize the act of "emplotment," the translation of historical content into narrative form, and to consider how that process was shaped by antecedent literary paradigms. With this possibility in mind, I want to propose a new way to contextualize Antiochus's persecution. Like other scholars, I will be inferring the motives of those long dead and drawing parallels with other ancient rulers, but what I will be attempting to illumine is not the event itself but its emplotment by early Jews, how it was framed within narrative, and why it was narrated in the first place.

To claim that early Jewish accounts of Antiochus's persecution were shaped by literary convention is not in itself especially remarkable. Long before White, nearly a century ago in fact, classicists identified fictional elements within Greek historical writing by comparing it with Greek tragedy.[20] What I am proposing involves the same basic approach, only the parallel is not with Greek literature but with Babylonian literature. This kind of comparison is in line with recent scholarship that has emphasized the persistence of Babylonian cultural tradition in the Hellenistic period through the agency of the Seleucids who enlisted this tradition to indigenize their rule.[21] Although exact lines of

[17] See Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); idem, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1–57.

[18] See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 599–605.

[19] See Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Discourse," in *Tropics of Discourse,* 121–34.

[20] See Francis M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London: Edward Arnold, 1907); Hans Fohl, *Tragische Kunst bei Herodot: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der höhen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Rostock* (Borna-Leipzig: Buchdruckerei Robert Noske, 1913).

[21] See Joachim Oelsner, "Kontinuität und Wandel in Gesellschaft und Kultur Babyloniens in hellenistischer Zeit," *Klio* 60 (1978): 101–16; Susan Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia: A Case

influence are impossible to trace, Babylonian narrative topoi were likely absorbed by Jewish writers in this period. An example relevant for our purposes surfaces repeatedly in royal inscriptions from the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Seleucid periods—the celebration of a new ruler as a restorer of old and disrupted traditions.[22] It is this topos (and its equally conventional inversion) that will help us to reconstruct the emplotment of Antiochus's persecution.

I. A Babylonian Backdrop

A series of building inscriptions composed during the reign of the Neo-Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon to justify his rule of Babylon offers a paradigmatic example of the stereotyped image of the king as agent of cultic restoration.[23] The inscriptions accuse the Babylonians of all kinds of crimes, including many acts of sacrilege:

> At that time, in the reign of the former king, there were evil signs in the land of Sumer and Akkad. . . . They spoke lies. They pushed away and neglected their gods. . . . On the possessions of (the temple) Esagila—a place where entry is forbidden—they laid their hands, and gold and silver and precious stones they gave to the land of Elam as a purchase price. (Babylon A and C, Episodes 2, 3 and 4)[24]

Study for the Installation and Development of Greek Rule," in *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander* (ed. Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White; London: Duckworth, 1987), 1–31 (other essays in this volume are also pertinent); eadem and Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 146–49; Susan Sherwin-White, "The Transition from Achaemenid to Seleucid Rule in Babylonia: Revolution or Evolution?" in *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change* (ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al.; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1994), 311–27.

[22] See Steven W. Holloway, *Aššur is king! Aššur is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 338–425; Philippe Talon, "Le Ritual comme Moyen de Légitimation Politique au 1er Millénaire en Mésopotamie," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Quaegebeur; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 421–33. For the Seleucid period, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology." For a parallel in Egyptian/Ptolemaic propaganda, focusing on the king's role in returning cult statues captured by the enemy, see Jan Winnicki, "Carrying Off and Bringing Home the Statues of the Gods: On an Aspect of Religious Policy of the Ptolemies Towards the Egyptians," *JJP* 24 (1994): 149–90.

[23] See John A. Brinkman, "Through a Glass Darkly: Esarhaddon's Retrospects on the Downfall of Babylon," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 35–42; Bustany Oded, *War, Peace, and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1992), 132–35.

[24] For translations and discussion, see Barbara N. Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 208; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993), 100–104. For the inscriptions them-

The fragments of Babylon B add that they "infringed the taboo of the sacred meal" and discontinued the regular offering (Episode 3 c3).[25] The Babylonians' offenses so angered the god Marduk that he resolved to destroy the city. The description sets the stage for Esarhaddon to step in as restorer of Babylon's religious traditions, which he does by repatriating its cult statues and reinstating its offerings (Episodes 18–31, 32–36). It conveniently plays down the responsibility of Esarhaddon's own father, Sennacherib, for the disruption of these traditions during his violent conquest of Babylon, transferring the blame to the Babylonians themselves.

In an ironic twist, the Assyrians' condemnation of the Babylonians' impiety may reflect a Babylonian tradition of its own, a topos applied to enemy kings. Another example survives in a copy from the Seleucid period, "The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun." The text was given this title by a modern editor because it features a catalogue of the offenses committed by this king against the inhabitants and cult centers of Babylonia.[26] Although the original work was probably composed a few decades after the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun (ca. 760 to 748 B.C.E.), the text as we have it is from a later time, perhaps from the Seleucid period, having been found in a dwelling from that time and showing scribal signs of being a late copy.[27] Here is the relevant portion of this narrative as translated by Steven Cole:

> He detained Nabû in Babylon; and he turned Festival Vigil and Festival Day into one day. He covered the fine garment of Nabû with the fine garment of Bēl of the month Šabāṭu. Dressed as the latter, he proposed Bēl's marriage to Tašmētu. Unshaven, he mutilated (the fingers) of his apprentice scribes; and wearing fine gold, he entered the cella of Bēl offering [. . .]. Leek—a thing forbidden in Ezida—he brought to the temple of Nabû and gave to the ērib-bīti-personnel to eat. Ea, god of wisdom, whose seat was founded with pure heaven and earth, he made get up from (this) seat befitting his great divinity and made him reside in the "Exalted Gate" of Bēl. He removed Madānu (and) Bēl of Babylon, his favorite god, and sent (them) down. (col. 2, lines 9–24)

This passage blames the king for a whole series of ritually disruptive acts. Other passages elsewhere in the text refer to the king's seizure of a food offering (col. 1, lines 11–12); the removal of the statue of the goddess Ishtar from its shrine (col. 2, lines 31–38); and the plundering of the Esagila (col. 3, lines

selves, see Riekele Borger, *Die inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO 9; Graz: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, 1956).

[25] See Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics,* 102.

[26] Steven W. Cole "The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun," ZA 84 (1994): 220–52.

[27] Ibid., 220 and n. 3.

34–45). Although it is quite possible that it refers to actual incidents, it is not always clear that these desecrations occurred in the way this text purports. Ishtar's removal is mentioned by other sources, for example, an inscription from the reign of King Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.E.), but in the latter context the sacrilege is imputed to the people of Uruk in the reign of the preceding king.[28] Regardless of whether any historical reality lies behind it, the text's description of that reality is part of what Cole refers to as a "Mesopotamian historiographical tradition," describing the king in terms that invert the conventional role of the king as agent of cultic continuity.[29] Instead of acting the part of cultic restorer, the kings depicted in this way disrupt tradition, robbing temples, dislocating cult statues, transgressing taboos, and introducing illicit cultic innovations.

Another Babylonian king molded to this tradition was Nabonidus (556–530 B.C.E.). In his own propaganda, Nabonidus is predictably cast in the role of caretaker of Babylonian tradition (he too is described as the "provider for Esagil [*sic*] and Ezida . . . who shows concern for the sanctuaries of the great gods").[30] In works hostile to the king, however, that image is inverted. The so-called *Verse Account of Nabonidus* reports that he would "mix up the rites, confuse the omens . . . concerning the august rituals he would speak e[vil]" (col. 5, lines 13–14).[31] The same section reports that he dared to rededicate the Esagila, the temple of Marduk, to the moon god. Elsewhere the account accuses him of halting the festival of the new year so that he could rebuild the temple of Eḫulḫul with a statue of a bull set up in front of it, described as "a work of falsehood . . . an abomination, a work of unholiness" (col. 2, lines 4–17). The *Cyrus Cylinder,* another text hostile to Nabonidus, accentuates the king's sacrileges in its damaged introduction: "He interrupted in a fiendish way the regular offerings . . . the worship of Marduk, the king of the gods, he [chang]ed into abomination. . . ."[32] Like the inscriptions of Neo-Assyrian rule, the *Cyrus Cylinder* transfers the role of restoring Babylonian tradition to an outside ruler—in this

[28] Cole believes that Nabû-šuma-iškun was the one responsible for moving the statue ("Crimes and Sacrileges," 242–44).

[29] Ibid., 227.

[30] For a translation of the inscription from which this language comes, a clay cylinder found at Ur that describes the consecration of Nabonidus's daughter as high priestess of the moon god, see Erica Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria* (Michigan Studies in the Humanities 5; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985), 2 (1.4–5). For Nabonidus's efforts at cultic restoration in his early reign, see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 10; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 104–43.

[31] For the text and translation, see Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus,* 215–16.

[32] The translation is that of A. Leo Oppenheim in *The Ancient Near East,* vol. 1, *An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (ed. J. Pritchard; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 206–8.

case, the Persian Cyrus, who restores the rituals and statues disrupted by Nabonidus.[33]

In all these texts, it is difficult to disentangle historical reality from polemical exaggeration. It is generally believed, for example, that the *Verse Account* and the *Cyrus Cylinder* refer to Nabonidus's effort to reform the Babylonian cult to elevate the moon god Sin to the head of its pantheon, but Amélie Kuhrt, noting the polemical character of these texts, has questioned their value for understanding the king's religious policies.[34] The challenge of determining what really happened is compounded by the possibility that the charges leveled in the *Verse Account* and the *Cyrus Cylinder* respond to Nabonidus's self-presentation, how his propagandists described his behavior, as much as to actual events.[35] Even if we were able to determine what really happened, however, there is nothing in the actions being described that mandated their narration as a *disruption* of cultic tradition, a point confirmed by Nabonidus's own inscriptions, where the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul is framed not as an abomination but as a restoration of tradition.[36] Even temple robbery could be narrated as a pious gesture, as it is in a letter from the Assyrian king Sargon II which reports that before his attack on the city of Muṣaṣir, the king received a divine sign bidding him to remove the statues and treasures of its temple and place them in the temple of his own god.[37] Whether an act restores or disrupts tradition depends on how it is retroactively emplotted.

II. A Literary Paradigm for the Persecution?

These topoi of cultic restoration and disruption offer a new perspective, a literary perspective, from which to approach Antiochus's marked deviation

[33] See Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83–97. On the cylinder's indebtedness to earlier Babylonian building inscriptions (especially those of Assyrian rulers and Nabonidus), see Janos Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974): 29–44.

[34] Amélie Kuhrt, "Nabonidus and the Babylonian Priesthood," in *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (ed. M. Beard and J. North; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 119–55.

[35] See Wolfram von Soden, "Kyros und Nabonid: Propaganda und Gegenpropaganda," in *Kunst, Kultur, und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Forleben* (ed. H. Koch and D. MacKenzie; Berlin: D. Reimer, 1983), 61–68. Peter Machinist and Hayim Tadmor argue that the *Verse Account,* which ridicules Nabonidus's pretensions to wisdom, is reacting to the king's depiction of himself in his own propaganda as an exceptional sage ("Heavenly Wisdom," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* [ed. M. Cohen et al.; Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993], 146–51).

[36] See Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus,* 104–8.

[37] See A. Leo Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *JNES* 19 (1960): 133–47, esp. 136–37.

from the norms of royal conduct. Our brief survey of Babylonian royal propaganda reveals striking similarities to the sacrileges imputed to enemy rulers:

1. Like Nabû-šuma-iškun, Antiochus is accused of plundering a temple. Compare the description in 2 Macc 5:16 ("He took the holy vessels with his polluted hands and swept away with profane hands the votive offerings that other kings had made . . .") to the "The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun," col. 3, lines 34–45: "the possessions of Esagil, all that the kings who preceded him brought into it, he took out, gathered in his palace, and made his own."

2. Nabû-šuma-iškun tampers with the structure of sacred time: "he turned Festival Vigil and Festival Day into one day." So too does Nabonidus, suspending the new year festival according to the *Verse Account.* In 1 Maccabees, Antiochus follows in this tradition, ordering the Jews "to profane Sabbaths and festivals" (1:45). In 2 Maccabees he compels them to participate in a pagan festival (6:7).

3. Both Nabû-šuma-iškun and Antiochus violate purity taboos. The first feeds leek, a food regarded as unclean, to temple personnel. In 1 Macc 1:47, Antiochus compels the sacrifice of unclean animals, while in 2 Macc 6, the king forces a scribe and other pious Jews to eat swine's flesh. Another tradition preserved by the historian Diodorus has Antiochus sacrificing a sow on the temple's altar and forcing the high priest and other Jews to eat its meat.[38]

4. Nabû-šuma-iškun alters the appearance of some statues and moves others to where they do not belong. Nabonidus is accused of similar transgressions, offending the gods by removing their statues from their shrines. For his part, Antiochus orders offensive altars, shrines, and idols to be erected in the land, and his most egregious offense is the installation of a "desolating sacrilege" on the altar of burnt offering. This may refer to another altar, a statue of Zeus, or some other offensive object (Dan 11:31; 1 Macc 1:54).[39] The Hebrew for "desolating sacrilege"—שִׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם—is first used in Daniel, where it is associated with the cessation of the regular burnt offering. This is reminiscent of Nabonidus's reconstruction of the Eḫulḫul as described in the *Verse Account,* which

[38] For text and translation of Diodorus's account, see Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 181–83.

[39] For attempts to explain what this phrase refers to, see Bickerman, *God of the Maccabees,* 69–71; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 144–51; Johan Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel: The Tamid and the Abomination of Desolation," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East,* ed. Quaegebeur, 283–99. Eberhard Nestle was the first to explain it as a pun on the name of the Phoenician deity *baʿal šāmên* ("Lord of the Heaven"), identified with Zeus to whom the temple was rededicated according to 2 Macc 6:2 ("Zu Daniel," *ZAW* 4 [1884]: 247–50).

is denounced as an "abomination" and blamed for the cessation of the new year festival.

5. Another of Nabonidus's outrages was the rededication of Marduk's temple to his favorite deity, the moon god Sin. Antiochus does something similar when he renames the Jerusalem temple for Olympian Zeus (2 Macc 6:2).

6. Although the evidence is elliptical or indirect, both Nabû-šuma-iškun and Nabonidus may have attempted to interfere in scribal tradition, attacking scribes themselves or seeking to displace a sacred text. Nabû-šuma-iškun is said to have mutilated the fingers of his apprentice scribes, an admittedly puzzling reference (*Verse Accounts,* col. 2, lines 15–16). As Machinist and Tadmor note, the *Verse Account* has Nabonidus boast that he is wiser than the sacred texts composed by the legendary sage Adapa, and it suggests that he tampered with them to elevate the moon god over Marduk.[40] Antiochus too is accused of various offenses against sacred texts or scribes. In 1 Maccabees he has the books of the law torn up and thrown into the fire (1:56). In 2 Macc 6:18–31, he orders the mutilation and execution of the scribe named Eleazar.

The point here is not to explain these actions but to note that many of them fall into the categories of sacrilege cited in Babylonian texts to typify the impiety of bad rulers. Although not every outrage committed by Antiochus has an antecedent in these texts,[41] the larger picture does—a wicked king who acts as an agent of ritual discontinuity, disrupting the connection between past and present.

How do we account for this similarity? Earlier studies have suggested

[40] Machinist and Tadmor, "Heavenly Wisdom."

[41] Even some of the unprecedented elements of Antiochus's persecution can nonetheless be understood as reflecting the same basic rhetoric of inversion that is at work in a text like the *Verse Account.* Consider Antiochus's publication of edicts forbidding Jewish religious practice (1 Macc 1:41–51; see also 2 Macc 6:8), an aspect of the persecution without precedent in the Babylonian texts we have considered. It is assumed that this reflects what the king actually did, but it is possible to understand the account as an attempt to invert the image of Seleucid rule created by the publication of royal edicts recognizing the sanctity of temples and/or a community's right to observe its ancestral customs. For a collection of these edicts, see Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Such decrees became quite common in Seleucid Syria-Palestine after the late 140s, and both 1 and 2 Maccabees reproduce such documents (or plausible forgeries)—letters and decrees from Seleucid rulers recognizing the "holiness" or "freedom" of Jerusalem and its temple or allowing the Jews to live in accordance with ancestral customs (1 Macc 10:25–45; 15:1–9; 2 Macc 11:22–33). The picture in 1 Maccabees of Antiochus IV issuing written edicts calling for the desecration of the temple and the abolition of Jewish custom is the reversal of this practice, yet another way in which this king turned the norms of proper royal conduct upside down. If there is nothing like this in earlier Babylonian portraits of sacrilegious kings, the reason may be that the image of the king it inverts did not emerge until the second century B.C.E. For the role of edicts in Seleucid rule and their manipula-

Babylonian literature as a model for texts such as 1 and 2 Maccabees. Doron Mendels proposed that the description of Antiochus IV's illness and death in 2 Macc 9:5–27 reflects a tradition about the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus known in Aramaic from the so-called *Prayer of Nabonidus* found at Qumran.[42] It has also been argued that a scene in 2 Macc 3 involving the Seleucid official Heliodorus, who tries to rob the temple before being halted in his tracks by God's angels, continues a conventional theme reflected in a Babylonian story told of the Elamite king.[43] Such evidence suggests that Babylonian literary topoi penetrated Jewish literary imaginations, shaping their understanding of Seleucid rule, a scenario that might account for the parallels observed here.

How exactly this convention exerted an influence on Jewish texts is not possible to reconstruct from the sources we have available. What is clear is that this topos did cross cultural boundaries. Assyrian and Persian rulers (perhaps enlisting Babylonian scribes) adapted it for their purposes; the motif may even have made its way into the Greek world, surfacing in Herodotus, for instance, in a story that he tells in his history of the Persian War (1.183) about the plunder of a statue from the Esagila by the Persian king Xerxes (he apparently drew his information from a Babylonian source).[44] The same kind of story, told of Antiochus IV himself, shows up in 1 and 2 Maccabees, where the king is depicted robbing temples in Elam and Persepolis (1 Macc 6:1-3; 2 Macc 9:2). Evoking Nabû-šuma-iškun's proposal to the goddess Tašmētu (*Verse Account,* col. 2, lines 13–14), Antiochus even enters a temple of the goddess Nanea to marry her and take her dowry, the crime for which he was killed according to 2 Macc 1:11–17.[45] I would not insist at the expense of the rest of my argument

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tion by the Maccabees, see J. Ma, "Seleukids and Speech-Acts: Performative Utterances, Legitimacy, and Negotiation in the World of the Maccabees," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000): 71–112.

[42] See Doron Mendels, "A Note on the Tradition of Antiochus IV's Death," *IEJ* 31 (1981): 53–56. Nabonidus may also have inspired the image of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel; see Matthias Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* (JSJSup 61; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 51–99. On the *Prayer of Nabonidus* from Qumran, see John J. Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus," in *Qumrân Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. George Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 83–94 and pl. VI.

[43] Nils Stokholm, "Zur Überlieferung von Heliodor, Kuturnaḫḫunte und andere missglückten Tempelräubern," *ST* 22 (1968): 1–28.

[44] See Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction of Babylonian Temples," in *Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources: Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop* (ed. Amélie Kuhrt and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 69–78. On Herodotus and his possible Babylonian sources, see Robert Rollinger, *Herodots Babylonischer Logos* (Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1993).

[45] Some suspect that this story originated in connection with another Antiochus—either

that this topos was absorbed by Jews directly from Babylonian tradition, since a similar motif can be identified in Ptolemaic royal propaganda, where Persia is repeatedly cast as the despoiler of Egyptian cult statues.[46] What recommends this origin, however, is the evidence that Jewish depictions of Seleucid rule did absorb elements of Babylonian literary tradition, even conceivably using a fictionalized Nabonidus as a model for Antiochus IV.

To make this proposal is not to draw any firm conclusion about how poorly or well surviving descriptions of Antiochus's persecution correspond to whatever actually happened. The Babylonian narratives we have discussed probably reflect some interaction between reality and literary convention. The *Verse Account,* for example, probably did not invent the crimes it imputes to Nabonidus out of the air but did shape its representation according to a pattern detectable in earlier Babylonian texts. I am arguing something similar for Antiochus's persecution—whatever this king really did to the Jews was subsequently emplotted according to a preexisting literary paradigm.

III. The Persecution and Maccabean Legitimacy

Pursuing the emplotment of Antiochus's persecution with the attention it deserves would take us beyond the confines of this article and would involve separate analyses of Daniel, 1–2 Maccabees, and Josephus with their overlapping but distinct depictions of this event.[47] What we can surmise of how the corresponding Babylonian topos was used does prompt a few tentative ideas, however, especially concerning one of the basic components of Antiochus's persecution as narrated by early Jews—the link between it and the rise of the Maccabees.

The motif of sacrilege as it appears in Babylonian literature works to discredit the rulers so characterized, but it also has an implicitly legitimizing role,

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Antiochus III or Antiochus VII—and was later (mis)applied to Antiochus IV (see Diodorus Siculus 29.15, where Antiochus III plunders the temple of Bel at Elymais, suffering divine punishment later on). See Doran, *Temple Propaganda,* 6–7; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 170. Others accept its historicity, for example, Otto Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria* (Classica et Mediaevalia, Dissertationes 8; Kopenhagen: Gyldendal, 1966), 170.

[46] See Winnicki, "Carrying Off and Bringing Home the Statues."

[47] Even the earliest extant account of the persecution, in Daniel, perhaps composed within a few years of the event, may have been influenced by antecedent mythology. See Jürgen C. H. Lebram, "König Antiochus im Buch Daniel," *VT* 25 (1975): 737–72; and Jan Willem van Henten, "Antiochus IV as a Typhonic Figure in Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 223–43, both of whom find Egyptian literary precedents for how Daniel describes Antiochus.

justifying those who would supplant them. Thus, for example, in Assyrian propaganda, followed by the *Cyrus Cylinder,* the disruption of cultic tradition was cited as a reason for going to war against Babylon and replacing its king with a foreigner ruler.[48] As framed by these narratives, any violence employed by the conqueror, far from disrupting the order of things, actually restores an order previously disrupted by the regime being replaced. Functioning in a similar way, this topos could also be used to justify usurpation, the displacement of an established ruler by a new ruler lacking the traditional authority conferred by lineage. As a political parvenu coming to power through some sort of court maneuvering or plot and without the prestigious pedigree of a dynastic king, a ruler like Nabonidus was able to secure a different kind of traditional authority by positioning himself as the restorer of neglected ritual traditions.[49] In this case, the narrative of sacrilege allows for a kind of role reversal: the previous regime is recast as an enemy of tradition, breaking the link between present and past, while the usurper moves into the breach as tradition's defender.

Another way to understand the role of the sacrilege topos is to see it as the middle of a larger narrative of political change. White defines the middle of a given narrative as a "progressive redescription of sets of events in such a way as to dismantle a structure encoded in one verbal mode in the beginning so as to justify a recoding of it in another mode at the end."[50] With some adaptation, this could describe the narratives in which a king like Nabonidus was framed by the ruler who would displace him; it dismantles the structure that exists as the narrative begins, a Babylon aligned with the cosmic order, precisely to justify its recoding at the end, things having been restored to what they were but now with a new political regime in place of the old. The sacrilege topos, moving its audience from the beginning to the end of this narrative, creates an opening for nontraditional leaders like Cyrus to integrate themselves into the structure of religious tradition.

As it happens, the story of Antiochus's persecution played just such a role for a nontraditional elite—the Maccabees, who in the years following the revolt evolved into the Hasmonean dynasty, who ruled Judea as high priests until the Romans installed the Herodian dynasty. As Jews, the Maccabees were not outsiders to Jewish culture in the way that Cyrus was in relation to the Babylonians, but they and their Hasmonean descendants always had to struggle to maintain their legitimacy. 1 Maccabees depicts the Maccabees as Jerusalem

[48] Oded, *War, Peace, and Empire,* 132–35. This may also help to explain why Ptolemaic propaganda so often credits the kings they celebrate with the return of captured gods. See Winnicki, "Carrying Off and Bringing Home the Statues," 169–86.

[49] Talon, "Ritual comme Moyen de Légitimation." For the evidence that Nabonidus was a usurper (he is described as a "rebel prince" in the *Dynastic Prophecy*), see Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus,* 88–90.

[50] White, *Tropics of Discourse,* 98.

priests from the order of Joarib (1 Macc 2:1), but that might obscure their true origins. Seth Schwartz argues that they really originated as "a group of ambitious 'village strongmen' who exploited the disorder in Jerusalem to establish their influence beyond their country district."[51] They would eventually have a legal claim to the office of high priest, a Seleucid edict (1 Macc 10:18–21), but that claim was questionable because of the Seleucid's dubious authority and because the Maccabees lacked the sort of lineage expected of high priests. They seem to have faced competition from Zadokite priests, who did have such a lineage (see 7:12–14) and were quickly confronted with opposition from Jews who resisted their authority for this and other reasons.[52] Like Nabonidus or Cyrus, then, the Maccabees were outsiders to the extent that they came from outside the established structure of traditional authority.

The Maccabees' untraditional background might explain why they were so eager to stress their connections to tradition, a strategy that, as Tessa Rajak points out, they shared with the Seleucids.[53] The most pronounced of these connections was their claim to the high priesthood and their support of the temple cult, the latter tie to be reasserted repeatedly through the Maccabees' institution of Hanukkah, modeled on the biblical festival of Tabernacles.[54] Other gestures included the gathering of Jewish books lost during the war (2 Macc 2:14), a motif that recalls the restoration of lost cult statues, and the use by later Hasmoneans of an archaizing paleo-Hebrew script in their coinage.[55] 1 Macccabees itself is probably the product of this traditionalizing urge, modeling its portrait of the Maccabees on the priest Phinehas and other biblical heroes (2:15–28, 51–60, etc).[56] Phinehas was an especially shrewd model for the Maccabees, because, according to Num 25:1–13, he secured the high priesthood in perpetuity for himself and his heirs through zealous violence

[51] Seth Schwartz, "A Note on the Social Type and Political Ideology of the Hasmonean Family," *JBL* 112 (1993): 305–9.

[52] On the opposition faced by the Maccabees/Hasmoneans, see Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* 64–72; Joseph Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 86–92, 146–47.

[53] Tessa Rajak, "Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition," in *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (ed. P. Bilde; Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 7; Aarhus/Oakville, CT: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 99–115.

[54] Ibid., 111–12.

[55] "The Oracle of the Lamb," an Egyptian text revised if not composed in the Hellenistic period, may refer to the recovery of a chest with sacred texts in it in a context where one might expect a reference to the recovery of cult statues. See Winnicki, "Carrying Off and Bringing Home the Statues," 182–86. On the use of archaizing script in Hasmonean coinage, see Richard S. Hanson, "Paleo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonean Age," *BASOR* 175 (1964): 26–42.

[56] See Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations Roundabout," 30–31; idem, "Note on the Social Type," 305.

on God's behalf. The evocation of this story in 1 Maccabees implies that the Maccabees' high priesthood was similarly justified, their violence on behalf of the law trumping the dictates of lineage.

Against this backdrop, the story of Antiochus's persecution falls into place as another stratagem to legitimize the transition from charismatic warrior to traditional authority figure. This is not to suggest that the Maccabees invented this story. Our earliest reference to Antiochus's sacrileges, the book of Daniel, may actually precede the rise of the Maccabees as leaders of the revolt; its narrative probably originated in another circle opposed to Antiochus (the Hasideans?).[57] What I am suggesting, rather, is that once they established their control, the Maccabees appropriated and reshaped the memory of Antiochus's sacrileges to insert themselves into tradition, just as other nontraditional elites elsewhere in the Near East used similar stories to discredit the established rulers they were displacing and to minimize the disruptiveness of conquest or usurpation by casting it as a restoration of disrupted tradition. As one such nontraditional elite, the Maccabees found in Antiochus's persecution exactly the sort of scenario that might justify their rise.

Of the various accounts of Antiochus's persecution available to us, the one most consistent with this interpretation is 1 Maccabees. Written in the period when the Hasmoneans were seeking to routinize their power, during or shortly after the reign of John Hyrcanus (i.e., between roughly 130 and 100 B.C.E.), it seeks to legitimize their existence as a dynasty, explicitly asserting their right to serve as high priests in perpetuity (see 14:41).[58] It also makes a point of discrediting others with whom they might have to share credit for the revolt, revolutionary factions like the Hasideans and their ally, the priest Alcimus (7:12–18). As depicted in this narrative, the Maccabees gain a kind of monopoly over the battle against the Seleucids. When two other warriors arise to lead the battle, a Joseph and an Azariah, they are quickly struck down—a defeat 1 Maccabees attributes to the fact that "they did not belong to the family of those men

[57] The only supposed reference to the Maccabees in Daniel (11:34) is indirect: "When they fall victim, they shall receive a little help." Some doubt this interpretation, however; and even if it does refer to the Maccabees, it does so in a belittling way and without clearly identifying the Maccabees as those responsible for restoring the temple. See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 61, 66–69, 386. Daniel may now be preceded by another text discovered at Qumran, 4Q248, *Acts of a Greek King,* which seems to refer to Antiochus's theft of the temple treasures. This text has been dated earlier than Daniel and may have served as a source for some of its claims. See Magen Broshi and Esther Eshel, "The Greek King Is Antiochus IV (4Q historical Text=4Q248)" *JJS* 48 (1997): 120–29. It too makes no reference to the Maccabees, although its fragmentary state undercuts the value of its testimony one way or the other.

[58] On the date of 1 Maccabees, see Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* 62; Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations Roundabout," 36–38.

through whom deliverance was given to Israel" (5:55–62). One of the goals of 1 Maccabees, this evidence suggests, was to solidify the link between Antiochus's disruption of Jewish tradition and the Maccabees, to render them the sole agent of its restoration, and to draw a seamless connection between that event and their dynasty.

The forming of this narrative probably did not begin with 1 Maccabees. Cited in 14:27–45 is a document that may preserve a snapshot of an earlier stage of Maccabean propaganda: a public decree that pays tribute to Simon and his brothers for fighting the enemies of the nation "that their sanctuary and the law might be preserved."[59] If authentic, this document, said to have been inscribed on bronze tablets posted in the precincts of the temple, shows that some elements of the narrative in 1 Maccabees predate its composition, but it makes only general reference to the threat posed by Antiochus and does not mention any of the many sacrileges imputed to the king by 1 Maccabees itself. Also early, the book of Daniel refers to some of those sacrileges but not all and without giving the Maccabees a role in the story. The differences between this work and the other accounts of the persecution show that the memory of what happened continued to fluctuate for many decades. What we have seen may illumine why these elements were drawn together as they are in 1 Maccabees. It was not simply the actual course of events that determined how this book plots its story, but the structuring effect of literary convention and the need of an untraditional regime to render itself traditional.

What we have seen here does not solve the enigma of Antiochus's persecution if by that we mean an anomalous event in the real past. If we approach it as a literary enigma, however, even the impression of anomalousness falls into place. The sacrilegious king who robs temples and interferes in tradition—the opposite of what a good king was supposed to do—was a stereotypical role imposed literarily on kings by those who would supplant them. The real Antiochus almost certainly acted in ways that justified his reputation, and to the extent that he did so, he made it easier for his memory to be framed within this plot line. But that Antiochus remains inaccessible, his behavior impossible to understand within the political and cultural norms of the Hellenistic world. Far less inexplicable than the real king's sacrileges is the recounting of those sacrileges in texts such as 1 Maccabees, an act of emplotment with many precedents in earlier literary history and with clear political benefits for those framed in the story as the restorers of tradition.

[59] For analysis of this document, see Joseph Sievers, "The High Priesthood of Simon Maccabeus: An Analysis of 1 Macc 14:25–49," *SBLSP* (1981): 309–18.

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THE POLITICS OF INTERPRETATION: THE RHETORIC OF RACE AND ETHNICITY IN PAUL

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In most modern interpretations of Paul's writings and early Christian history, ethnicity is implicitly or explicitly defined as natural, inherent, immutable, or otherwise "given." Paul's letters are often read to support the view that the identities of Christ-believers, in contrast to other Jews, transcend fixed, bodily characteristics we associate with ethnicity and race. After all, Paul's writings include such powerful passages as Gal 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free, male and female: for you are all one in Christ Jesus." This verse is frequently invoked to support reconstructions of an inclusive and egalitarian impulse in the Jesus movement. For example, Rosemary Radford Ruether echoes Gal 3:28 when she writes that "class, ethnicity, and gender are . . . specifically singled out as the divisions overcome by redemption in Christ."[1]

Our goal is to challenge the conceptualizations of race and ethnicity in such interpretations of Paul and early Christianity. This task arises out of our own interest in the politics and ethics of interpretation, specifically from the view that all reading is ideological.[2] As scholars culturally marked as white and

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[1] Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Sexism and God-Language," in *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality* (ed. Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 156.

[2] See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), esp. 17–30, 195–98; Fernando F. Segovia, *Decolonizing Biblical Studies: A View from the Margins* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000), 167.

Christian, we feel an obligation to struggle against both racist and anti-Jewish interpretive frameworks that have served to mask and sustain white Christian privilege.[3] This twofold ethical commitment leads us to favor a view of race and ethnicity that is widespread today but not typically used to interpret Paul's writings or early Christian self-definition.[4] Specifically, instead of presuming that ethnicity and race are fixed aspects of identity, we approach these concepts as dynamic social constructs.[5] We see them as characterized by an interaction of appeals to fluidity and fixity that serve particular political and ideological interests. Using this dynamic approach allows us to transform the ways we have been trained to think about race and ethnicity and their saliency for interpreting Paul.

Our proposed model encourages a rethinking of traditional interpretations in which the understanding of ethnicity or race as "given" operates as a foil for a non-ethnic, all-inclusive Christianity. In this binary understanding, earliest Christianity is conceived of as a universal, voluntary movement that specifically rejected the significance of ethnoracial identification for membership and thereby "broke" from its Jewish roots.[6] Since the universalizing image of Christianity is emphatically portrayed as voluntary or achieved, the implied or explicit contrast is a form of community that is involuntary and particular—both features frequently attributed to ethnicity and race.

This understanding of early Christianity has had paradoxical effects.[7] On the positive side, if Paul is interpreted as having defined religiosity as *distinct* from ethnoracial identifications, then Christian practices and structures that contribute to racist and ethnocentric oppression can be viewed as contravening

[3] See Denise Kimber Buell, "Rethinking the Relevance of Race for Early Christian Self-Definition," *HTR* 94 (2001): esp. 456–57. This struggle is also central to the recent work by Shawn Kelley (*Racializing Jesus: Race, Ideology, and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship* [London: Routledge, 2002], esp. 3–4, 12, 14).

[4] Both "race" and "ethnicity" are modern categories. We use them together to emphasize that we always interpret the past using concepts from our own context. We do not presume that they are synonymous or always interchangeable. For a fuller discussion, see Denise Kimber Buell, "Race and Universalism in Early Christianity," *JECS* 10 (2002): 432–41.

[5] Among the important theoretical work on race and ethnicity, we draw especially on the work of Ann Laura Stoler in formulating this fixed/fluid dynamic ("Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 [1997]: 183–206; see also Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities* [New York: Routledge, 1999], 91–94). For their usefulness and applicability in the study of Mediterranean antiquity, see Denise Kimber Buell, "Ethnicity and Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity and Beyond," *RelSRev* 26, no. 3 (2000): 243, 246; eadem, "Race and Universalism," 432–41; and Kelley, *Racializing Jesus*, 17–25, 31–32.

[6] See Buell, "Rethinking the Relevance of Race," 451–53, 457–58, 471–72.

[7] The identification and analysis of this paradox are condensed from Buell's current book-length work on the significance of ethnicity and race for the study of early Christian self-definition.

universalistic and egalitarian ideals inherent in earliest Christianity. This kind of universal and inclusive vision of early Christianity has enabled antiracist reforms and has been central to the biblical interpretations of many ethnic and racial minorities.[8] When ethnoracial differences are understood as natural and are used to explain and justify social inequalities, then it can be liberative to argue that some of Paul's teachings—and subsequent Christian interpretations of them—offer an alternative vision for human community, in which such differences are transcended, made irrelevant, or obliterated.

On the negative side, however, this understanding of Christianity can have both racist and anti-Jewish effects. The view of early Christian universalism as non-ethnic can lead us to ignore the racism of our own interpretive frameworks and overlook how early Christian discourse relies on ancient modes of "othering." Gay Byron's recent study demonstrates the polemical use of color symbolism in early Christian writings, including polemics that uncomfortably anticipate modern forms of racism.[9] Furthermore, interpreting Christian universalism as non-ethnic enables Christian anti-Judaism by defining a positive attribute of Christianity (universalism) at the expense of Judaism. Judaism is portrayed as everything Christianity is not: legalistic, ethnic, particular, limited, and so on.[10]

We want to avoid this paradox so as to further antiracist goals without also perpetuating Christian anti-Judaism. By adopting an alternative approach to ethnicity and race, we arrive at different understandings of Paul's writings. Our theoretical position is that ethnicity and race are material and discursive concepts structured by the dynamic tension between claims to "realness" and fluidity. This model suits our contemporary situation of increasing diversity in North America better than a naturalized understanding of ethnicity and race. By attending to how ethnicity and race are always shifting, always implicated in political and ideological structures, we can imagine ways of transforming ethnoracial oppression currently structured around notions of absolute difference. This dynamic model is also well suited to supporting a vision of human relations in which difference is reimagined as a source of strength and ground

[8] See, e.g., Vincent Wimbush, "Reading Texts as Reading Ourselves: A Chapter in the History of African-American Biblical Interpretation," in *Reading from this Place,* vol. 1, *Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in the United States* (ed. Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 103–8. We are using the phrase "ethnic and racial minorities" in the sense described by Segovia (*Decolonizing Biblical Studies*, 158–59 n. 3): "to mean individuals from social groups, whether culturally (ethnic) or physically (racial) identified as such, who have traditionally been considered inferior within a scale of stratification set up by the West. . . ."

[9] Gay L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 3, 5–6, 8, 11–13, 122–29.

[10] Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 3.

for transformation rather than something that ought to be obliterated in the name of a homogenizing universalism.[11]

If we interpret Paul by viewing ethnicity as a dynamic discourse that negotiates between the poles of fixity and fluidity, then Gal 3:28 can be seen as an attempt to define a communal vision in terms of ethnicity—not over against ethnicity.[12] Paul uses "ethnic reasoning" to solve the problem of the exclusion of gentiles from God's promises to Israel.[13] He constructs his arguments within the scope of ethnoracial discourse, but shifts the terms of membership and the relationship between existing groups—Greek and Judean—such that they can be brought into an ethnoracial relationship with one another.[14] Ethnic reasoning serves Paul well in that it offers a model of unity and connection among peoples while still maintaining differences. He preserves the categories of Greek or gentile and Judean while uniting them, hierarchically ("first the Judean, then the Greek"), under the umbrella of Abraham's descendants and God's people.[15] This hierarchy may prove troubling if one looks to Paul's arguments to accomplish antiracist work. Nonetheless, we think our dynamic model of ethnicity is more adequate even if it produces some new challenges. As we will show, reading Paul in this way can be a first step toward dismantling inter-

[11] On this last point, we agree with both Diana L. Hayes's and Fernando F. Segovia's criticisms of the "melting pot" vision of assimilation that compels conformity to a hegemonic ideal (see Hayes, "To Be the Bridge: Voices from the Margins," and Segovia, "Melting and Dreaming in America: Visions and Re-visions," both in *A Dream Unfinished: Theological Reflections on America from the Margins* [ed. Eleazar S. Fernandez and Fernando F. Segovia; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2001], 60–64, 231–45, respectively).

[12] Our reading shares some interpretive ground with that of Sze-kar Wan's provocative diasporic readings of Gal 3:28 insofar as he also argues that Paul "does not wish to erase ethnic differences" (Sze-kar Wan, "Does Diaspora Identity Imply Some Sort of Universality? An Asian-American Reading of Galatians," in *Interpreting Beyond Borders* [ed. Fernando F. Segovia; Bible and Postcolonialism 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 126). Some of the differences between our reading and Wan's will emerge below when we examine Gal 3:26–29 more closely.

[13] "Ethnic reasoning" is a term coined by Denise K. Buell to refer to the set of discursive strategies whereby ancient authors construe collective identity in terms of peoplehood (Buell, "Rethinking the Relevance of Race," 451; and eadem, "Race and Universalism," 432–41).

[14] We translate *Ioudaios* as "Judean" instead of "Jew" to call attention to the complexity of this term in the ancient context. *Ioudaios*, like the parallel terms *Hellēn*, *Aigyptos*, and so on, could refer to geographic homeland, loyalty to a particular god or gods, adherence to specific laws, participation in religious practices, claims to ancestry, or any combination of these. "Judean," even if unfamiliar to modern ears, reminds us that *Ioudaios* serves as a complex, flexible, ethnic designation much like "Greek," "Egyptian," or "Syrian" (among many others). For a fuller discussion of these issues, see Caroline Johnson Hodge, "'If Sons, then Heirs': A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in Paul's Letters" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2002), 153–55; and eadem, "Olive Trees and Ethnicities: Judeans and Gentiles in Romans 11:17–24," in *Christians as a Religious Minority in a Multicultural City: Modes of Interaction and Identity Formation in Early Imperial Rome* (ed. J. Zangenburg and M. Labahn; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

[15] See Johnson Hodge, "Olive Trees and Ethnicities."

pretations that continue to construct a non-ethnic, universal Christianity over and against an ethnic, particular Judaism.

I. The Politics of Interpretation in Prior Interpreters of Paul

Both racist and antiracist interpretations of Paul emerge in response to modern, naturalized understandings of race and ethnicity. These understandings are rooted in Western imperialist practices that classify humans according to taxonomies portrayed as physiological, heritable, and correlative with mental and moral capacities—all under the guise of objective scientific "knowledge" about race, sex, and sexuality.[16]

Ideas about race as a natural, transmissible essence inform the way that Jewishness and Christianness have been defined in relation to each other.[17] Paul has traditionally been located as the figure on the borderline between Christianity and Judaism. Adolf Harnack wrote in 1901: "It was Paul who delivered the Christian religion from Judaism."[18] In this line of thinking, Paul actively transforms Judaism from an ethnic religion—linked to one people and characterized by observance of the law—to a spiritual religion open to all, which becomes Christianity. Harnack's views continue a nineteenth-century preoccupation in Pauline scholarship over the extent to which Paul was Jewish or hellenized.[19] This very distinction presumes that Jewishness and Hellenism are contrasting categories, a view that has only recently been challenged. For Ferdinand Christian Baur and other members of the Tübingen school—as for Harnack—Paul unlocked the problem of how a universal religion like Christianity could evolve from a particularistic one like Judaism. In Baur's view, Paul shaped Christianity under the influence of Hellenism.[20] This is a Lamarckian

[16] See, e.g., Nancy Leys Stepan and Sander L. Gilman, "Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism," in *The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future* (ed. Sandra Harding; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 170–93; and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 21–56, 232–57.

[17] See Buell, "Rethinking the Relevance of Race," 451–58.

[18] Adolf Harnack, *What Is Christianity? Lectures Delivered in the University of Berlin during the Winter Term 1899–1900* (trans. Thomas Bailey Saunders; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons/London: Williams & Norgate, 1901), 190; see John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21.

[19] For an excellent discussion of this issue, see the essays in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001). The following articles in this volume were especially helpful to us: Dale B. Martin, "Paul and the Judaism/Hellenism Dichotomy: Toward a Social History of the Question," 29–61; and Wayne A. Meeks, "Judaism, Hellenism, and the Birth of Christianity," 17–27.

[20] See Shawn Kelley's description of Baur's reconstruction of early Christianity (*Racializing*

notion, viewing Paul as having acquired a trait during his lifetime (namely, Hellenistic universalism) that becomes a hereditary trait for his "progeny."

Other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars, notably Robert Henry Charles and Gerhard Kittel, offered a different explanation for the origins of Christian universalism and Paul's role in establishing it.[21] For them, Christian universalism has Jewish roots: Paul is inspired not by Hellenism but by a particular strand within Judaism, sometimes identified as apocalyptic, sometimes as prophetic. These scholars cast Paul—and Christianity—as embodying a lost, universalizing Jewish ideal in the face of other contemporary forms of Judaism that are portrayed as "dried-up legalism." Whether looking to Hellenism or Judaism, all these scholars identify a universalizing precedent for Paul's Christianity, and universalism is defined especially in contrast to ethnoracial particularity.

These arguments rely on specific assumptions about how religion relates to race and ethnicity. Some of the influential early figures in the academic study of religion, like Cornelius Tiele, argued that most religions are ethnically or nationally linked, whereas a rare few transcend this limit, becoming universal—like Christianity. Universal religions were often depicted as the evolutionary successors to religions associated with a particular social group or region. The distinction between religions viewed as ethnoracially linked and those that are universal (in aspiration if not in reality) carries with it a value judgment: the ideal is to transcend the particular.[22] Paul's writings have been interpreted to depict Christianity as a de-ethnicized and therefore superior version of Judaism.

Paul is often positioned as the evolutionary link between an ethnic and a non-ethnic, universal kind of religion. He is understood to be "ethnically" a

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Jesus, 75–80). Kelley's important study calls attention to the ways "racial discourses" were first incorporated into major intellectual movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and then integrated into biblical scholarship.

[21] On Gerhard Kittel, see Wayne A. Meeks's forthcoming article, "A Nazi New Testament Professor Reads His Bible: The Strange Case of Gerhard Kittel," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretations* (Brill, forthcoming). We are grateful to Wayne Meeks for making a draft of the article available to us before publication.

[22] Cornelius P. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion* (2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), 1:45, 124–26; and Crawford Howell Toy, *Judaism and Christianity: A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1891), 1–45, esp. 30–34. We glimpse this evolutionary logic in Arthur Darby Nock's classic study on conversion. Nock, like Kittel, sees Judaism as having unrealized universal potential. Christianity, in contrast, he views as having emerged from Judaism precisely by departing from a national, ethnic restriction to include gentiles actively in its prophetic vision. For Nock, it is not the prophetic vision per se that makes Christianity separate from Judaism but rather its fully actualized universal scope (Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* [1933; repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988], 187–90).

Ioudaios yet seen either to eliminate its soteriological significance or to subdivide the category of *Ioudaios* into a hierarchical pair: spirit/flesh, privileging the spiritual component but rejecting the relevance of the fleshly. This kind of distinction most often conveys a negative view of Judaism because Christianity's universalism is defined as an improvement on the particularity of Judaism; Christianity is here correlated with the spiritual and Judaism with the "flesh."[23]

Another scholarly tendency is to interpret Paul's use of ethnoracial categories as metaphorical or spiritual, as in this example from the entry that includes *Ioudaios* in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*: Walter Gutbrod states that, by *Ioudaios*, Paul does not have in mind "specific adherents of this nation and religion," but a "type abstracted from individual representatives," a "spiritual or religious magnitude."[24]

In the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars began to challenge these readings on a number of different fronts.[25] In his pioneering essay in 1963, Krister Stendahl called attention to the Lutheran-Augustinian theologies that inform much traditional Pauline scholarship.[26] Stendahl argued that Paul should be read as a *Ioudaios* in the context of other Jewish authors and not in contrast to them. The insight that Paul was not a "Christian" complicates easy and early distinctions between "Christian" and *Ioudaios*. An emphasis on Paul's Judeanness makes possible reconstructions of the first-century relationship of Christ-believers to "Jewishness" as one of continuity and porousness—as part of one tradition, while emphasizing its diversity. These arguments have been crucial for intervening in Christian anti-Judaism and for rethinking the possible futures of Christianity.

In the following decades, E. P. Sanders among others contributed to this shift in Pauline studies. He especially challenged the view that first-century Judaism was based on a "works righteousness" to which Paul's teaching of faith has been typically contrasted.[27] Nonetheless, he still pitted an ethnically linked

[23] Katharina von Kellenbach writes, "the left-wing myth asserts that Jews are an anachronistic religious and national group . . . , opposed to universal egalitarianism and internationalism" (*Anti-Judaism in Feminist Religious Writings* [AAR Cultural Criticism 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994], 42).

[24] Walter Gutbrod, "Ἰσραήλ, Ἰσραηλίτης, Ἰουδαίος, Ἰουδαῖα, Ἰουδαϊκός, Ἰουδαίζω, Ἰουδαϊσμός, Ἑβραίος, Ἑβραϊκός, ἑβραῖς, ἑβραϊστί," *TDNT* 6:380.

[25] John Barclay discusses this wave of Pauline scholarship with slightly different emphases ("'Neither Jew Nor Greek': Multiculturalism and the New Perspective on Paul," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* [ed. Mark G. Brett; Boston: Brill, 2002], 199–209).

[26] Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56 (1963): 199–215.

[27] E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); and idem *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

Judaism against a universalizing Christianity, seeing Paul as adandoning the former for the latter. More recently, Daniel Boyarin has also stressed that Paul was and remained a *Ioudaios;* Paul's writings about Christ need to be understood within the multiplicity of Judaeanness.[28] Boyarin reads Paul's mode of Jewishness in light of the traditional Hellenism/Jewishness dichotomy, arguing that Paul articulates a form of Greek-inspired Jewishness that is universalizing and spiritualizing, over and against a particular and embodied form of Jewishness. While revaluing the consequences of Paul's "radical" Judaism, by problematizing his universalizing move, Boyarin nevertheless preserves ethnicity firmly on the "particular" side of a universal/particular dichotomy.

In recent decades, many scholars have used the topic of ethnicity to argue that Paul is trying to solve tensions between "Jewish Christians" and "gentile Christians."[29] This research often shares a common blind spot with discussions of race in America. "Jewish Christians" are the "marked," ethnically specific group, characterized by particularity. "Gentile Christians," by contrast, are treated as the unmarked or ethnically neutral group (which also implies theologically "mainstream"), much like "white" has functioned until recently. While these studies focus on ethnicity, they tend to treat gentiles as a non-ethnic concept in Paul's writings. As we will show, this masks the way in which ethnic reasoning is central to Paul's articulations of the gospel.

We appreciate the shift that has taken place in mainstream Pauline scholarship and aim to push it further. Appealing to Paul's ethnoreligious background implies that there is something we gain by stating that Paul was a *Ioudaios*. Accordingly, a central interpretive question has become, What kind of *Ioudaios* was he? Paul's writings about Jewishness or Judeanness are interpreted as differing from other understandings of Judeanness primarily with respect to the significance of ethnicity or race, as if these were fixed. Paul's kind of Jewishness is portrayed as one that severs the connection between religion and ethnoracial identity, so that "ethnic *Ioudaioi*" and people with other ethnoracial identities—the *ethnē*, the gentiles—can be unified through allegiance to the God of Israel. So Paul becomes a representative of a universalizing Jewishness in contrast to some other forms in which particularity—notably ethnoracial particularity—remains a central aspect of communal self-definition. This rendering of Paul relies on the views that (1) ethnicity or race is given; that

[28] Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

[29] See, e.g., James D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (2 vols.; WBC 38A–B; Dallas: Word Books, 1988), esp. 1:xliv–liv; James C. Walters, *Ethnic Issues in Paul's Letter to the Romans: Changing Self-Definitions in Earliest Roman Christianity* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1983); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993); and Joel Marcus, "The Circumcision and Uncircumcision in Rome," *NTS* 35 (1989): 67–81.

(2) universalizing teachings are formulated over and against ethnoracial particularity; and that (3) other *Ioudaioi* understood Judeanness to be given and particular. This line of argument keeps the interpretation of Paul and his writings within the scope of Judeanness but preserves the logic traditionally used to differentiate Christianness from Jewishness. Even though the discourse shifts to differences among Judeans, it fails to overcome the anti-Jewish implications.

If ethnicity and race are understood differently, then we can read Paul differently. Diana Hayes offers one example of what this rethinking might look like. She reimagines Christ-believers as actively shaping the meaning of communal identity in and through their differences, including ethnoracial differences, creating a multiform plurality. Instead of striving to mark an either/or between Jewish and Christian, Hayes writes that "the church was not only Jewish but also Greek, Roman, and African."[30] She uses the image of mixture rather than "melting pot" to form a reconstruction of the first century that emerges from a critical analysis of race in the contemporary American landscape. Gay Byron's work, however, keeps us from overly romanticizing this multicultural mixture, since in early Christian rhetoric, the Ethiopian and Egyptian are used to symbolize both positive and negative aspects of Christian identity.[31] The next section demonstrates how this dynamic model of ethnicity and race can be used to read Paul's rhetoric in ways that avoid reinscribing some modern forms of racist and anti-Jewish logic.

II. Analysis of Paul

Interpretations that trace a universal Christianity to Paul's letters often depict his ideal religion as separate from ethnicity. In contrast, we see ethnicity and religion as intertwined and mutually constituting, a position that is supported by the parameters of Paul's text. He crafts arguments that portray religious practices as creating, maintaining, or transforming ethnicity.[32] Religious practices can be used to support either the fluidity or fixity of ethnicity or, more often, to mediate between these poles.[33] While religious practices can be adopted or rejected, and thus illustrate the fluidity of ethnicity, they are also understood to embody ethnicity's fixity because religious practices both produce and reinforce kinship ties. Paul highlights both kinship and religious prac-

[30] Hayes, "To Be the Bridge," 57.

[31] Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference*, *passim*; see esp. 5–13, 17–18, 55–121.

[32] Paul is not unique in treating ethnicity and religious identity as mutually constituting. See Buell, "Rethinking the Relevance of Race," 458–66.

[33] This argument is developed in Buell's current book project using a range of ancient Mediterranean examples.

tice as what give ethnoracial identity its fixed substance. But even apparent fixity can be malleable. Although genealogical claims often lend a sense of fixity to Jewishness, Paul understands genealogies to be flexible. Gentiles, for example, can gain Abraham as their ancestor. Furthermore, Paul suggests that shifts in religious practices can accomplish a shift in ancestry, especially for members of non-Judean peoples.

Following biblical models, Paul assumes a boundary between the descendants of a chosen lineage from Abraham, the people of the Judean God, and other peoples, who are not in good standing with this God.[34] Often he chooses totalizing language for non-Judeans, such as "gentiles" or "uncircumcised," terms that, like "barbarian," erase particularities among non-Judeans. Paul is using a familiar form of ethnic reasoning when employing these totalizing dichotomies—this is what Jonathan Hall has called oppositional ethnic self-definition.[35] This language functions rhetorically to mask ethnic characteristics specific to each group included in the *ethnē,* or gentiles, a masking that recurs in scholarly distinctions between "Jewish" and "Gentile" Christians.

In Romans Paul describes Judeans with specific reference to Judean history, practices, and ancestry, all of which convey their special standing as God's chosen people. Israelite identity is rooted in the stories of their ancestors, the covenants and promises that established them as adopted sons of God, and the law and cult service that mark this relationship and govern their lives as a people (Rom 9:4–5).

While the Judeans reap these benefits of loyalty to their God, the gentiles by contrast suffer the consequences of having rejected this God. In Rom 1:18–26, Paul characterizes gentiles by their rejection of the Judean God, their loyalty to other gods, their cultic practices, and their resulting moral failures. Religious deviance is held up as proof of a rift that is simultaneously marked as soteriological and genealogical—ethnicity and religiosity are intertwined. Paul accuses the gentiles of idolatry, a Judean strategy that circumscribes and defines alterity in both religious and ethnic terms.[36] Ethnic identity, religious practices and loyalties, and moral standing are inextricable in Paul's description of "others."

[34] We have developed the following analysis of Paul from Johnson Hodge, "'If Sons, Then Heirs': A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in Paul's Letters" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2002).

[35] Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 47.

[36] The portrayal of the idolatrous non-Judean often includes the following practices and conceptions: the worship of images or objects instead of God, a loss of control of passions, and the resulting participation in vices. In Paul's view, the potential for self-mastery depends on loyalty to the Judean God. Gentiles gave this up long ago and have been vice-ridden ever since. On self-mastery in Paul, see Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 42–82.

Indeed, Paul formulates his central theological problem in terms of ethnicity: gentile alienation from the God of Israel. Not surprisingly, then, Paul conceives of the solution also in terms of kinship and ethnicity. On the one hand, the differences between gentiles and Judeans seem fixed, having some real content; on the other hand, it is also fluid—through Christ the gentiles receive a new ancestry and a new identity. Far from treating ethnicity as something merely fixed which Christ has broken, Paul portrays Christ as an agent of ethnic transformation. His argument presupposes that his audience can imagine ethnicity and kinship as fluid, despite his oppositional distinctions between Judean and gentile.

Capitalizing on the availability of many ways to imagine relatedness among peoples, Paul creates a new way of speaking about gentile kinship with the Judean God and other humans: by receiving the spirit during baptism "into" Christ, gentiles are made "sons of God."[37] This new patrilineal kinship construction weaves together notions of ethnic fixity and fluidity. Baptism, as a religious ritual, is a voluntary act for Paul's gentiles. Yet the way Paul frames it, the effectiveness of the ritual depends on assumptions about essence—the essence of the spirit—that parallel assumptions about shared blood in other kinship contexts. Galatians 4:1–7 describes the process of gentiles receiving the spirit of Christ into their hearts. In this context, a religious ritual accomplishes a permanent transformation.

Paul establishes a kinship for gentiles with Israel that is based not on shared blood but on shared spirit. This kinship is portrayed as even more "real" than that of blood, so it is a mistake to interpret Paul's rhetoric in terms of a mere metaphor. At baptism gentiles receive something of the "stuff" of Christ when they receive his *pneuma*. Christ serves as the link for the gentiles to the lineage of Abraham. The dynamism of ethnic reasoning is evident here: baptism encapsulates the fluidity, figured as a ritual of adoption, in which one gains the spirit that imbues the recipient with a new, permanent, nature.

Paul articulates the new relationships established for gentiles in the following well-known passage from Galatians:

> For in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God through that faithfulness. As many of you as were baptized into Christ, you have put on Christ. There is no Judaean or Greek; there is no slave or free; there is no male and female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's descendants, heirs according to the promise. (Gal 3:26–29)

This passage makes vivid the tensive combination of fluidity and fixity: ritually, one's identity can be transformed through baptism. That transformation, how-

[37] We translate *huioi* as "sons" to signal Paul's patrilineal and patriarchal logic (see Johnson Hodge, "'If Sons, Then Heirs,'" 8–9, 72, 125, 129).

ever, results in an identity marked by a privileged sign of fixity: inclusion in a lineage. Paul constructs a myth of collective identity for his gentiles; they can trace their beginnings not only to their baptism into Christ but also to their ancestor, Abraham.

The language of being "in" or "a part of" Christ permeates Gal 3:26–29. With this language, Paul calls upon a widespread understanding of the relationship between ancestors and descendants in antiquity: offspring are contained in their forebears, whether in their seed or womb or some other way. This containment language reflects a kinship ideology in which members of kin groups understand that they have a common founding ancestor and that they share the same status and traits as that ancestor.

Judean biblical histories manifest this logic. Throughout Genesis, "in" language is used specifically for moments of covenant making through a faithful ancestor, when blessings are passed from one generation to the next. It often identifies the chosen heir and carrier of the blessings in each new generation. For example, the God of Israel proclaims to Abraham: "And in your seed shall all the *ethnē* of the earth be blessed (LXX Gen 22:17–18). Genesis records similar statements to Isaac and Jacob, heirs of Abraham's lineage (Gen 26:4; 28:13–14). Reflecting patriarchal values, these stories depict covenants with *male* ancestors, a patrilineal ideology.

Drawing on these Septuagint examples, Paul uses this "in" language with Abraham ("all the gentiles will be blessed in you" [Gal 3:8, citing Gen 12:3 and 18:18]) and with Isaac ("your seed will be said to be in Isaac" [Rom 9:7, citing Gen 21:12]). With Christ, however, Paul plays with this patrilineal ideology; he adapts it to describe the new kinship between Christ and the gentiles. Paul relates this kinship creation to baptism, which he presents as a ritual means of entering "into" Christ: the preposition *eis* (Gal 3:27) connotes a sense of motion toward or into. Paul uses this same language in two other baptism passages, Rom 6:3 ("all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus") and 1 Cor 12:13 ("we were baptized into one body").[38] Baptism ushers gentiles "into" Christ; it forges a kinship relationship between them and Christ. Immediately following Gal 3:26–29, Paul describes how the gentiles receive the spirit of Christ in their hearts, making them no longer minors or slaves, but sons and heirs (Gal 4:1–7).[39] In the same way that descendants share the same "stuff" as ancestors,

[38] Also see 1 Cor 1:13, where Paul upbraids the Corinthians with this question: "Were you baptized into the name of Paul?" Likewise in 1 Cor 10:2 Paul reports that "our ancestors . . . were baptized into Moses."

[39] See Rom 8:14–17 for a parallel passage. Although Paul does use the gender-neutral "children of God" in Rom 8:16 and 17, in Gal 3 he uses "son" (*huios*, which the NRSV translates as "child"). Paul's image of gentile upward mobility is highly gendered in both passages: it is based on the patriarchal privilege of sons. This is further reflected in Paul's term for adoption: *huiothesia*, literally "placing a son" (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:5).

gentiles are "of Christ"—they have taken in his *pneuma*—so that he can serve as a link for them to the lineage of Abraham.

The relationship between Christ and gentiles, however, is not expressed in terms of ancestor and descendants. Instead, Christ and the gentiles seem to be same-generation offspring of common ancestors. Galatians 3:26 identifies gentiles-in-Christ as "sons of God." Romans 8:29 refers to Christ as the "first-born among many brothers." Romans 8:17 calls newly adopted gentiles "heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ." Being baptized into Christ, the gentiles "put on" Christ and are adopted as his younger siblings.[40] In this ritual of initiation into a new family, the gentiles receive the ancestry of their new kin: "And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's descendants, heirs according to the promise" (Gal 3:29).

While genealogies often function to signal particularity, Gal 3:26–29 has more often been interpreted as fostering egalitarian universalism. More than any other passage in Paul's corpus, Gal 3:28 is cited to support the contention that baptism into Christ erases social distinctions. In our interpretation this verse does not erase ethnic particularity but is itself a form of ethnic reasoning.

As we read Paul, being in Christ is not ethnically neutral; it is a Judean identity. With this "in" language, Paul evokes the biblical motif of Israelite descendants being collectively located "in" their ancestors; it is a *Judean* strategy for authorizing and reinforcing inheritance from one generation to the next. Unity in Christ produces a new kinship for gentiles, but not just any kinship—specifically descent from Abraham, the founding ancestor of the Judeans. As one "born out of the seed of David by birth" (notice the appeal to a "natural" or fixed kinship) and one who was "appointed the son of God" (an explicitly acquired kinship) (Rom 1:3, 4), Christ is the link for gentiles to the lineage of Abraham. For Paul, being a gentile in Christ means being one who has secured a place within the larger network of Israel.

Galatians 3:28 is part of an extended argument to gentiles about their particular situation. Paul's form of ethnic reasoning to resolve the problem of gentile alienation from God was probably not the only one. As feminist scholars have argued, Paul shapes his arguments as one seeking to secure authority and legitimacy, not as one already invested with these.[41] The tone of this letter

[40] The language of "putting on" Christ as though he were a garment has led some to believe that this is a reference to a baptismal practice among Christ-followers of removing their clothes for the ritual and putting them back on again afterward. See Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 151. Sam K. Williams admits that this is an attractive idea but argues that Paul's use of *endyō* here could easily have come from a tradition of LXX usage in which this verb meant "to be characterized by the named quality or attribute" (*Galatians* [ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 1997], 105). Thus the newly baptized take on a new Christ-like identity.

[41] E.g., Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic*, 169–70; Antoinette Clark Wire, *The*

makes clear that he is trying to persuade the Galatians to obey him when they apparently have not, and it is anachronistic to assume that Paul's views were dominant in his day. Paul's repeated criticisms of gentile circumcision may indicate that circumcision was one solution to bringing gentile men into right relation with the God of Israel. Paul attempts a different solution by subordinating a range of social identities to being "in Christ."[42]

Does this prioritizing of being in Christ eliminate the other various measures of identity—Judean, Greek, slave, free, male, and female? We do not think so. We think it is possible to imagine all of these identities existing at once, even as one is privileged. Anthropologist Judith Nagata offers a valuable modern example of how people in multiethnic contexts unproblematically maintain several different ethnic identities, fluctuating among them according to circumstances.[43] This model of multiple identities is helpful for understanding the rhetorical force of Gal 3:28. Paul does indeed imagine a unity among those who are in Christ. Yet even within this unity, distinctions do not disappear. Paul himself is both a *Ioudaios* and in Christ. His addressees are both gentiles and in Christ. Paul appeals to permanence or essence while simultaneously constructing these various identities as malleable. This model vividly and materially manifests the dynamism of ethnicity we are presupposing.

Sze-kar Wan argues for a similar interpretation of Gal 3:28. He uses the postcolonial concept of hybridity to argue that Paul creates an identity not "by erasing ethnic and cultural differences but by *combining these differences into a hybrid existence*."[44] In Wan's view, Gal 3:28 can be paraphrased in light of a postcolonial Asian-American hermeneutics [as]—paradoxically—"You are *both* Jew and Greek, *both* free and slave, *both* male *and* female, for you are all one in

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Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 1–11.

[42] Johnson Hodge has described Paul's argument as a "prioritizing" of identities for gentiles ("'If Sons, Then Heirs,'" 199–206). Barclay interprets Paul similarly ("'Neither Jew Nor Greek,'" 197–214). Partly in response to Boyarin, Barclay writes: "Paul does not, I believe, 'erase' or 'eradicate' cultural specificities, but relativizes them" (p. 211). Stowers discusses hierarchies of "goods," and especially the notion of a unitary, highest good in his comparison of Pauline Christianity and Hellenistic schools: "Does Pauline Christianity Resemble a Hellenistic Philosophy," in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Engberg-Pedersen, 81–102.

[43] Judith A. Nagata, "What Is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society," *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974): 331–50. Other anthropologists who have adopted similar models of identity are Charles F. Keyes, "Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group," *Ethnicity* 3 (1976): 202–13; Michael Moerman, "Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue?" *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 1215–30; and Carter Bentley, "Ethnicity and Practice," *Journal for the Comparative Study of Society and History* 29 (1987): 24–55.

[44] Wan, "Does Diaspora Identity Imply Some Sort of Universality?" 126 (emphasis in original).

Christ Jesus." In this dialectic conception, universality is upheld, but it is universality that is predicated on, requires, and is erected on the foundation of cultural and ethnic particularities.[45]

While we agree with Wan's reading that Paul does not erase ethnic and cultural differences, we differ both in our reading of the outcome of Paul's vision and in its implications for power relations among Christ-believers. Wan sees Paul as creating a new "people" that is a hybridized form of both Jew and Greek. We are not so certain that Paul does envision a new people, distinct from Israel—he certainly does not formulate the concept of Christians, Jewish or otherwise.

Furthermore, we read Paul as preserving not simply ethnic differences within Israel but also power differences among its members, unlike Wan, who proposes that Paul attempts to "erase the power differential" with the formulation "in Christ there is no Jew or Greek."[46] In our view, Paul's conception is ethnically complex *and* asymmetrical: Paul does not explicitly ask his gentiles to become Judeans or to cease to be Greeks, yet it is a Judean umbrella under which he locates all those "in Christ." Paul asks gentiles or Greeks to reject their gods, religious practices, and stories of origin and to adopt instead the God of Israel, Christ, the narrative of Israel, and its founding ancestor. Gentiles in Christ have thus shifted components of their identities that change them from gentile ethnoreligious "others" to gentiles affiliated with Israel.

Paul's metaphor of an olive tree in Rom 11:17–24 illustrates this hierarchical relationship. Paul warns the gentiles that they are a "wild olive shoot" that has been grafted onto the tree, while the Judeans are "natural branches." Paul arranges these two peoples assymmetrically, "first the Judean and then the Greek" (Rom 1:16; 2:9–10). Indeed, the tension between these two peoples, which Paul describes throughout Rom 9–11, propels salvation history as Paul understands it, until the final outcome in which "all Israel shall be saved" (Rom 11:26). In this ethnic family tree, the grafted branches have a more tenuous attachment and can be broken off easily at the will of the one who prunes the

[45] Ibid., 127 (emphasis in original). Wan writes: "what I think Paul is calling for in Galatians is for each cultural entity to give up its claims to power . . . in the creation of this new people, *without*, however, giving up its cultural specificities" (p. 126; emphasis in original). Barclay seems to agree when he argues that Paul "does not install Christ as the founder of a new culture, but indicates how commitment to Christ can simultaneously *encompass* various cultural particularities" ("'Neither Jew Nor Greek,'" 211; emphasis in original).

[46] Although see Wan's more recent work on this issue in Romans: "Collection for the Saints as an Anti-Colonial Act: Implications of Paul's Ethnic Reconstruction," in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation; Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 191–215. Wan still argues that Paul constructs a new *ethnos*, but here Wan sees a hierarchical relationship between Jews in Christ and gentiles in Christ (p. 208), which is closer to our position.

tree. While both peoples are subject to the will of this horticulturalist God, the gentiles are less secure than the Judeans.[47]

Paul's rhetoric relies on rather than obliterates ideas about ethnicity in defining communal identity. If we understand ethnic identity not as static and monolithic but as flexible and complex, then we can read Paul as implying a distinction between Greeks and Judeans in Christ and those who are not. We could now ask how Paul's attempts to put Greeks and Judeans into relation to one another affects the meaning of Greekness and Judeanness for those not in Christ. At the very least, by positioning Judeanness and Greekness in relation to Christ in Gal 3:28, he is underscoring their fluidity—what these concepts can mean is subject to revision, even as they are still held up as meaningful categories.

In this reading of Paul, it is impossible to separate religion from ethnicity. There is no ethnically neutral "Christianity" implied in Gal 3:28. Paul's gospel to the gentiles is that through Christ, they receive a new ancestry and a new status before the God of Israel. Paul draws upon elements perceived as fixed—ideologies of kinship as well as understandings of the spirit in baptism—to authorize his creative construction of gentiles in Christ. We are not denying that Paul develops universalizing arguments. Instead, we have called into question how ethnicity has functioned in explaining his universalism. By understanding ethnicity as "given," interpreters have defined universalism in opposition to ethnicity, requiring them to make Paul's uses of ethnic reasoning consistent with a universalizing teaching evacuated of ethnic self-definition. We have argued, on the contrary, that Paul's universalizing vision relies on portraying the reconciliation of the *ethnē* with God in ethnoracial terms.

III. Conclusion

What are the consequences of this reading? We read Paul as structuring the relations between Judeans and gentiles hierarchically, even while uniting them as descendants of a common ancestor. We find that a dynamic approach to race and ethnicity does not produce an interpretation of Paul's vision as ideal, insofar as it structurally subordinates one ethnoracial group to another.[48] Indeed, Paul was interpreted by some German Christians of the Third Reich as supporting an internal hierarchy along perceived racial lines *within* Christian communities.[49] Such interpretations need to be challenged not by insisting that

[47] For a fuller discussion of the passage about the olive tree, see Johnson Hodge, "Olive Trees and Ethnicities" (forthcoming).

[48] Barclay is more optimistic about using Paul as a model for harmonious, multicultural communities than we are ("'Neither Jew nor Greek,'" 209–14).

[49] E.g., Georg Wobbermin: "The apostle Paul, to be sure, wrote in Galatians that there is nei-

Paul's writings deny the saliency of ethnicity, but by emphasizing the fluidity and messiness of ethnoracial categories. By analyzing how Paul recrafts the possible meanings of Judeanness and Greekness, we are better equipped to reimagine and envision communities in which differences are neither erased nor hierarchically ranked.

We live in a moment when race and ethnicity have been theorized as social constructs but remain categories that continue to have immense socioeconomic, political, and spiritual effects. These effects extend to both the ethnoracial composition of scholars in biblical studies and the methods that are considered "mainstream," which graduate students must "master." Our aim has been to expose and challenge the primary assumptions of the mainstream and to suggest how interpretations of Paul can benefit from reimagining ethnicity and race. The familiar idea that Christian identity renders ethnoracial differences irrelevant provides a problematic loophole for white scholars to deny or overlook the saliency of race in our own interpretive frameworks.[50] We hope to close this loophole with a complex, dynamic understanding of collective identity that sharpens our choices for the struggles of the present to create a more just world for all.

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ther Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female because all are one in Jesus Christ. This position, however, did not prevent him from distinguishing between men and women with respect to church order. Women, he prescribed, were to keep silent in the church. Thus there also may be distinctions in church order between Jew and Greek or Aryan and non-Aryan. Today we must honor this distinction in order to protect the unity of German spiritual life" (cited in Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic*, 172).

[50] This tendency is only compounded by disciplinary conventions that value a detached interpretive stance over an engaged one. Scholars who adopt engaged critical frameworks have repeatedly called attention to this problem, often underscoring the ways that the marginalization of engaged approaches needs to be addressed simultaneously as one of theory and practice, since social and theoretical marginalization frequently occur hand in hand. See, e.g., Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic*, 1–14, 72–81; Segovia, *Decolonizing Biblical Studies*, 157–77. On the "loophole," see, e.g., the challenges by James Cone, *Risks of Faith: The Emergence of a Black Theology of Liberation, 1968–1998* (Boston: Beacon, 1999), 130–33. It is necessary to ask whether and how the assertion that race is irrelevant to Christianness, in the hands of the white Christians, has rendered assertions of Christian universalism complicit with racism. Michael Emerson and Christian Smith view this complicity as arising from Protestant ideals of individualism that obscure the systemic character of racism. By insisting on the nonracist character of Christianity and viewing racism as an individual rather than systemic problem, white evangelicals often view themselves as nonracist and lack the strategies to tackle racism on an institutionalized and cultural level (*Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000]). See also Randall Bailey's overview of African-American biblical interpreters who have posed such challenges to white biblical interpreters (Randall C. Bailey, "Academic Biblical Interpretation among African Americans in the United States," in *African Americans and the Bible: Sacred Texts and Social Textures* [ed. Vincent Wimbush, with the assistance of Rosamund Rodman; New York: Continuum, 2000], 700–701).

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WOMEN ON THE EDGE: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN THE PETRINE *HAUSTAFEL*

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In October 1998 an article appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* detailing the difficulty that some mainstream churches have when dealing with domestic abuse. In the article, Nancy Nason-Clark of the University of New Brunswick noted that although domestic violence occurs no more often in religious families than in nonreligious families, "religious families may be more vulnerable in confronting the problem because of biblical beliefs about the honor of suffering and sacrifice, the premium placed on family unity, the dominant role of men in many religious traditions and the creed of transformation and forgiveness that could let perpetrators off the hook too easily."[1] In one story, a woman told her pastor that her husband woke her up at two in the morning and started beating her with a metal tricycle. She was advised to "go back, be a kinder wife; then you will win him to Christ because that's what the Bible says."[2] That pastor clearly was referring to 1 Pet 3:1–2, where the author explains to Christian wives that their unbelieving husbands "may be won over without a word by their wives' conduct when they see the purity and reverence of your lives."[3] But although the advice in 1 Peter seemed to fit the situation perfectly, the pastor's

[1] Teresa Watanabe, "Domestic Violence a Thorny Issue for Churches," *Los Angeles Times* Saturday, October 10, 1998: B1, 9. According to a recent study by James and Phyllis Alsdurf, religious men and women are sometimes less likely to confront the problem because many religions, including Christianity, discourage marital dissolution, often choose to depend on God rather than other people, and are advised by religious leaders to "preserve the family" and "pray for the batterer" (*Battered into Submission: The Tragedy of Wife Abuse in the Christian Home* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1989], 32).

[2] Watanabe, "Domestic Violence," B1.

[3] All translations are from *The HarperCollins Study Bible,* New Revised Standard Version (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

use of that text was a misappropriation of NT ideas because the network of discourses that prompted the original advice is no longer in place.[4] In addition, the women addressed in the Petrine *Haustafel* deserve closer analysis; because the exhortations have received so much attention, the women themselves have rarely been discussed. As women negotiating problematic familial and social boundaries, they offer a valuable example of an ancient hermeneutic of resistance.

I

1 Peter is already an embattled book, having endured many rounds of exegetical and hermeneutical debate. Controversies have centered on the unity of the letter, the genuineness of its epistolary form, the status and ethnicity of its addressees, its relationship to Pauline letters, and the character of its parenesis.[5] But scholars have long agreed that the theme of the epistle is suffering: the word πάσχω and its derivatives occur more times in 1 Peter than in any other biblical book. The author, who is most likely not the apostle Peter, writes to prevent the loss of faith and unity in Christian communities that were facing harassment by neighbors and family members.[6] But only in the past two decades have feminist scholars begun to confront the Petrine material that has implications for the study of the lives of early Christian women.[7] Nearly all of

[4] By "misappropriation" I have in mind the attempt to use the text absolutely rather than hermeneutically, without any regard for the original context of the construction of meaning. Sharyn Dowd uses this term in the same way in her comments on 1 Peter (see "1 Peter," in *The Women's Bible Commentary* [ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998], 463).

[5] Troy Martin ably reviews the extensive and confusing previous literature regarding the epistle (*Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter* [SBLDS 131; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 3–39).

[6] This is the major thesis of John H. Elliott in *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981). I am deeply indebted to Elliott's work and closely follow his argument that 1 Peter writes to encourage the cohesion of the Christian community and its distinction from the "other" non-Christian world. More recently his extremely thorough commentary on 1 Peter in the Anchor Bible series offers a good summary of the issues involved in the interpretive struggle over the Petrine household code (*1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 37B; New York: Doubleday, 2000]).

[7] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 260–65; Kathleen Corley, "1 Peter," in *Searching the Scriptures,* volume 2, *A Feminist Commentary* (ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza; New York: Crossroad, 1993), 349–60; Deborah F. Sawyer, *Women and Religion in the First Christian Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1996); Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Elizabeth A. Clark, *Women and Religion: The Original Sourcebook of Women in Christian Thought* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996).

the scholars commenting on 1 Peter and its exhortations to women interpret those exhortations as negative in their original context and as having an overwhelmingly negative influence on the lives of Christian (and non-Christian) women in the centuries up to our own time. The incident in the article just quoted is an adequate demonstration that the text of 1 Peter can wreak havoc in the lives of modern women when wielded by modern ministers. There have been two largely harmful results of such scholarship, however. One has been to leave the women of the text behind—labeled as victims of the early Christian appropriation of Aristotelian social theory; and the other has been to miss completely the positive example of resistance and negotiation these women provide. Indeed, the actual household code in 1 Peter and the social circumstances visible behind it suggest that those specific Christian women were making interpretive choices and accessing avenues of identity that have not been considered by other exegetes, partly because those avenues no longer function in our culture.[8]

Although most of the letter focuses on the causes, meaning, and proper response to suffering, the author's summary of how to behave while suffering is centered in the *Haustafel,* or household code, found in 1 Pet 2:18–3:11. It is within that pericope that the exhortations to Christian women are located. Certainly it is a significant piece of Christian parenesis, but the Petrine *Haustafel* has quite often been lost in studies of the Christian *Haustafeln* as a group, as such codes appear in Col 3:18–4:1 and Eph 5:21–6:9 and in extracanonical Christian writings such as Polycarp's *Philippians.* Previous studies of the *Haustafeln* have focused on the origin of their form, and the earliest modern interpretation was that the NT codes were a derivation of Stoic duty lists, which the Christians had lightly Christianized.[9] Others have since argued for the Christian, rabbinic, or Hellenistic Jewish origins of the *Haustafel* form. All of these previous studies conclude that the meaning of the content of the

[8] It is true that many conservative Christian women writers also make the point that the biblical texts offer more positive behavioral models and choices for modern women than feminists will allow; see, e.g., Faith Martin, *Call Me Blessed: The Emerging Christian Woman* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); and Elizabeth Elliott, *Let Me Be a Woman* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale, 1982). I instead argue that 1 Peter offered interpretive choices for the original readers, but not for the readers of today; my loyalty is less to an exalted view of the text itself than to the broadening of perspectives with which we understand women of the past. The model that the text offers for women now is dangerously appealing; it imparts a glimpse of strong women who chose to suffer for their faith, but whose example should not be emulated by modern women, who have a wider variety of more constructive options and no supportive ideological framework with which to interpret the experience of suffering.

[9] Martin Dibelius (*An die Kolosser, an die Epheser, an Philemon* [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1913) originated the hypothesis of Stoic origin, which was further developed by his student Carl Weidinger (*Die Haustafeln: Ein Stück urchristlicher Paraenese* [Hamburg: Heinrich Bauer, 1928]).

Haustafeln is based on the origin of the form, and nearly all conclude that the NT writers used the codes to encourage stability within Christian households.[10]

In 1981 David Balch broke new ground with his book on the Petrine *Haustafel,* arguing that the *Haustafel* form in general, and the Petrine code in specific, was derived from an Aristotelian topos of "household management" (οἰκονομία), which urged that the patriarchal household order must be maintained for purposes of state order.[11] Balch's assumption that the Petrine *Haustafel* preserved an attenuated form of the Aristotelian topos depends partly on the use of the phrase ἀγαθοποιοῦντας φιμοῦν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν in 2:15, which he interprets to mean doing what those in the Greco-Roman community think is good rather than an internal Christian definition of goodness.[12] He also followed earlier scholars by emphasizing the connection between origins and function; he thus attributed to the author of 1 Peter an apologetic effort to preserve social and civic unity by encouraging assimilation to Greek and Roman family and social ideals. Other scholars have joined in, and Balch's argument has become the standard explanation for the origin of the form of the Petrine *Haustafel.*[13]

This consensus is important because recent feminist interpretations of 1 Peter have used Balch's thesis too simplistically to argue that the exhortations to women and slaves in the Petrine *Haustafel* were purposefully included to encourage them to behave in ways that were acceptable to Greco-Roman patriarchs (particularly silent submission), in order to prevent household conflict and resulting local persecution. For feminist critics, Balch's theory supports their own opinion that *all* of the household codes (in Colossians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy, Titus, and 1 Peter) represent the pervasive conservative backlash

[10] Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930; repr., 1961); James Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* (FRLANT 109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).

[11] David Balch, *"Let Wives Be Submissive": The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (SBLMS 26; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981). The Aristotelian topos is most notable in the *Politics* i.1253b. 1–14.

[12] While in 2:15 it appears that the author of 1 Peter implies that the "Gentiles" will be able to recognize some behaviors of the Christians as "good," he consistently asserts in the remainder of the passage that the Christians will suffer for "doing good."

[13] Balch did not continue the other troublesome tendency of earlier scholars, which was the habit of studying the Petrine *Haustafel* under the rubric of the *Haustafeln* in the Pauline tradition (*"Let Wives Be Submissive,"* 67, 266). However, in spite of Balch's own discretion on this point, scholars who use his thesis to make claims about a late-first-century conservative movement in the churches cite 1 Peter alongside the Pauline *Haustafeln* as evidence for that change, as if the *Haustafeln* all have the same context, emphasis, and function. Rarely are distinctions made between the Pauline and Petrine form or content, and conclusions about the Colossian form, which is considered the earliest Christian *Haustafel,* are incautiously assumed for the Petrine code as well. Scholars' determination to interpret the Petrine exhortations in light of the Pauline exhortations, in spite of the Petrine author's obvious attempts to modify the form and content, have caused a distorted accentuation of one possible reading of the text.

among the first-century male Christian leadership.[14] While Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza recognized that the strategy Balch hypothesized would have been ineffective in actually rescuing the reputations of disruptive Christians or calming divided Greco-Roman households, she agreed that the encouragement of assimilation was indeed the point of the Petrine *Haustafel* and that the "patriarchal pattern of submission" sought to "lessen the tension between the Christian community and the pagan patriarchal household."[15]

Since then various feminist scholars have focused on the use of the text in modern situations. Kathleen Corley argues that "the Petrine admonition that both slaves and women should endure even unjust or terrifying situations still serves as a scriptural justification for violence against women in the present" and that "the glorification of suffering, like that found in 1 Peter, is seen to glorify all suffering and in fact holds up the victim as a model for women."[16] Corley uses Balch almost exclusively to understand the context of the exhortations, and thus sees the suffering as "a means of social assimilation."[17] Similarly, Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Nancy Nienhuis, in a recent article in the *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion,* affirm:

> thus the early [Christian] community was encouraged to adopt a "kyriarchal politics of submission" to lessen its own suffering and enhance its chances of survival. This theology of suffering explicitly claims that the reward for forbearance in the face of persecution and abuse will be compensation from God—if not in this life, then in heaven.[18]

The Petrine *Haustafel* is perceived by these feminists as a "kyriarchal text,"[19] one that uses the theology of suffering to keep women in their place, both in

[14] Sawyer, *Women and Religion,* 111–13.

[15] Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her,* 253–62.

[16] Corley, "1 Peter," 351, 354. Elizabeth A. Clark notes the damaging persistence of the *Haustafel* ideas in the writings of the church fathers, in *Women in the Early Church* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1984).

[17] Corley, "1 Peter," 350–51, 355.

[18] Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Nancy Nienhuis, "Battered Women and the Construction of Sanctity," *JFSR* 17, no. 1 (2001): 38.

[19] Schüssler Fiorenza defines "kyriarchal" as "the rule of the master or the lord . . . the interlocking structures of domination" controlled by "elite propertied men" (*But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* [Boston: Beacon, 1992], 8, 117). I disagree with her basic assumption that the Petrine *Haustafel* is kyriarchal. The other *Haustafeln* are kyriarchal; they are concerned with the submission of women in the household. But the Petrine *Haustafel* deals with more complex arrangements of power and situations of persecution. In fact, the only reference to κύριοι is in 1 Pet 2:20, and it calls them twisted. The power structures governing the lives of the Petrine women included the κύριος, but also the new Christian community as well as the pagan community. I argue that the author did not encourage the women to submit in order to encourage harmony in the household. He encouraged the women to disobey the κύριος and then submit to the subsequent persecution, because he believed that Jesus disobeyed the κύριος and then submitted to the subsequent persecution.

the ancient period and today. Feminists consistently argue that there is nothing usable in the *Haustafel* suffering model, no liberating example, and that it is therefore useless and, from a feminist perspective, dangerous.[20] Therefore, Schüssler Fiorenza writes, we have an ethical responsibility NOT to interpret the text in any way that might seem to legitimate the suffering of women.[21]

These feminists have rightly pointed out the problematic nature of this text and its vastly destructive influence on the behavior and self-understanding of Christian women; but they have failed to distinguish between the patriarchal (mis)interpretation of the letter over the years and the possibilities of interpretation it may have offered for the original readers. A reexamination of the form and content of the Petrine *Haustafel* and the social circumstances of the first-century Christian communities demonstrates that exhortations to the women in 1 Peter did not expressly encourage assimilation but addressed specific situations of persecution, may have encouraged forms of antipatriarchal activity in which the women were already participating, and potentially offered a means of resistance to the suffering that was already occurring. Finally, I will argue that the Petrine women's situation of marginalization and persecution was so different from situations of domestic abuse today that inflexible modern interpretations of the text (either feminist or fundamentalist) should not be imposed on the ancient women.[22] They must be allowed their own possible ancient hermeneutic.

[20] Elliott takes Schüssler Fiorenza and others to task for what he deems an "ahistorical" interpretation and insists that the ancient texts must be interpreted in their own contexts rather than ours. He writes, "We cannot restore the biblical past, so it is pointless to adore the biblical past. It is likewise pointless to deplore the past as incongruent with the values and vision of the present" (*1 Peter,* 599).

[21] Personal communication, July 20, 2001.

[22] I would like to offer in this article a constructive critique of what I believe to be "fundamentalist feminism"—feminism that argues that the goals of women must be the same across time and culture. Mary McClintock Fulkerson has argued, for example, that feminist theology, which protested the perception that male experience was universal experience, sometimes falls into the trap of creating a universal woman (see Fulkerson, *Changing the Subject: Women's Discourses and Feminist Theology* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1994], 63). This issue was first raised in the 1980s by African American women such as Katie Cannon and Emilie Townes and has since been seconded by women scholars of other classes, races, and cultures, for example, Ada María Isasi-Díaz. Buddhist feminist scholar Rita Gross writes that feminism partakes of "the deeply entrenched tendency in Western thinking to turn differences into a hierarchy" (*Feminism & Religion: An Introduction* [Boston: Beacon, 1996], 50). Hindu and Muslim women still do not articulate the Western feminist vision (ibid., 58). Ancient women are another group of women whose voices are too easily manipulated by feminist scholars. Because these women cannot speak for themselves, scholars can put any meaning into their mouths, turning them into ciphers for our own political purposes (even though those political purposes are often quite admirable). What I do here is try to suggest possible ancient meanings of the text in order better to understand those real ancient women.

II

The Petrine domestic code is likely a modified version of the code in Colossians, which is the oldest Christian *Haustafel.*[23] The Colossian *Haustafel* is clear, brief, and symmetrical. It consists of three pairs of reciprocal exhortations; in each pair the exhortations articulate the correct attitude or action that should be taken toward the opposite member of the pair. Each pair consists of an inferior group and a superior group, each representing a certain social status (αἱ γυναῖκες, οἱ δοῦλοι, etc.). Each exhortation begins with an address to the inferior group, who are urged to obey or be submissive to the superior group. The exhortations to the inferior group are always reciprocated in the Colossian *Haustafel;* the dominant group in each pair is addressed immediately following the address to the inferior group. Each address is followed by a command, often accompanied by an object.[24] The exhortation is then amplified by another phrase or more, and a causal clause provides the rationale for such behavior.[25]

[23] The Colossian code "brings us as near as possible to the beginning of the Christian *Haustafel* tradition" (Crouch, *Origin and Intention,* 32). This is generally agreed to by Dibelius, Weidinger, David Schroeder, Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, Lohmeyer, Leonhard Goppelt, and others. See also Hans Conzelmann and A. Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament: An Introduction to the Principles and Methods of New Testament Exegesis* (trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 61. This idea of an early Christian *Haustafel* tradition, of which the NT *Haustafeln* are merely later variations, arises from the basic similarities among all the NT *Haustafeln,* the remarkable resemblance between the *Haustafeln* in Colossians and Ephesians, and syntactical, grammatical, and stylistic differences between the Colossian/Ephesian example and codes in 1 Peter, Timothy, and Titus, which are also different from one another. Scholars disagree whether the early Christian tradition was the source only for the Colossian form, on which all the other NT codes are dependent, or if all the codes are separately dependent on the early form. As noted earlier in n. 13, Balch is one of the only dissenters here: he argues that the NT codes, Petrine code included, were borrowed separately and independently from Hellenistic sources and are not dependent on each other in any way (*"Let Wives Be Submissive,"* 67, 266). Space does not permit a full analysis of this subject here, but the Petrine *Haustafel* varies so significantly from both Christian and Greco-Roman antecedents that the salient point remains the author's alteration of the code to the circumstances of his audience.

[24] Either in the imperative mood (ὑποτάσσεσθε) or expressed by an infinitive or participle.

[25] Usually introduced by γάρ, ὅτι, or εἰδότες ὅτι. Although these characteristics are somewhat readily apparent, David Verner has summed them up nicely in *The Household of God: The Social World of the Pastoral Epistles* (SBLDS 71; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 87. Verner adds characteristics that are not part of the Colossian *Haustafel* because he wants to take all of the NT *Haustafeln* into account as contributing to the *Haustafel* form, when in fact it is possible that the Colossian *Haustafel* was paradigmatic and all of the others are variations. Based on these characteristics, I posited, in my dissertation, my own model of the *Haustafel* form as consisting of the following literary, linguistic, and conceptual elements: (1) a focusing on a series of groups and their responsibilities associated with a household; (2) the grouping of those addressed into pairs of dominant and subordinate counterparts; (3) intergroup reciprocity, or the implied moral responsibility of both the dominant and subordinate groups *to each other;* (4) direct address, in which the author

A close comparison of these *Haustafel* characteristics with Aristotelian, Stoic, rabbinic, and Hellenistic Jewish antecedents suggests that the particular form of the *Haustafel* cannot be traced to one specific source, but that the Christian writers were influenced by a wide variety of literary traditions. In all of the comparisons, the similarities between the Greco-Roman texts and the *Haustafeln* are superficial and outweighed by their differences.

The Stoics, including Cicero, Seneca, Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, and Hierocles, and the early Christians were interested in similar social relationships, and both listed the duties of the groups who were taking part in those relationships. But the similarities end there. There are no substantial similarities between the vocabulary, style, and/or grammar of the Stoic lists and the *Haustafel* form. For example, the Stoic term καθήκοντα never appears in the NT codes, and the Stoic diatribe is not appropriated by the NT writers. Important *Haustafel* terms, such as ὑποτάσσεσθαι, are not found in any Stoic text.[26] The basic *Haustafel* sentence structure—(a) address, (b) instruction, (c) connecting word, (d) rationale—is not even approximated in Stoic lists. The imperative mood, widely used in the *Haustafeln*, is found only in Epictetus (*Discourses* 3.21–25 and *Ench.* 30).

Likewise, the Stoic codes were lists of duties for the perfection of the individual, rather than a formula for community harmony based on religious belief. The reciprocity of the NT exhortations is not present in the Stoic duty lists. While the *Haustafeln* speak directly to women as spiritually responsible, the Stoics never addressed women directly.[27] Likewise, while the Christian writers spoke directly to slaves as equals in the eyes of God, the Stoic paradigm was inapt for dealing with slaves, because Stoicism dealt with the typical individual in his relationships and slaves were never viewed as typical. Even Epictetus, a former slave, never addressed them in duty lists.[28] Slaves are mentioned only in

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of the exhortation uses the vocative and second person forms; (5) a particular sentence structure consisting of address, instruction, expansion, and rationale; (6) a consistent vocabulary; and (7) clearly stated motivations, both overall and for specific ethical actions, with the motivational emphasis placed on the subordinate groups (see Betsy J. Bauman-Martin, "Intertextuality and the *Haustafel* in I Peter" [Ph.D. diss. University of California at Irvine, 1997], 58–60).

[26] Ὑποτάσσω is used thirty-one times in the LXX, but to designate submission to God, never to describe family relationships. Epictetus uses the verb to describe the submission of a man to moral law, never to another human being. Ὑποτάσσω was used to describe (the indicative, not imperative) the relationship of wives to husbands in only two other Hellenistic texts: Ps-Call. 1.22.19-20 and Plutarch *Conj. praec.* 142E.

[27] Crouch observes that only Epictetus (*Diatr.* 2.14.9) and Seneca/Hecaton (*Ben.* 2.18) believe that a woman is capable of performing duties (*Origin and Intention,* 110).

[28] Crouch, *Origin and Intention,* 116–17. Nor did other former slaves. See Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 241–43.

the context of determining the behavior of the master, who is the person whose conduct the Stoics sought to influence.[29]

The theory of Aristotelian sources for the *Haustafeln* has three points in its favor: the οἰκονομία topos includes the three crucial pairs of relationships (husbands–wives, masters–slaves, parents–children); it stresses authority and subordination within those relationships; and it emphasizes the importance of harmonious household relationships for the state.[30] Further, like the Stoic duty schema, it was a popular theme at the time when the NT writers were advising Christian communities.

The classical treatises, however, differ from the *Haustafeln* in many of the same ways in which the Stoic lists do. They do not predict the precise and highly developed syntactical and grammatical form of the *Haustafeln.* Aristotle's discourses are rarely exhortative and address only the male authority figure.[31] The concern for financial issues, which Aristotle included as an integral part of household management, is entirely missing from the *Haustafeln.* The Aristotelian vocabulary differs from that in the *Haustafeln,* even when referring to the same subjects.[32]

The third hypothesized source of the *Haustafel* form is Judaism, in the Hellenistic Jewish writings of Philo, Josephus, and Pseudo-Phocylides and/or possible early rabbinic sources. The emphasis on the socially "inferior" group in the *Haustafeln*—women, slaves, and children are always addressed first and more thoroughly—is paralleled only in Judaism, both Hellenistic and nascent

[29] Seneca wrote that it is possible that a slave can perform a "benefit" within a household, but he is certainly not confident that a slave and master hold mutual responsibilities in maintaining the harmony of the household or that slaves have moral ability (*Ben.* 2.18ff.).

[30] The classical authors I examined were Plato, Aristotle, the Peripatetics, Philodemus, and Areius Didymus (Bauman-Martin, "Intertextuality," 75–82); but Balch further argued that Stoics (Cicero and Ariston), Hellenistic Jews (Philo and Josephus), and the Neo-Pythagoreans (Bryson and Callicatidas) adopted this classical topos. More importantly, he maintained that the topos was popularly known during the period of early Christianity, as indicated by the fact that Dio Chrysostom wrote a treatise with the title *Concerning Household Management* (*"Let Wives Be Submissive,"* 51–58).

[31] The tendency of other scholars to accept Balch's thesis without question is most evident in the statement by Troy Martin: "Balch convincingly argued that the *Haustafel* schema originated from the topos, 'concerning Household Management.' He cited Aristotle's *Politics* 1.129.37–39 where three *reciprocal* relationships are discussed" (*Metaphor and Composition,* 127, my emphasis). Aristotle's references to women, children, and slaves are not reciprocal in any way.

[32] For example, when Aristotle discusses husbands and wives, he uses the terms πόσις and ἀλοχήος, while in every instance the *Haustafeln* use ἀνήρ and γυνή. The classical philosophers use the term ἄρχεσθαι to indicate the submission required of inferior household members, while the *Haustafeln* authors consistently use the verbs ὑποτάσσεσθε for wives, ὑπακούειν for children, and both for slaves. Aristotle used the passive form ἄρχεσθαι to indicate that slaves and so on were to be ruled, whereas the *Haustafeln* used the middle form ὑποτάσσεσθε to indicate that a personal choice regarding obedience was required on the part of the subordinate.

rabbinic.[33] The codes of Hellenistic Judaism present the closest correlate to the *Haustafeln* because of the reciprocity of the instructions they contain, and there is evidence in rabbinic literature for reciprocity in dealing with the duties of members of the family.[34]

But there is no existing rabbinic code that includes all of the *Haustafel* elements. In the Mishnah, women, slaves, and children were exempted from responsibility rather than positively exhorted, and they were discussed in terms of cultic situations rather than household relationships. The sentence structure of the *Haustafel* is not present, nor is the direct address. The importance of the rabbinic tradition lay in furnishing an interest in the behavior of inferior groups.[35]

Hellenistic Jewish codes, however, parallel the *Haustafeln* in important ways. For example, the order in which the relationships are discussed in Philo —husbands–wives, parents–children, masters–slaves—corresponds exactly to the order of the presentations in the Colossian *Haustafel.* Philo was also the first extant writer to limit a single code to these three specific pairs; and

[33] Such first-century rabbinic sources are hypothetical, of course. The connection with the *Haustafel* was first suggested by Ernst Lohmeyer (*An die Kolosser,* 152–59). These three groups had neither the rights nor the responsibilities of the adult, free, male members of the community, and they are nearly always mentioned together in rabbinic texts as "women, slaves, and minors." See, e.g., *m. Ber.* 3:3; 7:2; *m. Sukkah* 2:8; and *m. Naz.* 9:1. Lohmeyer concluded that there must have been a Jewish code that listed the specific duties of these groups and that the Christian *Haustafel* form was an adaptation of this code.

[34] Although the vast majority of rules in the Mishnaic literature concern the duties of men, some are reciprocal and some focus on the duties of the groups considered "inferior." *T. Qidd.* 1:7, for example, discusses the reciprocal duties of father and son; *m. Pe'ah* discusses the reciprocal duties of householders and gleaners; *m. Ketubbot* discusses the reciprocal obligations of husbands and wives; in fact, *m. Našim* is full of instructions for wives, slaves, and children. *M. Yebam.* 7:1–2; 10:7–9; *m. Ketub.* 2:5; *m. Ned.* 10:1–8; and *m. Soṭah* 4:3–4 are just a few of the dozens of examples. In most of these cases, the introductory phrase is the same for the "inferior" group as it is for the men: "If a man . . ." or "If a woman . . ." or "If a girl . . . ," and so on.

[35] Crouch argues convincingly against the similarity of the Mishnaic groups and the *Haustafel* groups (*Origin and Intention,* 105), and Judith Romney Wegner has shown that these three groups are prevented from ritual participation not because of household conflict but because their sexuality is owned by men and must be confined to the domestic sphere (*Chattel or Person: The Status of Women in the Mishnah* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1988]). The point can still be made, however, that the rabbis were interested in these three groups and talked more directly about their obligations than the Greek philosophers. Additionally, rather than having a Stoic origin, the term ἀναστροφή in 1 Pet 1:15; 2:12; 3:2; and 3:16 is more likely derived from the Holiness Code in Lev 19:2. J. Ramsey Michaels argues that this linking of ἀναστροφή with holiness is the "most striking feature of Peter's interpretation of the biblical text" (*1 Peter* [WBC 49; Waco: Word Books, 1988], li, 59). There is an attempt in 1 Peter to identify the readers with the Jewish priesthood that is very non-Greek (e.g, 2:9); see E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of Peter* (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1947), 459–60.

although not in direct address, some of the Hellenistic Jewish codes were in the form of exhortations.[36]

This review demonstrates that no known ethical text exists outside of the NT that contains all of the characteristics of the earliest *Haustafel* and that we can say with certainty was the model that the Christians followed in creating their household codes.

Instead, the NT household codes seem to be independent variations of a distinct Christian parenetic discourse that focused on correct behavior within the Christian household. The attitude behind that Christian tradition was derived in the main from Hellenistic Judaism, which had already been exposed to and absorbed the topos of οἰκονομία from classical philosophy via Stoicism, combining it with traditional Jewish material and attitudes. So Balch's thesis that the Petrine use of the οἰκονομία topos indicates a specifically Aristotelian purpose is not supported by a thorough comparison with Greco-Roman household codes. This conclusion problematizes the argument that the Petrine *Haustafel* is an obvious example of the use of patriarchal classical ideas to keep women in line. In addition, Balch's claim that the *Haustafel* form was adopted by the author for apologetic purposes—to defend the Christian communities against accusations of improper household relationships—is incompatible with the overall theme in 1 Peter of a Christian peculiarity and distinctiveness.

III

Rather than adhering to a fixed, Aristotelian set of instructions, the author demonstrates a greater willingness than the other Christian authors to manipulate the model. The Petrine code is significantly different from the Colossian code, and the changes were probably in response to the needs of the audience.[37] There are eight major ways in which the Petrine *Haustafel* deviates

[36] Philo wrote, "Wives must be in servitude to their husbands, a servitude not imposed by violent ill-treatment but promoting obedience in all things" (*Hypoth.* 7.3 [Thackeray, LCL]). Josephus makes a similar statement in *C. Ap.* 2.201: "Let [the woman] accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority has been given by God to the man" (Thackeray, LCL). Another idea that Christians appear to have borrowed directly from Judaism regarding slavery is that Christians were slaves of God or Christ—an idea not found in Greco-Roman philosophers. Balch objects to Philo as the source of the *Haustafel* form because "1 Peter does not verbally reproduce sentences from Philo" (*"Let Wives Be Submissive,"* 120). But neither does 1 Peter verbally reproduce sentences from Aristotle, the Neo-Pythagoreans, the Stoics, or the Peripatetics. Vocabulary and syntax are only two of several more important characteristics that need to be compared.

[37] See also J. Paul Sampley, *"And the Two Shall Become One Flesh": A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21–33* (SNTSMS 16; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 23. Dibelius

from the previous pattern, but three are especially salient for the argument presented here: (1) the exhortations are directed in part to members of the Petrine community who are involved in relationships with non-Christians; (2) the author omits or modifies addresses to important household groups; and (3) the author uses a rare grammatical form to address wives and slaves.[38] All three of these unusual characteristics have implications for the interpretation of the suffering of women in this context.

The most important unique feature of the Petrine *Haustafel* is its context of confrontation between Christians and non-Christians, what J. H. Elliott refers to as the conflict between "sect and society."[39] No other NT epistle deals so directly with families that were ruptured by Christianity.[40] While the other NT *Haustafeln* address the relationships between Christian husbands and wives and masters and slaves, in his code the Petrine author speaks primarily to believers about their relationships with the nonbelieving members of their households and the antagonism that had arisen because of their Christian beliefs and activities.[41] These conflicts were the specific social circumstances

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admitted that alterations in a parenetic model indicate different social situations and exigencies (cited by Crouch, *Origin and Intention,* 120–21). We thus cannot make the same assumptions about the Petrine code that are often made about the Colossian and Ephesian codes, as do some writers. Sawyer, for example, not only reiterates Balch's thesis that the codes "bear a striking similarity to the philosophical ideas of Aristotle," but she groups together the codes in Colossians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter (*Women and Religion,* 110). Elliott correctly notes that when the *Haustafeln* are grouped together, "the specific situation, structure and needs of the Petrine audience are either ignored completely or they are inaccurately surmised" (*Home for the Homeless,* 210).

[38] The full list of variations is as follows: The Petrine *Haustafel* includes an exhortation to everyone to obey the governing authorities. It omits the entire set of children–fathers exhortations. It omits the master portion of the set of slaves–masters exhortations. It uses the imperatival participle instead of the direct imperative in the exhortations to wives and slaves. It uses ὑποτάσσειν for slaves as well as wives. The sequence in 1 Peter (from outside/civil authorities inward to inside/marriage) is the reverse of Colossians (from inside/marriage outward to slaves). The code in 1 Peter is more closely integrated with the epistolary content, especially the issue of persecution. The Petrine *Haustafel* addresses wives and slaves, respectively, who are in relationships with unbelieving husbands and masters. The focus thus shifts somewhat to Christian–non-Christian relationships, even though these are still household relationships.

[39] Elliott argues that the author's emphasis on conflict is actually a tool to enhance the cohesion of the Christian group itself, in opposition to Schüssler Fiorenza, who, like Balch, argues that "Christians [in 1 Peter] are not enemies of the Roman political order, but they support it" (*In Memory of Her,* 266).

[40] It is an issue in 1 Cor 7, but there it is limited to one portion of one chapter and it is not discussed in the context of harassment or persecution. Margaret Y. MacDonald deals directly and sensitively with the Petrine situation (*Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996]).

[41] This interpretation is supported by the identification in 2:11 of the readers as πάροικοι καὶ παρεπιδήμοι (aliens and strangers), the indication that they were known by their neighbors as "Christians," and the proliferation of references in the epistle to the negative attitudes of the Chris-

that created situations of persecution in these households and occasioned the second change in the *Haustafel* form mentioned above—specifically, the omission of an address to Christian masters, the omission of addresses to parents and children, and the lengthening of the address to wives and slaves.

It has been suggested that the author of 1 Peter did not address Christian masters because of the Christian community's poverty; there simply may not have been a substantial class of Christian men wealthy enough to own slaves.[42] In addition, the need to address them would not have been as urgent because they would not have been persecuted within their own households. The effect of the adjustment to the code is significant in that the slaves, rather than masters, become paradigmatic of the Christian household of faith.[43] The author of 1 Peter omitted the exhortations to children and parents because (1) children were less likely to convert to Christianity on their own, and children would follow their parents if the parents became Christian; and (2) he was not concerned about the harmony of the actual physical households but was more interested in the endurance and continuing faith of the persecuted Christians, the household of God.[44] These household circumstances also explain why the code is centered on slaves and women; when the paterfamilias converted, the entire household was obligated to convert as well, but when a wife or a slave converted alone, the order of the household was compromised.[45]

Indeed, many women converted over the objection of their families, creat-

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tians' neighbors. Elliott lists ignorance (2:15), curiosity (3:15), suspicion of wrongdoing (2:12; 4:14–16), hostility (3:13–14, 16; 4:4), and slander (2:12; 3:16; 4:14; 3:3). The response on the part of the Christians was correlative: sorrow (2:19), fear (3:14), suffering (2:19, 20; 3:14, 17; 4:1, 15, 19; 5:9, 10), (*Home for the Homeless,* 79–80).

[42] Elliott, *Home for the Homeless,* 70.

[43] Elliott, *1 Peter,* 514. This is in contrast to the attitude in Acts (particularly the account of Lydia and the prison guard) that masters and patresfamilias were more privileged members of the Christian communities. Paul's attitude toward slavery is more imprecise, as Jennifer Glancy details in "Obstacles to Slaves' Participation in the Corinthian Church," *JBL* 117 (1998): 481–501.

[44] Much of Balch's argument rests on his interpretation of 3:8, which reads, Τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὔσπλαγχνοι, ταπεινόφρονες, which is translated in the NRSV as "Finally, all of you, have unity of spirit, sympathy, love for one another . . . ." Balch argues that ὁμόφρονες is the author's push for Greco-Roman–style harmony in the actual physical households. But since in this verse the author addresses "all of you" he appears to ask that all the Christians have unity of spirit among themselves; πάντες cannot refer to all the members of an unequally yoked household because the author cannot address the non-Christians. Moreover, in the next verse he assumes that their enemies/neighbors will not be of the same spirit when he urges the Christians not to "repay evil for evil or abuse for abuse." So also Elliott, *Home for the Homeless,* 128, passim. The author's designation of the community as the οἶκος of God in 2:5 and 4:17 strengthens this idea that the physical household was not his focus.

[45] Children would rarely have converted against their father's wishes; and if they had perchance converted, the blame for their conversion would have been placed on the mother or the slave/tutor.

ing for themselves polarized social situations. And because their conversions were in opposition to familial and cultic power, Christianity posed one of the strongest threats to the Roman family structure.[46] Corley argues that this situation was much like the situation engendered by a Roman wife's worship of Isis or Dionysus. She quotes Balch: "In response to such charges, these religious groups defended themselves by claiming that their households were indeed in order, their wives, children and slaves properly submissive to their husbands, parents and masters."[47] The analogy fails, however, because what was so dramatic about a conversion to Christianity, and not applicable to the worship of Isis or Dionysus, was that the Christian woman would no longer participate in the crucial familial cults.[48] In Roman texts a wife's atheism was seen as a cause of barrenness and/or disaster in business, household, or politics. No amount of submission in other aspects of family life would heal that rupture.[49] So the situ-

[46] John North, "The Development of Religious Pluralism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (ed. Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak; New York: Routledge, 1992), 185–86. Ross Kraemer points out that many of the women mentioned in the NT epistles are not specifically defined as daughters, wives, mothers, or even sisters of men, and the absence of filiation for both men and women is significant. This is partly because "many persons who joined the Christian movement did so over the objections of their families, both natal and marital, leaving them effectively fatherless, if not motherless as well" (*Her Share of the Blessings,* 136–37). W. C. van Unnik pointed out that conversion to Christianity was viewed by Gentiles as a shameful act of disloyalty ("The Critique of Paganism in I Peter 1:18," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* [ed. E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox; London: T & T Clark, 1969], 129–42).

[47] Corley, "1 Peter," 351. This is also Schüssler Fiorenza's point in *In Memory of Her,* 263–65.

[48] David Orr summarizes the obligations entailed in the family cults: women were responsible for the decoration of the hearth, the shrine of Vesta, during religious festivals; Vesta's fire was tended by the materfamilias or her daughters; the household Lares were worshiped by the entire family on holidays; a bride was required to present a coin to the Lares of her new husband's home; and a wife would have been expected to participate in the worship of the household Genius on the birthday of the paterfamilias ("Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines," *ANRW* 2.16:1557–91, esp. 1559, 1560, 1561, 1567 n. 59, 1571). Macrinus writes that a woman assumed her role as materfamilias and presided over the rituals of the household the day after her wedding (*Sat.* 1.15.22). John M. Barclay notes that the Lares were so associated with the Genius of the paterfamilias that they were intimately linked with his honor and prosperity and that of the household as a whole ("The Family as the Bearer of Religion in Judaism and Early Christianity" in *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor* [ed. Halvor Moxnes; New York: Routledge, 1997], 67). So also G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?" in *Studies in Ancient Society* (ed. Moses I. Finley; New York: Routledge, 1974), 210–49. Plutarch asserted that without his wife's assistance a *flamen dialis* was incapable of discharging his religious duties (*Quaest. Rom.* 50). Tertullian would later write of the same problem: What pagan husband "will willingly bear her being taken from his side by nocturnal convocations . . . ? Who will, without some suspicion of his own, dismiss her to attend that Lord's Supper which they defame?" (*Ux.* 2.4).

[49] The worship of the same gods was considered the basis of social harmony; see Plutarch,

ation in which a wife converted to Christianity was potentially more intense, disruptive, and chronic.

Likewise, slaves who deserted the religion of their masters took an extremely radical step. The willingness of slaves to give up their own religions for those of their masters was taken for granted.[50] Slaves who converted to Christianity or another religion were no longer trusted with children (Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 8.4; Origen, *Cels.* 3.55). If they refused to worship the family gods, they were vulnerable to extreme punishment.[51] Christian slaves could expect to partake of the κοινωνία along with the free members, which would have indicated their free status in the Christian community and would have created a great deal of anxiety for the non-Christian masters in the community.[52]

The omission of an address to masters, the shortening of the address to Christian husbands, and the lengthening of the addresses to slaves and women were changes that the author of 1 Peter made to the *Haustafel* to fit his specific purpose of writing to Christians suffering in non-Christian homes and living in what were really situations of persecution. Because of the patriarchal household structure and because of their nonconforming actions, the slaves and women were participating in two very different systems of authority and were thus forced to negotiate a boundary fraught with conflict. That negotiation meant making decisions about which practices to include in their Christian way of life and how they should be included.[53] Their position on the margins meant that the women were making brave choices about personal participation and experiencing the preponderance of the suffering in the community; thus they needed the most encouragement.[54] The exhortations are the author's response

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Conj. praec. 19; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 38.22; 41.10; Xenophon, *Mem.* 4:4.16; Cicero, *Amic.* 23; *Offic.* 1.54–55; Aristotle, *Pol.* I.1252a–55b. So the conversion of the wives was completely at odds with the Aristotelian ideal.

[50] Franz Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom,* Vierter Teil, *Epilegomena* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963), 247–59.

[51] Ibid., 265. Cicero (*Leg.* 2.7.19–27) expected slaves to preserve the ancient religious rites, as did Cato (*Agr.* 5).

[52] Corley, "1 Peter," 356.

[53] Kathryn Tanner argues that Christian identity is a task rather than a possession and that much of it is formed at the boundary between Christian and non-Christian cultures (*Theories of Culture : A New Agenda for Theology* [Guides to Theological Inquiry; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1997], 124–25).

[54] "The dangerous and deteriorating situation called for: (1) a reassertion of the Christian converts' distinctive communal identity; (2) a reinforcement of their internal group cohesion; and (3) a plausible interpretation of the compatibility of their experience and their expectations, of their social condition and their divine vocation" (Elliott, *Home for the Homeless,* 224). Barclay points out the tension within early Christianity between the challenge that conversions posed to families, on the one hand, and the locus of early Christian communities within households, on the other ("Fam-

to the perceived threat to the stability of the Christian community caused by the Christian women's suffering as a result of these family conflicts.

The third anomaly of the Petrine *Haustafel* is its situation in the context of the author's extensive identification of his audience as "Israel." Immediately preceding the *Haustafel,* the author referred to the Christians as "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" (2:9). He clearly meant to convey to his readers, including women and slaves, that they were distinct and were chosen to be separate and superior, not to assimilate.[55]

These three major changes by the author of 1 Peter are his response to social and community circumstances that differ from those surrounding the other NT household codes. He does not speak to Christian households; he addresses socially inferior groups that are suffering in non-Christian homes because of their Christian beliefs and actions. He considers them distinct and elect and encourages them to continue behaving in nonassimilating ways. The exhortations themselves should be understood in this context of nonconformity rather than in a context of assimilation, as others have tried to argue.

IV

One key to the interpretation of the exhortations lies in the combined discourses of boundary-crossing and persecution that lie behind the text: the radical disobedience of the slaves and wives, the resulting persecution/suffering at the hands of the κύριοι of their households, the slaves' and women's subsequent response to the suffering/persecution, and their reinterpretation of the suffering/persecution.[56] An analysis of the exhortations to the slaves and wives will demonstrate that the author's advice arises out of this sort of complex interaction of motives, actions, and reactions.

The slaves are the first household group that the author addresses (2:18-25) and he says to them, in part:

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ily as the Bearer of Religion," 72). That tension was no doubt productive; it is likely that the domestic conflict produced by Christianity contributed to the creation of a fictive, spiritual household emphasized in 1 Peter (Elliott, *Home for the Homeless,* 219–33).

[55] This claim may be supported by the author's reliance on the imperatival participle; see Appendix, below. This is not the only refutation of the argument for assimilation. The author's appeal to identify with Jewishness; the epistle's address to Christians rather than non-Christians, as an apology would be; his insistence that the persecution would continue and intensify, not abate; his use of slaves and women as positive representatives of the Christian community; and the lack of a consistent representation of Greco-Roman ideals all argue against the idea that the author was encouraging assimilation.

[56] As pointed out above, the act of conversion itself was a step of radical disobedience.

> Slaves, accept the authority of your masters with all deference, not only those who are kind and gentle but also those who are harsh. For it is a credit to you if, being aware of God, you endure pain while suffering unjustly. If you endure when you are beaten for doing wrong, what credit is that? But if you endure when you do right and suffer for it, you have God's approval. For to this you have been called, because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, so that you could follow in his steps.[57]

The slaves addressed in this passage were for the most part household slaves, as is indicated by the urban nature of most of the areas to which the letter was sent and the author's use of οἰκέται rather than δούλοι.[58] The slaves would have been both male and female, but for the purposes of this article, I will concentrate on female slaves.[59] It is common knowledge among ancient historians that slaves in the Greco-Roman world were extremely vulnerable, especially physically. A slave's body was available to her master in four major ways: for labor, corporal punishment, torture, and sexual service.[60] The first three might have been difficult and degrading but would not necessarily have come into conflict with her belief system. But the fourth responsibility, a slave's obligation to have sex with her master, her master's friends, or other slaves was inherently problematic for a Christian slave.

Jennifer Glancy's recent work regarding slaves in the Corinthian church highlights the conflict that would have arisen between Christian slaves' desire to maintain sexual purity and their sexual obligations to their masters.[61] Glancy

[57] The NRSV translators use the traditional interpretation of the imperatival participles as imperatives, rather than translating them more accurately as participles.

[58] 1 Peter is addressed to the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, all well-populated with cities, with the possible exception of Galatia. It is uncertain whether by "Galatia" 1 Peter refers to northern Galatia, southern Galatia, or all of the area made into a province by Augustus. See Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). The other provinces were dotted with cities that had been visited by Paul.

[59] Male slaves would also have been subject to abuse; but in the *Haustafeln* the free women are also advised to remain submissive, and it is women today who are the individuals most likely to be "ministered to" with this passage. For these reasons, and because of the feminist focus on the women in the passage, I have chosen to limit the discussion to women. The term οἰκέται usually included all household slaves, including women (Sophocles, *Trach.* 908) and was also used of women specifically (Aristophanes, *Vespae* 766). These sources were suggested to me by Shari Nakata of University of California, Irvine.

[60] Moses Finley includes the last three in *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980), 94–96. Household slaves were more vulnerable to sexual abuse because of their proximity to their owners.

[61] Glancy reemphasizes what Scott Bartchy had already noticed: that the sexual nature of some master–slave relationships is not mentioned specifically in any NT text ("Slavery, Greco-Roman," *ABD* 6:65–73) and that modern scholars have failed to look at the sex lives of Christian slaves (Glancy, "Obstacles to Slaves," 482).

points out the subtle contradiction in Paul's responses to the Corinthian church regarding marriage and the situation of Christian slaves. Paul makes it clear that legitimate sexual expression is limited to marriage and that the integrity of a Christian's body is crucial to the integrity of the Christian body as a whole. Using Paul's logic, a slave's sexual relationship with her master would be considered πορνεία.[62] Glancy concludes that "the sexual obligations incumbent on many slaves would have presented sometimes insuperable barriers to their participation in churches of the Pauline circle."[63]

Because in 4:1–6 the Petrine author urges the Christians to stay away from the licentious practices of the non-Christians, we may assume that he held views similar to those of Paul. But his address to the slaves indicates that he considered them to be integral members of the Christian communities in Asia Minor. This means one of three things: (1) the slaves were not faced with sexual demands; (2) the author does not care that the slaves are participating in un-Christian sexual activity; or (3) some slaves were refusing to submit sexually. The third option seems to be the most likely because it makes the most sense in light of the author's discussion of suffering. It is likely that at times the slaves were being severely punished for refusing or resisting sex upon request.[64] Does that mean, therefore, that the author urged them to submit to or accept authority (which would have meant sexually) to avoid the suffering and to appear "good" to the outside world, as Corley and others assert?[65] That is hardly plausible, considering that his statement immediately preceding the *Haustafel* is to urge them "to abstain from the desires of the flesh" (2:11).[66]

So what does "accept authority" (ὑποτάσσεσθε) mean in this context? First, that the slaves are to endure unjust treatment. The author defines this as suffering for behaving correctly (do right and suffer for it), which would

[62] Glancy, "Obstacles to Slaves," 496, 499.

[63] Ibid., 501.

[64] There is no evidence that they successfully prevented the sexual advances, but resisting in any form would have been disobedience.

[65] Corley, "1 Peter," 353. In truth, anyone who supports the assimilationist view would have to argue that this is exactly what the author had in mind. Schüssler Fiorenza writes that according to 1 Peter the slaves and wives "should seek to reduce suffering and tensions as much as possible by a lifestyle that is totally conformed to the customs and ethos of the pagan household and state" (*In Memory of Her,* 261). Her argument must be that the author of 1 Peter supported the kind of sexual service being demanded of Christian slaves by their masters.

[66] This exhortation before the *Haustafel* should not be construed as implying that the slaves who are addressed specifically in the *Haustafel* somehow "desired" the sexual relationships they had with their masters. The exhortation regarding σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν is clearly meant as a general suggestion for the entire Christian community, not the slaves specifically. The author's exhortations to holiness (1:13; 2:9), discussions about the negative behaviors of the Gentiles (4:3–4), and his assumption that the slaves are moral beings (2:18–21) indicate that he would not condone a slave's sexual service.

include resisting sexual service. The word that the author uses most often for correct behavior (the behavior that will cause the suffering, not prevent it) is ἀγαθοποιέω. Clearly, ὑποτάσσεσθε here does not mean that they are to submit sexually or to stop their Christian activities so that the suffering would cease; the author insists consistently that the suffering will continue because of their ἀγαθοποιοῦντας (doing good).[67] "Accepting authority" here would then mean that the slaves will not retaliate when punished for their Christian actions.[68] The author does not ask them to end the conflict-causing activities, but only to behave submissively when confronted and punished for their nonconformity.

The author clarifies what their behavior should be in 2:21–25, in a "midrash" on Isaiah 53:4–12. The focus of that passage is the *ʿebed Yhwh,* or "slave of Yahweh," more commonly translated as Suffering Servant, who was increasingly identified with Jesus by Christians in the late first century, if not earlier.[70] The author demonstrates many points of contact between Christ's experience and what he expects the slaves to imitate: First, Jesus was innocent of wrongdoing, as are the slaves in this situation. They may have disobeyed the master by attending a Christian meeting or resisting sex, but they are truly behaving correctly. The point is that the most innocent and holy behavior will cause conflict and disharmony in relationships with non-Christians, not ameliorate suffering or increase harmony with non-Christians. Jesus' own moral actions led to his own death.[71]

Second, in spite of his innocence, Jesus was subject to abuse, and so are the slaves. The abuse was probably physical and verbal and may have included beating, rape, disabling, cursing, whipping, ridicule, and imprisonment. The author seems to focus on the verbal abuse and the speech patterns of the Chris-

[67] 1 Peter 1:6–7; 2:4–8, 12, 18–20; 3:1–2, 9, 14, 15, 17; 4:1–2, 12–19; 5:8–10. Schüssler Fiorenza instead argues that ἀγαθοποιοῦντας should be interpreted as "being a good citizen" because "'what is good' is agreed upon by Christians as well as pagans" (*In Memory of Her*, 261).

[68] The punishment for a slave resisting sexual service could include physical abuse or the threat of being sold (Glancy, "Obstacles to Slaves,"487, citing K. R. Bradley, "'The Regular, Daily Traffic in Slaves': Roman History and Contemporary History," *CJ* 87 [1992]: 125–38).

[69] Thomas P. Osborne, "Guide Lines for Christian Suffering: A Source-Critical and Theological Study of I Peter 2:21-25," *Bib* 64 (1983): 381–408; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 136–37.

[70] Martin, *Metaphor and Composition,* 151. Scholars debate how well defined the idea of the Suffering Servant was in first-century Judaism and how formative it was for the Christian idea of the Messiah. J. Jeremias ("*pais theou,*" *TDNT* 5:677–717) has been the most influential; see also Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

[71] Osborne points out that this understanding of the apparent contradiction between actions and results demonstrates an evolution in the Jewish concept of suffering—a new tradition represented by the Suffering Servant hymn, which presented the positive consequences of suffering inflicted upon the righteous ("Guide Lines," 394 n. 49).

tians as well. Submission may thus indicate speaking with the respect due to those socially in authority during conflicts over Christian activities.

Third, Jesus did not retaliate. This is the key to the interpretation of all of the author's exhortations regarding behavior: the critical choice between doing evil and doing good always centers on the believer's moral stance during and after the experience of suffering. The author is encouraging the slaves not to seek abuse but to continue to behave in a nonretaliatory way regardless of the consequences. He emphasizes Jesus' experience as one of a slave, in that he was "despised and rejected by others," characteristics that fit well with the kind of social degradation inherent in slavery, with which no free woman or man would identify.[72] The *Haustafel* exalts these slaves by making a direct identification between them and Christ; the female slaves are Christomorphic.[73] Glancy remarks:

> 1 Peter does not identify servile subordination with the will of God nor of Christ. Rather, 1 Peter links the bodily violations to which the slaves were subject with the bodily violations of Jesus in his passion and death. The author of 1 Peter invites slaves to contemplate the wounds of Jesus in order to give them strength to endure their own wounds.[74]

Like slaves, wives were a focal point of the Petrine *Haustafel* because they were an exaggerated example of every Christian's life in the non-Christian world: they were subject to misunderstanding, abuse, and injustice—problems that were heightened because of their lesser legal status. The author connects their experience with that of the slaves with his use of ὁμοίως before his remarks to the wives in 3:1–6. He says to them:

> Wives, in the same way, accept the authority of your husbands, so that, even if some of them do not obey the word, they may be won over without a word by their wives' conduct, when they see the purity and reverence of your lives. . . . Thus Sarah obeyed Abraham and called him lord. You have become her daughters as long as you do what is good and never let fears alarm you. (3:1–2, 6)

[72] In submitting to crucifixion, Jesus died a slave's death, rejecting society's ideas of shame. The implications for the perception of slavery are weighty. The lowest in the hierarchy are, by identification with Jesus, the most worthy. See David A. DeSilva, *Despising Shame: Honor Discourse and Community Maintenance in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SBLDS 152; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

[73] Elliott comments on this passage: "Singling out slaves as examples for all the believers demonstrates the new status and respect which such lowly persons might anticipate in the new Christian community. . . . [T]heir vulnerability is a sign of the social vulnerability of all suffering Christians and of the solidarity of the suffering brotherhood [*sic*] with its suffering Lord" (*Home for the Homeless,* 207).

[74] Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 149.

Much of this passage and the following words to the Christian husbands are steeped in misogynist preconceptions about women: that they are weaker, that their appearance is somehow provocative, that they should be silent, and so on. The author of 1 Peter, like the other post-Pauline Christian writers, understood that full redemption would take place not now, not here, but in the imminent *eschaton.*[75] He strains under the tension of women taking action in the church communities. Unlike the author of Colossians or Ephesians or the Pastorals, however, this author faces head-on the idea that many women in the communities he addresses are taking risks and operating at the margins of the worlds of belief and nonbelief. He must acknowledge their status and courage, because they, not their husbands, represent much of the Christian community addressed in this text.

We can conclude from the author's remark "even if some of them do not obey the word" that many of the women being addressed are married to non-Christians. Thus, the exhortation to the wives to submit is similar to the exhortation to the slaves; it encourages them to accept their husbands' authority during the persecution that they face as a result of their disobedience. Their independent conversions, attendance at Christian meetings, and neglect of their cultic duties all constituted a crossing of boundaries that subverted the authority of the paterfamilias and forced them to negotiate between two communities in conflict. It is that subversion that the author encourages when he tells the wives to "do what is good" (ἀγαθοποιοῦσαι) even if the consequences are frightening (3:11).

The boundary-crossing activities of the Christian wives and slaves may have been even more significant because they may have engaged in public activities more than is often assumed. Margaret MacDonald writes:

> Recent anthropological thought criticizes the assumption that norms which identify women with the household limit the role of women exclusively to the private sphere. In this light, it is useful to see the woman married to the unbeliever as being a mediator between realms. On the one hand, she ventures into the public sphere, moving and manoevering to secure Christian membership; yet she also returns to her private home, intent on transforming the house.[76]

MacDonald argues that what seemed on the surface to be simply a "Christian appropriation of dominant patterns of hierarchy" is actually more complicated.[77] The exhortations confine the Petrine women to their homes, yet para-

[75] Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Women and Redemption: A Theological History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1998), 3.

[76] MacDonald, *Early Christian Women,* 203.

[77] Ibid., 202.

doxically also push them outside of the home. Straddling the border, these women made conscious and courageous choices about the relationship between beliefs and actions and identity formation.[78]

V

Other scholars have argued, rightly, that suffering is a problematic, even dangerous model for women and that suffering is positive only when it is a vehicle for social change.[79] The ideal of submitting to suffering simply for the promise of an eschatological vindication or even recognition within the Christian community perpetuates a cycle of victimization that modern women have worked hard to break.[80] But there are substantial reasons to counter that such a critique does not apply completely to this particular text; rather, the actions of the Petrine women have more to do with marginal resistance than with suffering for its own sake.

First, the suffering Petrine women were contributing to a kind of familial disobedience that many women would later follow, even though the overthrow of the patriarchal system was never attempted.[81] This is supported by the text's emphasis on the "rightness" of the disobedience of the women and slaves. As demonstrated above, it was the subversive disobedience of the women, in their conversions and Christian activities, that prompted the persecutions by their κύριοι. That kind of disobedience, later celebrated in feminist heroines such as Thecla and Perpetua, is quietly discernible, and approbated, in the Petrine *Haustafel.*

Second, the suffering may have been interpreted by the Petrine women as empowering, because they identified themselves as persecuted Christians and they participated in a discourse that understood suffering in persecution positively. Judith Perkins has shown convincingly that Christianity altered accepted

[78] Feminist scholars sometimes make a somewhat arbitrary distinction between ancient women who left their families for Christ's sake as radical (Thecla is the most popular example) and those who remained with their families as less so. The distinction is important: a woman who rejected the traditional morality of home was significant, but the actions of a Christian woman in a non-Christian home could be just as subversive.

[79] Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her,* 317.

[80] One feminist fear is realized when a passage such as this is interpreted as a positive example for women's behavior. The greatest danger is that women will find strength from this passage to continue to endure abuse. My point in this article is to argue that the circumstances surrounding the abuse and suffering in the Petrine text differ so radically from ours that the text cannot be used as a behavioral blueprint.

[81] Sawyer, *Women and Religion,* 201–4. Glancy notes that slaves resisted in a number of ways: running away, stealing, being insolent, and openly rebelling. She also acknowledges that these options would likely result in further abuse (*Slavery,* 149–50).

ways of thinking about the self by constituting its members as a community of sufferers because of persecution.[82] Christian writings of the late first and early second centuries nearly unanimously assert that to be a Christian is to suffer.[83] Suffering and martyrdom were esteemed and emulated and "within the Christian thought-world [these behaviors] were not only normal but normative."[84]

Perkins demonstrates that, in the Christian context, suffering at the hands of non-Christians helped to invert social categories and enabled Christians to resist normative Greco-Roman categories of value. The second-century account of the martyrdom of the slave woman Blandina specifically makes the point that, in spite of her social status as weak and insignificant, she became powerful and exalted because of her ability to endure suffering.[85] The endurance of pain, specifically by society's most powerless members, was consistently represented by Christian writers as an empowering reversal of social constrictions and definitions. The Petrine women, then, participating in both Christian and pagan cultures, may have appropriated a suffering identity as one way to negotiate between conflicting paradigms.

Furthermore, Christian sources of the second century insist that the endurance of persecution attracted converts. Tertullian wrote: "We multiply whenever we are mown down by you; the blood of Christians is seed" (*Apol.* 50), and Justin asserted that "the more we are persecuted, the more do others in ever increasing numbers embrace the faith and become worshipers of God through the name of Jesus" (*Dial.* 110). Regardless of the accuracy of this claim, it appears to have been believed by Christians and deepens the meaning of the reassurance to the Christian wives in 1 Pet 3:1 that their unbelieving husbands "may be won over without a word by their wives' conduct."

The Roman method of establishing dominance through force was thus

[82] Judith Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 8–14.

[83] E.g., *Barn.* 6.9 and 7.11; Iren. *Haer.* 2.22; Pol. *Phil.* 9.1; and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1 are a few examples. Perkins demonstrates that this attitude is documented outside of Christian writings as early as 111 C.E. in the letters of Pliny to Trajan, and that by the middle of the century Galen could write of the Christian contempt for suffering and death (Perkins, *Suffering Self,* 18–19).

[84] Perkins, *Suffering Self,* 33. This valorization of suffering continued into the medieval period, in which women took on the suffering of Christ and gained community esteem. Ellen M. Ross's *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) offers insightful parallels. She writes: "In and through their suffering in solidarity with Christ, medieval holy women become identified with him so closely that they become brokers of the spiritual power that inheres in Jesus himself. Through their suffering, holy women become like Jesus" (pp. 12–13). She adds that although the valorization of suffering may seem "bizarre and unhealthy to many of us now . . . the study of history is not always about seeking comfortable life-models. . . . We may be intrigued and challenged by the power and integrity of this medieval world in which suffering manifested divine presence" (pp. 134–38).

[85] Perkins, *Suffering Self*, 1, 13.

resisted by Christian endurance of that force: the body, pain, injury, and even death were signifiers that were reappropriated by some Christian women to mean power rather than defeat and assimilation. Weakness and humiliation on one side of the cultural boundary were reinterpreted as strength and honor on the other. This reconstruction by Christian leaders of the meaning of suffering in situations of persecution very likely informed the self-understanding of the author of 1 Peter and the women in the communities he addressed.

But those first-century discourses are not our discourses. Today in most of the European-American sphere of influence there is no valuation of slavery or servanthood, no positive model by which to understand that experience. Communitywide persecution of Christians such as the women of 1 Peter faced is rare; the abuse of Christian women comes more often at the hands of their Christian husbands.[86] Although many contemporary Christian women must make choices at the boundaries of belief and secular culture, the boundary today entails much less personal danger. Thus, the Petrine author's exhortation to the women and slaves to "accept authority" in the face of conflict should not be used to edify modern victims of abuse.[87]

Most feminist exegetes of 1 Peter are correct that it is not a liberating text. Patriarchal attitudes are maintained, and women are perceived in stereotypical ways. Women are seemingly encouraged to suffer, and no one offers a this-worldly solution to sexism and abuse. But there are small, subversive openings we can infer from the text: the women operated bravely on the margins, negotiating between their commitment to the Christian community and their non-Christian families and masters; the Petrine text encouraged them to practice passive, nonviolent disobedience, which included a rejection of some of their socially demanded household roles; and the silence that was encouraged in their households was not necessarily reduplicated in the Christian community, of which they are held up as Christomorphic representatives because of their disobedience and suffering in a situation of persecution.

[86] Even in the communities where Christians are persecuted, they are so informed and influenced by the discourses of religious freedom, bodily integrity, human rights, and this-worldly liberation, that the valorization of suffering is rarely taken seriously. Sharyn Dowd writes that 1 Peter was written at a time when the victims of abuse had no options ("1 Peter," 463). Carolyn Osiek and David Balch argue that slaves were "in the vulnerable position of having no recourse when abused. Their conformity to the suffering Christ, therefore, is meant to be comfort and encouragement in suffering that they are powerless to avoid, not a legitimation of the oppression of slavery" (*Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches* [Family, Religion, and Culture; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997], cited in Glancy, *Slavery,* 149).

[87] Glancy's statement regarding the application of this text to slavery can apply to women in general: "For slaveholders in any historical epoch to cite this text to foster the submission of their slaves is therefore egregious, since the author implies that the slaveholders' treatment of their slaves is unjust and will ultimately be judged harshly by God" (*Slavery,* 150).

Moreover, the context of the Christian reinterpretation/renaming of suffering as valuable would have given the women opportunities to exert more power over their situations and self-identities. By rejecting the major premise of their κύριοι that force and intimidation should change their behavior and beliefs, the women of 1 Peter could make at least one part of their lives their own. We do not know how many women took this advice, but as early as 111 C.E., some twenty years after the composition of 1 Peter, we have evidence from the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan that Christian women and men in the same geographical area were willingly enduring suffering and death. The advice to the Petrine women should be left to the first century; the women are an example of courage in a situation that no longer exists. The instructions are an example of confusion and compromise in the face of serious persecution and gender trouble. They both reinforce and undermine the ancient system of patriarchy and domination.

Furthermore, this passage should encourage us to remember that the meanings of suffering can be created only personally and contextually. The goals of relief and the means of resistance have to be determined by the sufferer, who is the one who authentically interprets the constellations of power. Theologies of suffering can offer only general guidelines for understanding suffering and should allow for the greatest diversity in interpretation and reaction. To use the Petrine exhortations as a universal behavioral standard, as some priests and pastors do, or to condemn the text as universally destructive because it has been used destructively in the past, as some feminists do, is to ignore a positive example of the courage of ancient women and to indulge in the timeless, absolutist hermeneutic most scholars reject.

It is encouraging that some churches are finally catching on and leaving the Petrine advice behind. One pastor in the *Los Angeles Times* article concluded, "A church needs to be relevant to the people we're ministering to," referring to their newly established program to combat domestic violence and support abused women.[88] It may be necessary that the brave, suffering women of 1 Peter be forgotten. But with a cautious historically situated interpretation of the Petrine *Haustafel,* we should be able to give them the recognition they deserve while preserving the safety and sanity of their modern counterparts.

APPENDIX
The Imperatival Participle in 1 Peter

Eight of the participles in the Petrine *Haustafel* are imperatival, in that the author used the participial grammatical form in the place of a finite imperative. The author uses

[88] Watanabe, "Domestic Violence," B9.

them elsewhere also (examples from the *Haustafel* are in bold): 1:13a, b, 14, 18, 22; 2:1, 4, 12, **18, 3:1, 6c, d, 7a, b, 9a, b,** 16; 4:8, 10, and 5:9. Although present in other NT *Haustafeln,* imperatival participles are more concentrated in the Petrine code, and they are not found in classical or Hellenistic Greek literature. The Greek participle is normally accompanied by a finite verb which the participle complements. Participles thus function either adjectivally or adverbially in relation to the finite verb. But an imperatival participle is neither connected to any imperative form, nor is it an ellipse of the periphrastic construction. It stands independently in the place of the main verb and is obviously to be understood as a command. Imperatival participles should not be confused with "exhortative participles," which also have the sense of a command but which draw that sense from the finite verb by which they are governed. Nigel Turner suggests that the imperatival participle is "comparatively most frequent" in 1 Peter (*Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1965], 166). But just as there is no consensus regarding which participles in 1 Peter are imperatival (see Lauri Thurén, *The Rhetorical Strategy of I Peter: With Special Regard to Ambiguous Expressions* (Åbo: Åbo Academy Press, 1990], 4–11, for an overview of different scholars' positions), so it is with participles in other NT epistles. Imperatival participles appear in Col 3:16, Eph 5:21, and possibly in Heb 13:5 and Rom 12:9–19. It is not unanimously accepted that any of these NT participles should be interpreted imperativally, although those who support the imperatival use are in the majority. These include David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Althone, 1956), 90–105; Thurén, *Rhetorical Strategy,* passim (with qualifications); Max Zerwick, *Biblical Greek: Illustrated by Examples* (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblica; Rome: n.p., 1963); C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 179–80; Turner, *Grammatical Insights,* 165; John H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy: An Exegetical Examination of I Peter 2:4–10 and the Phrase "Basileion Hierateuma"* (NovTSup 12; Leiden: Brill, 1966), 16–17; James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1906), 180–83; H. G. Meecham, "The Use of the Participle for the Imperative," *ExpTim* 58 (1947): 207–8; William L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter* (WUNT 2/30; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989), 61; Ernest Best, *1 Peter* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971), 30; Leonhard Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter* (trans. John E. Alsup; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), passim; Ernst Lohse, "Paraenesis and Kerygma in I Peter" (trans. J. Steely), in *Perspectives on I Peter* (NABPR Special Studies 9; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 43; Crouch, *Origen and Intention,* 24; Balch, *"Let Wives Be Submissive,"* 37, with reservations; and Michaels, *1 Peter,* passim.

In 1947 NT scholar David Daube argued that the NT imperatival participles were Christian versions of the Hebrew imperatival participle construction found in the Mishnah. The imperatival participles in Hebrew are used to express what is customary and agreed upon, as distinct from what is authoritative and absolute. They never occur in a specific demand on a specific occasion. The participles are present in those instructions which deal with customary behavior and are usually translated with the sense of "one does such and such, and one does not do such and such."

Daube argued that the Mishnaic participles arose out of the Jewish experience of loss of revelation following the completion of the OT canon. They thus reflect the secondary nature of nonbiblical rules. Daube added that they were expressed this way also

because they were addressed to an elite, elect group that already knew the proper behavior. Thus, they implied advice rather than command, and they appealed to the positive self-identification of a community that considered itself superior, even though oppressed. See David Daube, "Appended Note," in Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter,* 467; and *New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism,* 94. An example Daube lists is from *Moʿed Qaṭan,* in which the sages say, "On the new moons, Hanukkah, and Purim [women] wail and clap their hands. On none of them do they sing a dirge" (3:9). In the original all of the instructions are in the participle, and a literal translation would be, "On the new moons, Hanukkah, and Purim [women] are wailing and clapping their hands. On none of them are they singing a dirge." Daube's other examples include *m. Šeb.* 1:3; *m. Sanh.* 8:7; *m. Demai* 2:3; *m. Bik.* 1:4; and *m. Taʿan.* 4:6 (*Rabbinic Judaism,* 90–96).

The instructions are not forceful or prescriptive, but descriptive of the normal activities of members of the group. The Petrine author's use of the imperatival participle would seem to indicate the same dynamic: a group leader speaking to those who already understood the rules, reminding them of the customary behavior. The significance of the imperatival participles in 1 Peter, if Daube's theory is correct, would be form-critical: a linguistic form arising out of social circumstances—here the preservation of sectarian identity, consistent with Elliott's analysis. More recently, Lauri Thurén has suggested that the imperatival participles are part of the Petrine author's rhetorical strategy of using "ambiguous expressions" to address two conflicting attitudes in his audience: to assimilate to Greco-Roman culture and to emphasize internal cohesion (*Rhetorical Strategy*).

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MYTH AND SYMBOLIC RESISTANCE IN REVELATION 13

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The goal of this article is to examine the use of myth in Revelation 13. I contend that John drew on a range of mythic traditions from Jewish and Gentile sources. Comparisons with the use of myth in other apocalyptic texts and in imperial cult settings lead to the conclusion that John deployed myths in creative and disorienting ways for the purpose of alienating his audiences from mainstream society. In other words, he engaged in symbolic resistance, by which I do not mean hopeless support for a lost cause but rather the dangerous deployment of myths in defense of a minority viewpoint in a particular social context. In order to get to that conclusion, however, I must explain what I mean by myth, lay out comparative material from the mythology of imperial cults in Asia, and then examine the use of myth in Revelation 13.

I. Remythologizing Studies of the Book of Revelation

The starting point for the argument is a simple observation: myth has almost disappeared as an interpretive category in studies of the book of Revelation. The last sightings were recorded in the 1970s by Adela Yarbro Collins and John Court.[1] One reason the category has gone into hiding is fairly obvious: in

An earlier draft of this article was discussed in the Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism and Early Christianity Group at the AAR/SBL annual meeting in Nashville (2000). My thanks go to the official discussants—Adela Yarbro Collins and Simon Price—for their helpful critiques and to the anonymous reviewers of this article for their suggestions.

[1] Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); John Court, *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* (London: SPCK, 1979). There have also been some recent exceptions. It is significant that they were published in Europe (see below, pp. 282–83): "Symbole und mythische Aussagen in der Johannesapokalypse

colloquial speech, "myth" normally has a pejorative meaning, referring to "an unfounded or false notion," "a person or thing having only an imaginary or unverifiable existence."[2]

There are also more serious and more subtle reasons for our lack of attention to myth in Revelation. One is that myth has often been portrayed as a primitive attempt at scientific thought. This view of myth grew out of Europe's colonial encounter with other parts of the world. Myth was not thought to be inherent in the Christian tradition, or at least not a crucial part of the tradition; it belonged instead to the religious life of conquered, "primitive" peoples.[3] This imperial, evolutionary view of the world permeated the Western academy and can be seen in such landmarks of twentieth-century biblical studies as Rudolf Bultmann's project of demythologizing. Demythologization was based on the assumption that myth was a primitive worldview that had been superseded by Western science.

> According to mythological thinking, God has his domicile in heaven. What is the meaning of this statement? The meaning is quite clear. *In a crude manner* it expresses the idea that God is beyond the world, that He is transcendent. *The thinking that is not yet capable of forming the abstract idea* of transcendence expresses its intention in the category of space. . . .[4]

The waning of interest in myth in studies of Revelation precisely in the late 1970s, however, was due to another, related reason: the growing international dominance of the United States after World War II and the resulting dominance of American academic concerns. Prior to World War II, European scholarship controlled the disciplines of biblical studies and comparative religion. Ivan Strenski argued that fundamental theories of myth from that period—especially those of Ernst Cassirer, Bronislaw Malinowski, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Mircea Eliade—were constructed on the basis of specific European concerns.[5] He showed that their theories of myth all grappled in different ways

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und ihre theologische Bedeutung," in *Metaphorik und Mythos im Neuen Testament* (ed. Karl Kertelge; QD 126; Freiburg: Herder, 1990), 255–77; Peter Antonysamy Abir, *The Cosmic Conflict of the Church: An Exegetico-Theological Study of Revelation 12, 7–12* (European University Studies, Series 23, Theology 547; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995); Peter Busch, *Der gefallene Drache: Mythenexegese am Beispiel von Apokalypse 12* (Texte und Arbeiten zum Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 19; Tübingen: Francke, 1996). I thank Georg Adamsen for these references.

[2] Miriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. "myth," meanings 2b, 3, http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary (accessed July 9, 2003).

[3] Lawrence E. Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 7–8.

[4] Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 20 (emphasis added).

[5] Ivan Strenski, *Four Theories of Myth in Twentieth-Century History: Cassirer, Eliade, Lévi-*

with primitivist sentiments in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century. The theories of myth that they developed responded to contemporary political and nationalistic claims about national identity and the attachment of a particular *Volk* to their homeland.[6]

After World War II, dominance in the international economy, politics, and culture shifted from Europe to the United States, and the intellectual center of gravity in NT studies slowly shifted as well.[7] Dominant culture in the United States, however, is predicated on the dislocation and/or decimation of native populations. So theories of myth that wrestled with European nationalisms and ancestral connections to land were clearly out of place in this country, where discontinuity with native populations and the seizure of their land are crucial aspects of national identity.[8] American society and economy have been predicated on the eradication of native populations and their "primitive myths," and so American scholarship has not generally focused on mythology.

In the decades of American dominance in the discipline, studies on Revelation (and NT studies generally) turned instead toward functional descriptions of churches in their social settings, or toward literary analyses of the texts themselves. Neither approach paid much attention to mythology,[9] and this seems to involve a fourth factor. Myth has often been portrayed as a static phenomenon that is inherently conservative and discourages people from trying to change unjust conditions in this world. Apocalyptic mythology in particular has been described as having an "otherworldly orientation" that results in the renuncia-

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Strauss and Malinowski (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1987). The strength of this study is the contextualized approach to intellectual biographies, which gives us insight into the development of theories and methods in religious studies.

[6] See also Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 74–75.

[7] Marcus Borg, "Reflections on a Discipline: A North American Perspective," in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 29. Borg notes this shift in the 1970s without discussing possible causes or the relation to World War II. Borg's article focused on Jesus studies, but with an eye to larger trends in the study of early Christianity. Note also that Borg wrote about "North American" scholarship, while my analysis suggests that trends in the United States and in Canada should not necessarily be grouped together.

[8] Eliade is an interesting exception in this regard. Although his formative years were spent in India and Europe, his theories of myth and religion found quite a following after his move to the United States (more in comparative religion than in biblical studies). I suspect that the interest in his theories in this country was due to the fact that those theories were formed in part as opposition to Marxism in Eastern Europe. Thus, even though the formative influences on him were European, his rejection of Marxism resonated with American anticommunist propaganda.

[9] David L. Barr came close to reopening this question, by dealing with mythic patterns and themes under the narratological rubric of "story" (*Tales of the End: A Narrative Commentary on the Book of Revelation* [Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 1998]).

tion of responsible historical action, all of which runs contrary to popular notions in the United States about participation in a democratic society.[10]

Since the abandonment of myth as an analytical category, "ideology" has sometimes been chosen as a framework for such discussions, but I am more suspicious of this category than I am of myth.[11] The main problem with ideology as an analytical tool is that it was fashioned in the late nineteenth century for the analysis of modern Western industrial societies in which the organization of religion and society is very different from that of the ancient Mediterranean world.[12] A good deal of work has advanced the conceptualization of ideology in the meantime,[13] but on the whole ideology has been more helpful in analyzing recent historical periods.

A second problem with ideology as a category for our investigation is that it is rarely used with any precision in NT studies,[14] even though the meaning of the term is a matter of wide-ranging debate.[15] This is disconcerting, because particular theories of religion—mostly pejorative—are implicit in the term, depending on how it is defined. Most popular and classical usages of the term presuppose that ideology, and hence religion, is a set of false beliefs that mystify

[10] See, e.g., Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 408–11; the quoted phrase is from 408. Notice also the characterization of apocalyptic myth in the following quotation: "The response on the part of the latter [i.e., the hierocratic leaders of the community] was further oppression [of the apocalyptic visionaries], leading the visionaries to even deeper pessimism vis-à-vis the historical order and further flight into the timeless repose of a mythic realm of salvation" (p. 409).

[11] The conceptual pair politics/religion has been employed also in discussions of imperial cults or of Revelation, but the results are seldom satisfying. "Politics/religion" tends to polarize society into distinct sectors, one religious and one political. This might be an appropriate approach to examining modern industrial societies, but it simply confuses the issus when imposed on the ancient world. We need to pose only two questions to see the limited value of these categories: Was Revelation a political or a religious text? Were imperial cults political or religious institutions? Politics/religion does not help us explain anything in these cases.

[12] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* the term "ideology" first appeared in the philosophical sense of "a science of ideas" in France during the late eighteenth century. Ideology was then redefined for social analysis in the first half of the nineteenth century by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to describe a system of false ideas generated by the dominant class in order to support and to conceal its exploitation of the rest of society (Mike Cormack, *Ideology* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992], 9–10).

[13] See Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (New York: Verso, 1991), 93–192.

[14] Even a fine study like Robert M. Royalty, Jr., *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998) assumes that we know precisely what is meant by this crucial term.

[15] Cormack begins his study with four recent definitions of ideology that defy homogenization (*Ideology*, 9). Eagleton (*Ideology*, 1–2) begins with sixteen different definitions.

"real" social relations in such a way as to perpetuate oppression.[16] I am quite willing to admit that such theories might provide appropriate starting points for the analysis of Revelation. They should not, however, be a presumed and covert starting point. An overt explanation and defense are necessary.

Thus, the value of the concept ideology for analysis of ancient societies such as those that made up the Roman empire is questionable. My alternative—focusing on myth rather than on ideology—does not solve all these problems, but it does have certain advantages. One is that the modern term "myth" developed as a way of discussing narratives in societies with nonindustrial economies, which should make it more applicable to the Roman empire and its agrarian society. Another advantage is that the study of myth originated in disciplined cross-cultural and historical studies. Thus, myth should have more potential as a theoretical tool for describing first-century topics.

This leaves one last preliminary matter: What do I mean by myth? Five descriptive comments about myth are important for my argument. First, myths are "the stories that everyone knows and the stories that everyone has heard before."[17] This axiom includes several points that do not require elaboration: myths are narratives; they are shared by an identifiable group (the "everyone" in the quotation); and the story lines are not new.

Second, myths can be distinguished from other stories because they have a special priority for a group of people. Wendy Doniger put it this way:

> My own rather cumbersome definition of a myth is: a narrative in which a group finds, over an extended period of time, a shared meaning in certain questions about human life, to which the various proposed answers are usually unsatisfactory in one way or another. These would be questions such as, Why are we here? What happens to us when we die? Is there a God?[18]

Thus, the reason that myths are familiar is that they express a particular value or insight that a group finds relevant across time, and so the stories are told repeatedly. In the case of Revelation, the myths tend to address questions such as, Why do the righteous suffer? What is the ultimate fate of people and institutions?

Third, myths often appear to be variants either of other myths from the

[16] In the late twentieth century the pejorative meaning of ideology receded somewhat; see Teun A. van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 2–4.

[17] Bruce Lincoln, "Mythic Narrative and Cultural Diversity in American Society," in *Myth and Method* (ed. Laurie L. Patton and Wendy Doniger; Studies in Religion and Culture; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 165.

[18] Wendy Doniger, "Minimyths and Maximyths and Political Points of View," in *Myth and Method*, ed. Patton and Doniger, 112. See also Doniger, *The Implied Spider: Politics & Theology in Myth* (Lectures on the History of Religions n.s. 16; New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 2.

same social group or of myths told by other groups. This has led some scholars to use myth to refer to an abstract story line that explains the variants (or the cross-cultural comparisons). I prefer to call this abstract story line a "mythic pattern" rather than a myth in order to promote clarity in the discussion and to emphasize the point that the abstracted pattern is a heuristic device created by analysts but seldom (perhaps never) occurring in the wild.[19]

Fourth, the function of myth in which I am most interested is the way that myths are deployed in particular historical and social settings. A mythic pattern is flexible and is never narrated the same way twice. Sometimes the narrations of the same story line can even contradict each other.[20] This implies that myths are not static and timeless, nor do they always support dominant social interests. While myths are often deployed to support the status quo, they can also be used to resist dominant discourse or to develop alternative strategies.[21] In fact, they are sometimes a crucial component of symbolic resistance.

Fifth and finally, myths are part of an interdependent system with three important components: myths, rituals, and social structures. Myths and rituals are "supple, versatile, and potent instruments that people produce, reproduce, and modify, and instruments they use—with considerable but imperfect skill and strategic acumen—to produce, reproduce, and modify themselves and the groups in which they participate."[22] So changes in a myth, a ritual, or a social hierarchy will have repercussions, eliciting modifications in the other two components. In other words, we are dealing with aspects of a discursive system involving "triadic co-definition . . . in which a social group, a set of ritual performances, and a set of mythic narratives produce one another."[23]

Together, these five points provide a framework for comparing the use of myth in Rev 13 with mythic methods in other apocalyptic texts and in imperial cult settings. Since there is very little discussion in the secondary literature about imperial cult mythology, an overview of myth, ritual, and society in imperial cults of Asia is a necessary first step.

[19] An example of a mythic pattern is what Adela Yarbro Collins called the "combat myth," which is a set of similar characters and themes that occur in stories from several cultures (*Combat Myth*, 59–61). It is similar to Doniger's "micromyth" (*Implied Spider*, 88–92).

[20] Doniger, *Implied Spider*, 80–83.

[21] Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 27–37. It is difficult to determine exactly why mythic patterns can be used in so many different ways. It may be because myths are authored by communities in performance, and so they must incorporate a range of viewpoints if they are to be accepted by a range of individuals (Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth*, 149–50). Or perhaps the subject matter of myths contributes to the flexibility of mythic patterns; since myths deal with insoluble problems of human experience, new versions of the myth are constantly generated in order to attempt yet another (partially adequate) solution (Doniger, *Implied Spider*, 95–97).

[22] Lincoln, "Mythic Narrative," 175.

[23] Ibid., 166.

II. The Deployment of Myth in Imperial Cults

Imperial cult mythology was an important resource for the use of myth in Rev 13. This section provides a survey of the use of myth in imperial cult settings in Asia as comparative material for an examination of Rev 13. The crucial questions here are how myth was used and who used it in these ways. I answer these questions with selected imperial cult from examples Miletos, Aphrodisias, and Ephesos.[24]

The Miletos example shows how local mythologies were incorporated into imperial cult ritual settings in order to support the social structure of Roman hegemony. This reconfiguration of myth and ritual suggested that divine punishment of evildoers was meted out by Roman imperial authorities. The example comes from the courtyard of the Miletos bouleuterion (fig. 1).[25] A bouleuterion was a crucial building in a Greco-Roman city and a quintessential expression of ancient "democracy," which primarily involved a small number of wealthy elite men.[26]

Of interest to us are the ruins found about a century ago in the courtyard of the bouleuterion. These ruins came from a structure built later than the rest of the complex. Klaus Tuchelt compared these ruins with other structures and showed that the building in the courtyard was a platform for an altar (fig. 2). The platform had decorated walls on all four sides, with access via a wide staircase on the side facing the bouleuterion. The design and ornamentation of the platform altar are of a type widely associated with imperial cult shrines, a type influenced heavily by the Augustan Ara Pacis in Rome.[27] Fragmentary inscrip-

[24] For a broader examination of the evidence for imperial cults in the Roman province of Asia, see my *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), esp. 25–131.

[25] The bouleuterion complex at Miletos is located in the city center on the northeast side of the South Agora. The bouleuterion complex was enclosed by a rectangular wall, 34.84 m wide and 55.9 m deep (exterior measurements). The complex is composed of two parts: a rectangular courtyard in front and the bouleuterion building itself (fig. 1). Inside the building was theater-style seating with eighteen rows of semicircular stone benches. In front of the building the rectangular courtyard had colonnaded halls on three sides. A monumental propylon (Corinthian order) provided entry into the complex from the southeast side, opposite the courtyard from the bouleuterion. For further information, see Klaus Tuchelt, "Buleuterion und Ara Augusti," *IstMitt* 25 (1975): esp. 91–96; a city plan is found on p. 100, Abb. 2.

[26] Hans Volkmann, "Bule," *KP* 1.967–69. Every city had a *boulē,* a council composed of wealthy male citizens. Although the precise duties of the *boulē* could vary from city to city, during the Roman imperial period a *boulē* normally supervised affairs related to the city's limited autonomy. The members of the *boulē* oversaw the various officials of the city and made recommendations to the *ekklēsia* (which included all male citizens of the city and met less frequently).

[27] Tuchelt, "Buleuterion," 102–40; Homer Thompson, "The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 21 (1952): 79–82.

tions from the propylon of the bouleuterion allowed Tuchelt to identify the structure in the courtyard as an imperial cult altar.[28]

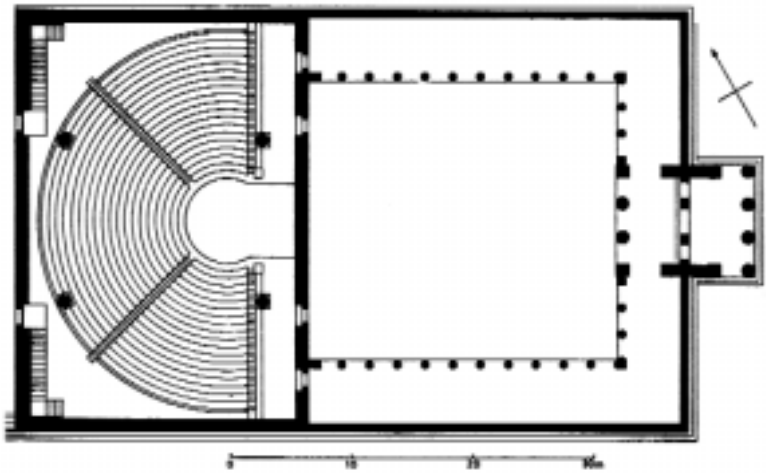

Figure 1. Plan of the bouleuterion at Miletos. This plan does not show the altar in the middle of the courtyard. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.

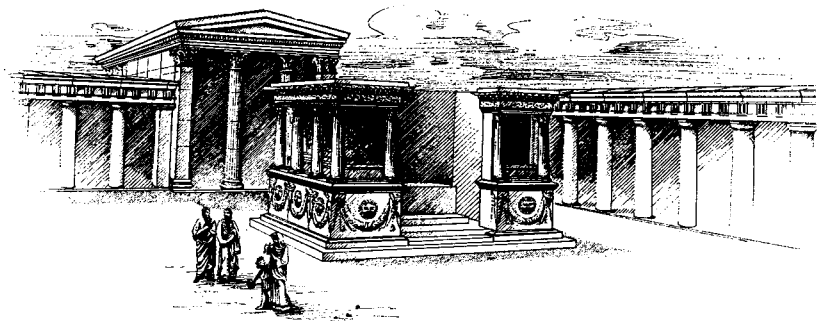

Figure 2. Reconstruction of the altar, viewed from the bouleuterion. The propylon is in the background. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.

[28] Excavators discovered the foundations (9.5 m wide by 7.25 m deep) and some fragments of the superstructure beginning in 1899. These could not have been for the altar of the *boulē* since a bouleuterion normally had its altar inside the meetinghouse for rituals that were a part of the council's governmental activities (Tuchelt, "Buleuterion," 129). Early excavators thought that this might have been a monumental tomb for a wealthy benefactor of the Roman imperial period (Hubert Knackfuss et al., *Das Rathaus von Milet* [Milet 1.2; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1908], 78–79). Tuchelt, however, showed that this was unlikely. Inscriptions from the Miletos bouleuterion propylon support the imperial cult altar identification, mentioning benefactors of a local imperial cult (Milet 1.2:84–87, #7). Peter Hermann ("Milet unter Augustus: C. Iulius Epikrates und die Anfänge des Kaiserkults," *IstMitt* 44 [1994]: 229–34) considered the tomb theory still tenable, but he discussed

The sculptures from the walls of this altar platform provide rare surviving examples of the use of myth in an imperial cult setting. The external walls of the altar platform contained twelve sculptures.[29] Only a few pieces of the twelve sculptures were found, so we cannot say what the overall sculptural program might have been. The extant fragments of four identifiable scenes show that local mythology regarding justice and vengeance predominated. Leto and her twins Apollo and Artemis appear in three of the four scenes as examples of local versions of Panhellenic myths.[30] One scene is so severely damaged that it is clear only from analogous sculptures that it portrays Apollo with a bow. A second scene appears in two examples: Leto sits on her throne with water nymphs from the Mykale mountain range at her feet (left); Apollo and Artemis (right) stand in her presence.[31] A third scene, again quite damaged, portrays Artemis shooting the giant Tityos in order to stop him from raping her mother Leto at Delphi (fig. 3). The rest of the story is not pictured (as far as we know): as punishment, Tityos was pegged to the ground in Tartarus, where vultures feasted on his liver. The fourth scene changes characters but not themes: the twin founders of Miletos, Pelias and Neleus, avenge their mother, Tyro, by killing her evil stepmother, Sidero, even though Sidero had fled to the temple of Hera for protection (fig. 4).

Given our incomplete knowledge of the Miletos altar and its sculptures, it is important not to make too much of this evidence. But it is equally important not to make too little of it. If the interpretations of the remains are accurate (and I think they are), we have a good example of local mythology appropriated to support Roman imperialism in a specific setting. New imperial cult rituals were grafted onto the municipal rituals already established for city governance of Miletos, and local myths were used to provide the narrative. By visually "retelling" the mythic stories of Miletos in this ritual setting, their meaning was altered to reflect and to promote a particular social hierarchy. The local stories of vengeance and divine judgment upon evildoers were deployed to support Roman rule and the collaboration of the local elites (the *boulē*) with Rome.

An implication of this conclusion is that we should not expect to find a homogeneous, unified mythology of imperial cults. The ways these myths were

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only the inscriptions and did not deal with the architectural and sculptural evidence. Even though the evidence is fragmentary, Tuchelt's argument is stonger.

[29] There were four scenes on the back wall (visible from the propylon); three scenes on each side wall; and a scene on either side of the staircase (visible from the bouleuterion).

[30] On the overlap of local and Panhellenic myths, see Simon Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* (Key Themes in Ancient History; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 19. Although Delos was named as the birthplace of the twins in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, local tradition in western Asia Minor asserted that the true birthplace was Ortygia, near Ephesos (Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.20). The intimate connection between Artemis and Ephesos is well known. There were also important oracular shrines of Apollo in the region, with the most prominent centers at Didyma (under the control of Miletos) and at Klaros.

[31] Tuchelt, "Buleuterion," pls. 28–29.

Figure 3. Sculptural fragment from a relief of Artemis defending Leto from rape by the giant Tityos. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.

Figure 4. Sculptural fragment from a relief of Pelias and Neleus avenging their mother against abuse from Sidero. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.

articulated in Miletos would have been inappropriate or irrelevant in Alexandria, Damascus, or Trier. There might be a consistent mythic pattern that we can discern, but many inconsistent stories were deployed to support Roman imperialism in various places.

The south portico of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias is our second example. It illustrates the reworking of local myth in imperial cult settings, the mythologization of the emperor and imperial violence, and imperial propaganda about the pacification of land and sea. The Sebasteion complex consists of a long narrow courtyard (ca. 14 x 90 m) surrounded by four buildings: a propylon on the small west side; a temple on the east side (raised on a platform and approached by a monumental stairway); and three-story porticoes on the north and south sides (figs. 5–6). The identification of the Sebasteion as an imperial cult site is secure, for inscriptions on the buildings have dedications, "To Aphrodite, to the Gods Sebastoi [Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς], and to the *demos* of the Aphrodisians."[32] Pieces of another inscription indicate that the temple itself was dedicated at least to Tiberius and to Livia.[33]

Most of the evidence for the use of myth at the Sebasteion comes from the porticoes, for these were lined with sculptural reliefs on their second and third stories.[34] The south portico is more important for the purposes of this study, for the portico's third floor held a series of forty-five panels that dealt with the emperors in mythic terms, and the second floor displayed a series of forty-five scenes from standard mythic narratives. Together, these provide an impressive example of the use of myth in an imperial cult precinct.

[32] From the propylon; see Joyce Reynolds, "Further Information on Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias," *Studii clasice* 24 (1986): 111. The north portico inscriptions are described in R. R. R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77 (1987): 90; an inscription that dates to the later rebuilding also calls the emperors Olympians: Θεοὶ Σεβαστοὶ Ὀλύμπιοι (Reynolds, "Further Information," 114). A fragmentary inscription from the south portico probably refers to the goddess Livia and to Tiberius; see Joyce Reynolds, "New Evidence for the Imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias," *ZPE* 43 (1981): 317–18 #1.

[33] Joyce Reynolds, "The Origins and Beginning of Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 206 (1980): 79 #10; eadem, "Further Information," 110 and n. 12. The four buildings were not completed at one time. Construction probably began during the reign of Tiberius, and there are signs of earthquake damage after that. A second phase of construction began during the reign of Claudius and stretched into the reign of Nero (Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 88–98). For a short summary of the building history, see R. R. R. Smith, "Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion," in *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture* (ed. Charlotte Roueché and Kenan T. Erim; Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series 1; Ann Arbor: Department of Classical Studies, University of Michagan, 1990), 89.

[34] The south portico originally held ninety panels: each floor had fifteen rooms, and each room provided for the display of three sculptural panels, yielding ninety panels on the façade (forty-five per floor) (Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 95). The north portico was longer, with fifty panels per decorated floor (R. R. R. Smith, "*Simulacra Gentium*: The *Ethne* from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 78 [1988]: 51).

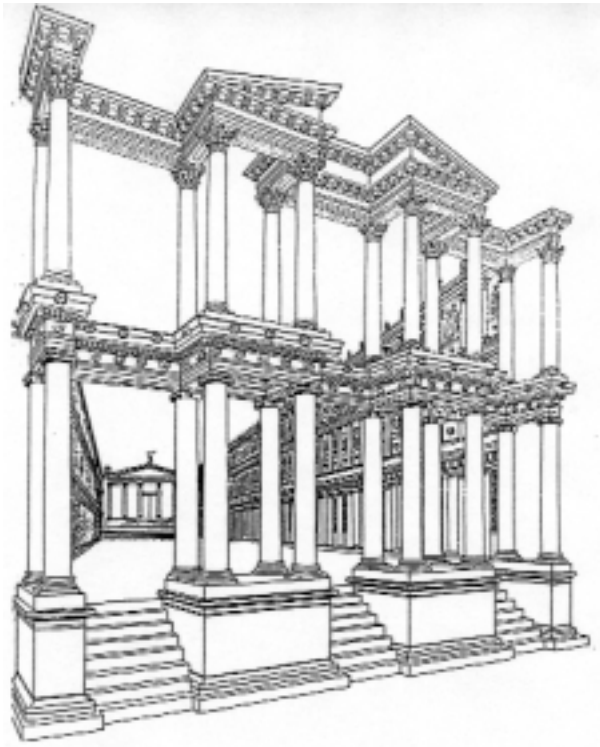

Figure 5. Reconstruction of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. The porticoes on the sides and the temple in the distance are seen through the openings in the propylon. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

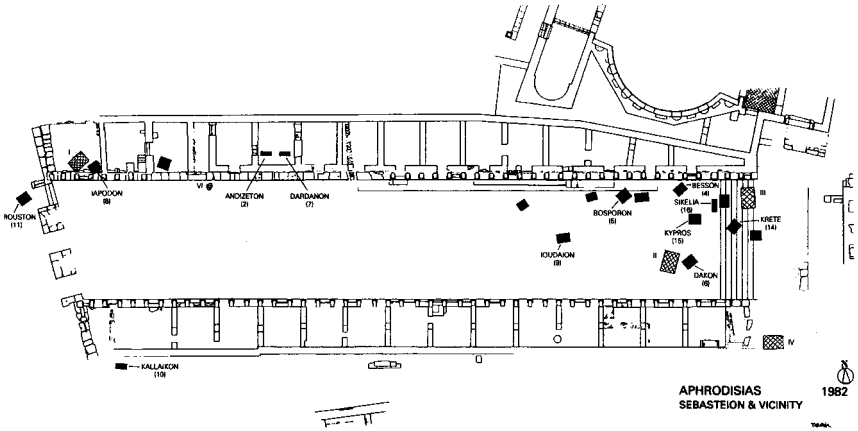

Figure 6. Plan of the Sebasteion courtyard at Aphrodisias. The staircase on the right ascended to the temple platform (not shown). Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

Figure 7. Relief of Claudius defeating Britannia. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

From the third floor of the south portico, more than one-third of the panels with imperial figures have been found and their approximate original locations can be determined.[35] Four of the eleven extant panels merit discussion in this context. Two of these four panels depict emperors defeating regions on the margins of the empire. In one scene, the victory of Claudius over Britannia (43 C.E.) is portrayed in the following way (fig. 7). The emperor is nude in the style of a hero or god, while Britannia is rendered as an amazon. Claudius has pinned her to the ground. His left hand grasps her hair and pulls back her head, and his right hand holds a spear (now missing) poised for the fatal blow.[36] The second panel retells Nero's victories over Armenia (54 C.E.; fig. 8). On this panel the emperor is also a heroic nude figure and the opponent an amazon. The compo-

[35] Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 100, 132.
[36] Ibid., 115–17, pls. 14–15.

Figure 8. Relief of Nero defeating Armenia. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

sition, however, alludes to the specific iconography of Achilles killing Penthesilea, the queen of the amazons.[37]

A model developed by Bruce Lincoln helps us describe the deployment of myth in these two scenes. His model contained four kinds of stories–fable, legend, history, and myth–and compared them in terms of truth claims, credibility, and authority.[38]

[37] Ibid., 117–20, pls. 16–17.

[38] Lincoln, *Discourse*, 23–26. By "authority," Lincoln means that the narrative is not simply considered true, but is considered to have paradigmatic status as both a model of and a model for reality.

	Truth Claims	*Credibility*	*Authority*
Fable	No	No	No
Legend	Yes	No	No
History	Yes	Yes	No
Myth	Yes	Yes	Yes

Using these categories we can describe at least three ways in which people use myths and related narratives.[39]

1. Downgrading a myth to the status of history or legend by questioning the myth's authority or credibility.
2. Mythologizing history, legend, or fable by attributing authority and/or credibility to them so that they gain the status of myth.
3. Reinterpreting established myths in new ways.

Returning to the two imperial panels from the Sebasteion, we have clear examples of the mythologization of specific historical events. This is accomplished through stylistic decisions (such as the divine nudity) and through allusion to mythic narratives such as battles with amazons or to the Trojan War.[40] The process does not create an allegory, however: in the myths, the amazons die; in history, the neighboring regions lived on, either forcibly absorbed into the empire or subdued and granted limited autonomy at the border. The process of mythologization worked by analogy rather than by allegory, proposing similarities between stories of the emperors and myths and thereby investing one with the authority of the other. Note also that the mythologization of imperial military strength was accomplished in a ritual setting. This combination of new myth and ritual at the Sebasteion enforced the Roman social order. It incorporated the emperors into the myths of western Asia Minor, with particular emphasis on their military victories.

Several other panels celebrated the victories of the emperors in mythic terms,[41] although it is no longer clear which emperors were displayed. A third panel for consideration interprets the ambivalent results of those victories (fig. 9). The panel depicts an unidentified emperor standing next to a trophy (the armor of his fallen foe displayed on a pole). On the right stands a Roman figure, personifying either the senate or the people of Rome, who crowns the con-

[39] Lincoln provides specific modern examples of these deployments (*Discourse*, 15–23 and 27–37).

[40] There is also in the Nero panel a hint of an allusion to the story of Menelaus retrieving the body of Patroklos (Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 118–19).

[41] There are four extant panels from the third story that portray winged Nikes.

queror. In the lower left corner, a kneeling female prisoner with hands bound behind the back looks out in anguish at the viewer.[42] Here a standard trophy scene is employed in such a way as to highlight the military basis of imperial rule, and to make clear the dire consequences of resistance.

A fourth scene from the sculptures of the Sebasteion's third floor describes the benefits of imperialism–a fruitful earth and secure sea lanes–in mythic terms. The panel is dominated by a standing, nude Claudius with drapery billowing up above his head (fig. 10).[43] In the lower left corner an earth figure hands him a cornucopia; in the lower right a figure representing the sea hands him a ship's rudder. The two great elements traversed by humans—earth and sea—offer their gifts to the divine emperor. In these two scenes history again is elevated to myth, but in a more generalized sense. The scenes appear to refer not to specific historical events but rather to a general process of imperial domination.

When we move to the second floor of the Sebasteion's south portico, we find the reworking of local mythology to support Roman rule.[44] The subject matter on the second floor is no longer imperial exploits but rather a selection of Panhellenic myths. Some of the figures and stories are recognizable, such as the three Graces, Apollo and a tripod at Delphi, Achilles and Penthesilea, Meleager and the Calydonian Boar, Herakles freeing the bound Prometheus, and the young Dionysos among the nymphs. Other scenes contain enough detail to indicate specific stories that are no longer recognizable, for example, a seated hero and a dog flanked by an amazon and a male figure with a crown in his hand, and three heroes with a dog.[45]

The overall arrangement of scenes on the second floor does not appear to be governed by a single strong theme. The reliefs depict instead a range of myths that are perhaps gathered in clusters. One exception where there is clear development, however, is at the east end of the portico near the temple for Tiberius and Livia. Here the three panels from the first room contain overt references to Panhellenic mythology that has special significance for Aphrodisias (fig. 11). The first panel (closest to the temple) has a seated Aphrodite, the principal municipal deity, with an infant Eros on her lap; the male standing next to her is probably Anchises. The central panel from room 1 portrays the flight of Aeneas—the child of Aphrodite and Anchises—from Troy in standard terms

[42] Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 112–15, pls. 12–13.

[43] Ibid., 104–6, pls. 6–7. The publication identifies the emperor as Augustus, but Smith is now convinced that the figure's head reflects a standard model of Claudius (personal communication).

[44] From the original forty-five panels of the second story, more than thirty have been found largely intact, and fragments of most of the other panels are known.

[45] Smith, "Myth and Allegory," 95–97

Figure 9. Relief of an emperor, crowned as a victor by a Roman figure. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

Figure 10. Relief of Claudius, Land, and Sea. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

Figure 11. Three reliefs (left to right): Aphrodite and Eros; Aeneas's Flight from Troy; Poseidon. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

except that Aphrodite accompanies him as a figure inscribed into the background of the scene. The meaning of the third panel is uncertain: Poseidon and the other figures might allude to the sea voyage of Aeneas.[46]

In spite of the uncertainties, the gist of this deployment is unmistakable. The panels rework established Aphrodite mythology (Lincoln's third use of myth) to emphasize a special relationship between Romans and Aphrodisians: the local city's eponymous goddess is portrayed as the ancestor of the Romans through Aeneas. Furthermore, there is a direct connection to the reliefs above these (in room 1 of the third story; this is one of the few places where the panels of the second story intersect with those directly above them). Directly above the flight of Aeneas on the second floor is a third-floor panel with Augustus as military victor (fig. 12), which was flanked by panels of the Dioskouroi. Taken together, then, the reliefs of the first rooms of the second and third stories craft a narrative in which the historical military victories of Augustus and the Romans are incorporated into panhellenic myth, and into local myth (Lincoln's second use of myth, but not analogical this time).[47] It is particularly important that this confluence of myths occurs at the east end of the portico next to the altar area and temple, which was the ritual center of the complex. As the viewer

[46] Ibid., 97.

[47] Ibid., 100. The scope of this article does not allow discussion of the north portico, where the entire second story appears to be devoted to the conquests of Augustus; see Smith, "*Simulacra Gentium*."

Figure 12. Relief of Augustus the military victor, crowned by a nike. Courtesy of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

moves closer to the altar and temple—the focal point for rituals in the precincts—imperial mythology and local mythology converge in support of Roman conquest.

The inscriptions from the Sebasteion complex allow us to turn our attention from how myth was used to the question of who used myth in these ways. Since the style of this complex was local and not imported,[48] the benefactors who built the complex would have been influential in the design. Inscriptions indicate that two local families built and maintained the Sebasteion. The south portico was undertaken by two brothers, Diogenes and Attalos, but Attalos died before construction was finished and so his wife Attalis Apphion financed his share of the project "on his behalf."[49] Attalis was also mentioned as a benefactor of the temple.[50] The inscription is heavily damaged, so we assume, but do not

[48] Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 134–37; idem, "*Simulacra Gentium*," 77; idem, "Myth and Allegory," 100.

[49] Reynolds, "New Evidence," 317–18, #1. The fragmentary #2 also mentions her.

[50] Reynolds, "Origins," 79, #10.

know for sure, that Diogenes also financed the temple along with Attalis.[51] Sometime later, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes (son of Diogenes and nephew of Attalus and Attalis) paid for repairs of the south portico, probably after earthquake damage.[52]

The other two buildings of the Sebasteion—the propylon and the north portico—were built by another family. The primary benefactors named in the inscription are Eusebes, his wife Apphias, and his brother Menander. These buildings also required restoration after an earthquake, and other inscriptions inform us that the remodeling was financed by Apphias, her daughter Tata, and Tata's sons Eusebes and Menander.[53]

These families would not have designed the reliefs that adorned the Sebasteion, but they would have approved the design, and so we can say at least that the deployment of myth in the precincts represented their interests and their general perspective on Roman rule. Four observations help fill out our picture of this class of people who promoted the worship of the emperors in Asia in the first century. First, we note that they were wealthy municipal benefactors over the course of at least three generations. This means that we are dealing with the small percentage of people at the top of the city's social hierarchy. Second, the two families appear to have been related to each other, so we see the importance of extended family ties among the elite.[54] Third, the official titles of Attalis Apphion remind us that many of the same people who financed imperial cult projects also served in religious offices. Fourth, it is significant that the second-generation Diogenes obtained Roman citizenship. We do not know specifically how this came about, but it is indicative of the rising status of the municipal elite and their growing collaboration with Rome.

A group of inscriptions from Ephesos provides a larger sample of data regarding those in Asia who promoted imperial cults. The group of thirteen inscriptions commemorated the dedication of a provincial temple in Ephesos for the worship of the Flavian emperors in 89/90 C.E. during the reign of Domitian. The texts come from bases of statues that were once displayed in the precincts of the temple of the Sebastoi.[55] Among other things, the inscriptions

[51] A third inscription tells us that Attalis was a high priestess and a priestess. The text does not give details, but since the stone was a statue base in her honor and was found in the Sebasteion precincts, at least one of these priesthoods, and quite possibly both of them, served the gods Sebastoi. An Aphrodisian from this same time period whose name suggests that he was related to Attalis's family—a certain Menander son of Diogenes son of Zeno—was a high priest of Claudius and Dionysos (*MAMA* 8.447, cited in Reynolds, "New Evidence," 320).

[52] Reynolds, "New Evidence," 317–18, #1.

[53] The inscriptions are described in Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 90.

[54] Reynolds, "New Evidence," 319–22.

[55] Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesos, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 116; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 29–40.

mention seventeen elite men from throughout the province who provided the statues from their respective cities. Most of the men's names are preserved (four names are fragmentary or missing), demonstrating that five were Roman citizens and eight were not (the other four are uncertain). These men held important civic offices in their cities, for the inscriptions indicate that their offices included a *grammateus* of the *demos,* four to six *archons,* a *strategos,* a city treasurer, and a superintendent of public works. These same men also held religious offices: two have offices related to temples, one was a priest of Pluto and Kore (at Aphrodisias), and one was a priest of Domitian, Domitia, the imperial family, and the Roman Senate.[56]

The careers of these seventeen men demonstrate that those who promulgated imperial cults in Asia also had extensive governmental responsibilities in the cities of the province. The list of seventeen differs from the Aphrodisian material in that all the individuals are male. Since we know of many women involved in imperial cult activities, this gender differential is probably due to the fact that the seventeen are drawn from materials about the initiation of an extremely prestigious provincial temple. In such instances, men tended to hold all the offices. The data are also different because there is no longitudinal data across generations in this source; all thirteen inscriptions were executed between 88 and 91 C.E. Given these two differences, the overall picture is quite similar: wealthy men and some wealthy women controlled local government and religion through their collaboration with Roman authorities.

The inscriptions from Ephesos also mention another category of individuals whose status was even higher than the people surveyed so far; I refer to this group as the "provincial elite." These individuals were the high priests of Asia who were active in their cities but who also served in the imperial cults of Asia, representing the region in its provincial and imperial affairs. The temple of the Sebastoi was the third provincial cult in Asia, which was the only province to have more than one such cult at this time, so these high priests and high priestesses were in the highest-level status in the province.[57] The inscriptions from Ephesos mention three of these high priests of Asia. One of them, Tiberius Claudius Aristio, is well attested and provides an individual case study of someone who influenced the deployment of myths in imperial cults. Aristio is mentioned in more than twenty inscriptions from Ephesos, which portray him as a major player in Ephesian and Asian affairs for a quarter century. He was, among other things, high priest of Asia (perhaps more than once),[58]

[56] Steven J. Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 57–59.

[57] For a complete listing of the known high priests and high priestesses, see my database at http://web.missouri.edu/~religsf/officials.html.

[58] Regarding Aristio's high priesthoods, see Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 102.

Asiarch three times, *prytanis, grammateus* of the *demos, gymnasiarach, neokoros* of the city, and benefactor of several buildings, including two fountains and a library. Comparison with other high priests of Asia shows that his Roman citizenship was normal for this category of people in Asia: twenty-five of twenty-seven (92.6 percent) high priests of Asia known to us by name from the period 100 to 212 C.E. were Roman citizens.[59]

The archaeological record thus supplies us with a good deal of information about the deployment of myth in the imperial cult ritual settings in Asia. Narratives of the exploits of the emperors were elevated to the status of mythology, and established myths were retold in ways that supported Roman authority. The examples surveyed here showed particular interest in the deployment of local myths that were related to the identities of the cities where these cults were located, which explains the variety of imperial cults encountered in Asia and throughout the empire. Several themes appear in the imperial mythologies. In the courtyard of the bouleuterion at Miletos, there is an emphasis on divine judgment against evildoers, which is appropriate for an institution that is responsible for the ordering of city life. At the Sebasteion, the military victories of the emperors are portrayed in mythic terms, and then local myths are retold in order to suggest an intimate connection between the conquerors and their Aphrodisian subjects. The Aphrodisian materials also describe the benefits of Roman rule as a fertile earth and safety at sea.

Gender plays a complex role in these settings. In both locations the mythic materials depict violence against female figures, whether in the stories of rape and abuse from Miletos or the imperial victories from Aphrodisias. The imagery, however, does not encode a simple gendered definition of power with masculine figures dominating female figures. There are powerful positive female figures like Artemis seeking vengeance, or Aphrodite protecting Aeneas in his travels, and also a wicked figure like Sidero. The masculine imagery is clearly dominant, though, reflecting the kyriocentric cultural and political setting of these cults.[60] Male hegemony is nuanced through the complications of status, wealth, and family.

The archaeological materials also provide information about specific men and women who deployed myth in these ways. They were members of families from the wealthiest stratum of Asian society. These men and women gave significant benefactions and held a variety of religious offices. The male benefac-

[59] Steven J. Friesen, "Asiarchs," *ZPE* 126 (1999): 279–80.

[60] Kyriarchy is a term developed by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza to describe social systems of inequality. The term "seeks to redefine the analytic category of patriarchy in terms of multiplicative intersecting structures of domination [such as race, gender, class, wealth, etc.]" (see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Wisdom Ways: Introducing Feminist Biblical Interpretation* [Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2001], 211; see also pp. 118–24). This allows a more complex analysis of male domination in specific settings, relating gender to other factors relevant to oppression.

tors are more numerous, and the elite men tended to hold the most prestigious priesthoods. The men could also hold governmental offices.

This emphasis in the archaeological record on elite families does not tell us much about opinions of the majority of the population. There are few surviving signs of resistance to imperial cults in Asia, and there is a great deal of evidence for popular participation in the festivals and competitions that accompanied the imperial cult sacrifices. It would be irresponsible, however, to imagine that there were no attempts to counter this use of myth in support of imperialism, for no imperial system can control all areas of social experience, nor can it incorporate all the discrepant experiences of those it dominates. There will always be resistance in some form or another.[61] The Revelation of John is our best example of such symbolic resistance from first-century Asia, and this is the topic of the next section.

III. The Use of Myth in Revelation 13

Commentators are nearly unanimous that Rev 13 deals with Roman imperial power and with the worship of the Roman emperors.[62] This allows us to examine how the author of Rev 13 deployed myth when dealing with these subjects. Analysis suggests that the author drew primarily on three types of mythic material: traditions about Leviathan and Behemoth; the book of Daniel; and imperial cult mythology.[63] He deployed these myths in eclectic and creative

[61] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 240.

[62] For example: Wilhelm Bousset, H. B. Swete, R. H. Charles, G. B. Caird, Robert A. Kraft, G. R. Beasley-Murray, J. P. M. Sweet, Pierre Prigent, Adela Yarbro Collins (*Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984]; and "'What the Spirit Says to the Churches': Preaching the Apocalypse," *QR* 4 [1984]: 82), Jürgen Roloff, Gerhard Krodel, Leonard Thompson (with reservations), J. Ramsey Michaels, Davie E. Aune, David L. Barr. Exceptions tend to be those who identify the beast from the earth as imperial cults as well as something else or something larger (J. Weiss, William M. Ramsay, Eugene Boring, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, G. K. Beale); those who identify the beast from the earth with the papacy or Roman Catholic Church (Carl Zorn, Gerhard Lenski); and those who see Rev 13 pointing to a future revived Roman empire and world religion (Ernst Lohmeyer, John F. Walvoord, Robert L. Thomas). Even those with a futuristic interpretation sometimes cite Roman imperial cults as a formative influence on the text (Leon Morris, G. E. Ladd, Robert H. Mounce).

[63] Wilhelm Bousset's argument that the author of Revelation drew on a stable Jewish tradition concerning the Antichrist has been abandoned. The myth of the Antichrist coalesced in second-century Christian thought on the basis of a variety of traditions about eschatological opponents. See Stefan Heid, *Chiliasmus und Antichrist-Mythos: Eine frühchristliche Kontroverse um das Heilige Land* (Bonn: Borengässe, 1993); and L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents* (JSJSup 49; New York/Leiden: Brill, 1996).

ways, combining and inverting them in a fashion that distanced his audience from mainstream society.

1. The primary structure for the narrative in Rev 13 comes from the mythic pattern of Leviathan and Behemoth.[64] Leviathan and Behemoth are two primordial monsters known from several Jewish texts. The oldest of these is Job 40–41, where they are cited as two of God's most powerful creations. The exact function of the pair in Job is disputed and not germane to this study except as a contrast to later texts that exhibit a more developed stage in the history of the deployment of these mythic creatures.[65]

Four texts from the early Roman period draw on the story of Leviathan and Behemoth, and the variations among them allow us to describe the mythic pattern at this stage of its development: two enormous beasts from the beginning of history will live, one in sea and one on land, until the end of history, at which time they will become food for the righteous. The earliest of the four variations of this pattern was probably *1 En.* 60:7–9, 24, which employs the basic pattern in the context of cosmological revelations.[66] This section is found in the third parable of the Similitudes, which was written most likely during the century and a half before Revelation. The preceding second parable (*1 En.* 45–57) deals with the fate of the wicked and the righteous, the son of man, resurrection, judgment, flood, and Israel's enemies. Then, in one of the visions of the third parable, Enoch is completely overcome by the sight of God enthroned and surrounded by millions of angels. Michael raises Enoch up and explains about the eschaton. In this section we learn that the two primordial monsters were separated at creation. Leviathan dwells in the abyss of the ocean at the sources of the deep, while Behemoth dwells in a mythic desert east of Eden (*1 En.* 60:7–9).[67] Enoch inquires about them and is taken by another angel on a journey to the margins of creation. Along the way to the edge of existence he

[64] Davie E. Aune, *Revelation* (WBC 52A, B, C; Dallas: Word, 1997–98), 2:728; Barr, *Tales of the End*, 108; and others.

[65] For contrasting views, see Marvin H. Pope, *Job: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (3rd ed.; AB 15; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 268–79, 282–87; and David Wolfers, "The Lord's Second Speech in the Book of Job," *VT* 40 (1990): 474–99.

[66] E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *OTP* 1:7. David Suter dated the parables to the period between the last quarter of the first century B.C.E. and the fall of Jerusalem, with the mid-first century C.E. as slightly more likely (*Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* [SBLDS 47; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979], 32). Matthew Black thought that at least a Hebrew *Urschrift* of the parables existed before 70 C.E. (*The Book of Enoch or I Enoch:* A new English edition with commentary and textual notes by Matthew Black, in consultation with James C. VanderKam, with an appendix on the "astronomical" chapters [72–82] by Otto Neugebauer [SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985], 187–88).

[67] The gender of the monsters is not stable in the traditions. This text is unique in referring to Leviathan as female and Behemoth as male (Kenneth William Whitney, Jr., "Two Strange Beasts: A Study of Traditions concerning Leviathan and Behemoth in Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Judaism" [Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992], 76).

learns many valuable mysteries, such as where the winds are kept, how the moon shines the right amount of light, the timing between thunders, and so on. When the meteorology lesson is over and he arrives at the garden of the righteous, Enoch is told that Leviathan and Behemoth are being kept until the Day of the Lord, at which time they will provide food for the eschatological feast (60:24).[68] Thus, the deployment of the myth focuses on God's cosmic, hidden wisdom.

Two other references to Leviathan and Behemoth are brief and were written down around the same time as Revelation. The two confirm the general outline found in *1 En.* 60, but they focus on different aspects of the mythic pattern. In *4 Ezra*'s third vision, the author chose to emphasize the cosmogonic origins of Leviathan and Behemoth and to downplay the eschatological theme by having Ezra recite to God the days of creation. According to this retelling, the two monsters were created on the fifth day with the other living creatures, but Leviathan and Behemoth were kept alive. Since the sea was not large enough to hold both of them, God separated them, leaving Leviathan in the depths and assigning Behemoth to land. The section ends with a mere allusion to the *eschaton:* the pair are kept "to be eaten by whom you wish, and when you wish" (*4 Ezra* 6:52).[69] Thus, the deployment of the myth in *4 Ezra* demonstrates God's power in creation.

In *2 Bar.* 29 the same mythic pattern occurs as in *4 Ezra,* but the creation theme is muted while the eschatological function of the creatures is highlighted.[70] A voice from on high describes the messianic era that follows twelve periods of distress (chs. 26–28). Regarding the two monsters it is said, "And it will happen that when all that which should come to pass in these parts has been accomplished, the Anointed One will begin to be revealed. And Behemoth will reveal itself from its place, and Leviathan will come from the sea, the two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation and which I shall have kept until that time. And they will be nourishment for all who are left" (*2 Bar.* 29:3–4). A period of unprecedented plenty arrives, after which the Anointed One returns to glory and the righteous and wicked are raised to receive their respective rewards (chs. 29–30). The deployment here focuses on the consummation of history rather than its beginning.

[68] There are numerous technical problems in the details and integrity of *1 En.* 60 that are not strictly relevant here; see Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:142–48; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 225–31.

[69] Michael Stone says that this type of allusion is a stylistic feature of eschatological passages in *4 Ezra* (*Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* [ed. Frank Moore Cross; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 188).

[70] Whitney notes that this text and *4 Ezra* 6:52 are not dependent on each other but are drawing on the same general tradition ("Two Strange Beasts," 59).

Thus, these three texts from the late Hellenistic/early Roman period that refer to Leviathan and Behemoth exhibit the same mythic pattern: two unimaginably large creatures exist from primordial times until the end of time; one is confined to the sea, the other to land; when God brings history to its dramatic climax, the monsters will become food for the righteous. Each of the texts deploys the pattern differently. *1 Enoch* 60 takes the pattern as an occasion to reveal secret wisdom about the hidden places of the world. *4 Ezra,* by contrast, uses the pattern in the context of theodicy, reciting God's mighty works of creation in order to dramatize the question of why this same God does not seem to be able to establish his people Israel in the land he created for them (*4 Ezra* 6:55–59). *2 Baruch,* however, retells the myth as eschatologically informed exhortation for those who are faithful to Torah. "And we should not look upon the delights of the present nations, but let us think about that which has been promised to us regarding the end" (*2 Bar.* 83:5).

In comparison with these three, Revelation is the only text that introduces a serious deviation from the mythic pattern itself. Either the author was drawing on an otherwise unattested interpretation of Leviathan and Behemoth,[71] or he was refashioning an established mythic pattern for new purposes (Lincoln's third use of myth). In John's rendering of the mythic pattern, Leviathan and Behemoth have become eschatological opponents. The power of the beasts no longer provokes the revelation of wisdom (*1 Enoch*) or the defense of God's justice (*4 Ezra*) or the promise of eschatological reward (*2 Baruch*). The two monsters are loose in the world, threatening the world and destroying all opponents. The reasons for this deployment will be clearer after examination of John's other uses of myth.[72]

The figure of Leviathan (apart from Behemoth) is important for Revelation in another way. While the Leviathan-Behemoth pair organizes the two scenes in Rev 13, a different strand of the Leviathan tradition connects these two scenes to the narrative of ch. 12.[73] One of the great mythic patterns shared

[71] Revelation avoids the names Leviathan and Behemoth, which perhaps allows more flexibility in the deployment of the pattern. There are rabbinic stories of Leviathan and Behemoth that develop other themes, some of which use the destructive potential of the beasts. These texts are centuries later than Revelation, however, and take us into a different period in the history of the deployment of the story. See Whitney, "Two Strange Beasts," 129–33.

[72] The hostility of the two beasts is perhaps suggested in *1 En.* 60:9, where, according to Black, the two beasts have been separated to consume the victims of the Noachian flood (*Book of Enoch*, 227). It is also possible that the stories of Yahweh's battle with the Sea were the source for this element of John's deployment.

[73] This article must not venture too far into Rev 12, since space does not permit a proper treatment of the issue of myth in that chapter. I do not accept the argument that Rev 11–13 is drawing on the *Oracle of Hystaspes* (John Flusser, "Hystaspes and John of Patmos," in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1988], 390–453). Flusser's argument about hypothetical sources is extremely speculative. A much more convincing approach

by Yahwism and the surrounding religious traditions was the story of a deity defeating the sea.[74] In Canaan this was a battle between Baʿal and Yamm; in Babylon a battle between Marduk and Tiamat, and so on.[75] In the texts of Israel it appears as Yahweh's victory over sea dragons. Over time, this mythic pattern came to be associated in Canaanite and Israelite traditions with several names for sea monsters, including Rahab, Dragon, and Leviathan.[76] The author of Revelation could thus draw on two Leviathan patterns to link chs. 12 and 13: Leviathan the mythic opponent shapes the dragon image of ch. 12, and the Leviathan-Behemoth pattern shapes ch. 13.[77]

To sum up this section, Rev 12–13 is an unusual example of two strands of Leviathan mythology standing side by side, and both strands are employed in a novel fashion. Leviathan as God's serpentine opponent provides a link between the two chapters. Then the Leviathan-Behemoth pair move beyond their traditional role of food for the eschatological feast to become heaven's eschatological antagonists.[78] John may have come up with this variation himself, since the other known uses of this pattern are quite different. In any event, it is a much more eclectic and eccentric deployment than we have seen either in imperial cult settings or in other apocalyptic texts.

2. The second important mythic resource for Rev 13 is the book of Daniel. While the Leviathan-Behemoth pattern organized the material, Danielic imagery was woven into the story line. Two thematic elements are important

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to the mythic background of Rev 12 is found in Richard Clifford, "The Roots of Apocalypticism in Near Eastern Myth," in *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. John J. Collins; vol. 1 of *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein; New York: Continuum, 1998), 3–38.

[74] There are various ways of referring to this mythic pattern, or to the larger pattern in which it plays a role: combat myth, *Chaoskampf*, the Divine Warrior myth, and so on.

[75] Clifford, "Roots," 7–29; Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 44–67.

[76] Wayne T. Pitard, "The Binding of Yamm: A New Edition of the Ugaritic Text *KTU* 1.83," *JNES* 57 (1998): 279–80; John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 71–72; Mary K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 56–82. Note, however, that Wakeman's theories about Behemoth (pp. 106–17) have not been well received (Day, *God's Conflict*, 84–86; Whitney, "Strange Beasts," 39–40).

[77] Two aspects of the text make the connection clear. One is the description of the dragon and the beast from the sea as having seven heads, which is an attribute of Leviathan in some texts (Ps 74:13–14; Day, *God's Conflict*, 72). The other aspect is the description of the dragon in Rev 12:9 as the ancient serpent, which is a direct allusion to Isa 27:1, "On that day the Lord with his cruel and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting serpent, and he will kill the dragon that is in the sea." לויתן ("Leviathan") and תנין ("dragon") are both rendered as δράκων ("dragon") in the LXX.

[78] The theme of feasting appears in Rev 19:17–18, where it is combined with judgment oracles to turn the eschatological banquet into a call to dine on carrion.

here. The first is the way in which the beast from the sea is described by John. The seven heads of the beast from the sea (13:1) could simply be a reference to Leviathan, who was sometimes portrayed with seven heads. John, however, quickly signals other elements in his symbolism. By giving the beast ten horns and the characteristics of a leopard, a bear, and a lion, the author creates a connection to the vision of Dan 7. The seven heads are also the total of the heads of the four beasts of Dan 7,[79] and the blasphemous names on them (Rev 13:1) may also draw on the arrogant speech of Daniel's fourth beast (Dan 7:8, 11, 20).

This use of Danielic imagery provides us with another strategy for manipulating myth not suggested by Lincoln's list—the compression of several unconnected texts or images into one new text or image. Compression was apparently one of John's favorite tactics. One of the most blatant examples is the image of the risen Christ in Rev 1:13-16, which contains more than a half dozen allusions to spectacular figures from different biblical texts. These are forced into one epiphanic figure in Rev 1, who simultaneously encompasses and surpasses all his predecessors. Another example of compression is Rev 7:17–18, which is a paradoxical pastiche of salvation oracles designed to encourage John's audience. Likewise, John compressed the four beasts of Dan 7 and the Leviathan imagery to produce his own synthesis, a new mythic image as far as we know. By drawing on these particular resources, the new image becomes both an identifiable historical empire and the epitome of opposition to God.[80] Thus, John engages in the same strategy as that employed in imperial cults—mythologizing Rome—but he does so with different mythic sources, with a different mythic method (compression of myths), and with different goals.

The second thematic element drawn from Daniel is the period of forty-two months alotted to the reign of the beast from the sea (Rev 13:5; similarly 11:2; 12:6). This time period is related to the various designations in Daniel to the three and one-half weeks of Gentile domination (Dan 7:25; 8:14; 9:27; 12:7, 11, 12).[81] By invoking these numbers, John cast the time of Roman rule in mythic terms—but not positive ones. Rather than accepting the dominant

[79] G. K. Beale's effort to locate the source of this imagery mostly in Daniel with little or no influence from Near Eastern mythology is unnecessary (*The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999], 682–83). Each of the relevant texts deployed this international mythic pattern in its own ways. Moreover, the author of Revelation often conflated various sources for his purposes.

[80] Rick Van de Water's recent attempt to deny a connection of the beast with Roman power is unconvincing because it focuses primarily on the rebuttal of persecution theories; "Reconsidering the Beast from the Sea (Rev 13.1)," *NTS* 48 (2000): 245–61.

[81] The exact numbers differ, but they are all closely related (John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, with an essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament," by Adela Yarbro Collins (ed. Frank Moore Cross; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 400.

mythology of eternal Roman rule accompanied by prosperity,[82] Revelation portrays Roman hegemony as a limited time of oppression and opposition to God that will bring judgment.

Thus, Rev 13 incorporates some specific features of Daniel into its own narrative.[83] John took liberties with the details but gained the Danielic perspective for his text. Roman rule is not eternal; the God of Israel allows a limited period of exaggerated opposition to persist until God brings the hostilities to an end. John's mythic methods were again more eclectic than known examples in imperial cults or in other apocalyptic literature.

3. A third mythic resource for Rev 13 is the mythology of imperial cults. Three comments are in order on this point. First, John accepted and adopted one aspect of imperial cult mythology, namely, that Roman rule is based on military victory (Rev 13:4). He attempted, however, to persuade his audience to take a different point of view on those conquests. The victory was ascribed to satanic authority rather than divine authority. This inversion of imperial cult mythology is accomplished by his creative combination of the Leviathan traditions with details from Daniel. The difference in perspective is dramatic. If we use the Aphrodisian sculptures of imperial coronation (figs. 9, 12) as reference points, we could say that imperial cult mythology and ritual attempted to persuade its audience to identify with the figures crowning the emperor, thereby supporting the perpetuation of the imperial social system. Revelation, on the other hand, was an effort to persuade its audiences to perceive themselves—like the bound captives in the sculptures—as victims of Roman hegemony.[84]

Second, John disagreed with the imperial mythology of peaceful sea and productive earth. In this case he did not try for a change of perspective but rather contested the facts. His argument in Rev 13 is twofold. One way of denying the earth and sea mythology was his hostile deployment of the Leviathan/Behemoth pattern. In John's narrative, the sea and land became sources of danger and oppression, not peace and plenty. The other part of his argument is the theme of the mark of the beast, which is required in order to participate in eco-

[82] See, e.g., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* 2.412 and 7,2.3801 lines 2–4.

[83] Another Danielic theme probably lurks in the background. In Dan 3 is the story of an emperor who requires all peoples and nations to worship a gold statue. However, direct allusions to that story in Rev 13 are difficult to isolate. Another motif—the scroll in which are written the names of the faithful (Dan 12:1)—appears in Rev 13:8, but this theme appears throughout Revelation and is not an integral part of ch. 13. For other details suggesting Danielic influences, see Peerbolte, *Antecedents of Antichrist*, 142–56.

[84] I do not claim, nor would I want to claim, that John ever saw this sculpture. His personal contact with particular artifacts is irrelevant to the argument. The carved stone is simply an example of the public mythology of imperial cults. It is a representative piece that brings us closer to the public culture that was familiar to anyone living in an urban setting in this part of the Roman empire.

nomic activity (13:16–17). With this theme John cut through the naïve romanticism of the imperial cornucopia (fig. 10), which suggested that the produce of the earth can simply be gathered and enjoyed under Roman rule. John introduced instead the idea that economic, political, and religious systems regulated who was able to purchase and to profit from the earth's bounty. In this way Rev 13 exposed a feature of the audience's experience that was suppressed in the utopian imperial cult mythology.

Third, John presented an alternative interpretation about the elite sector of society and their involvement in imperial cults. In dominant urban culture, those who promoted the worship of the emperors were honored with inscriptions, statues, and religious offices. Revelation 13:11–18, on the other hand, denounced these same families by mythologizing them, a strategy that was used only for the imperial family in imperial cult settings and was never used for elite families. According to Revelation, however, the elites of Asia and of Asia's cities were Behemoth to Rome's Leviathan. John portrayed respected families like those of Attalis of Aphrodisias and prominent provincial statesmen like Tiberius Claudius Aristio of Ephesos as mythic antagonists of God. According to John, the network of elite families was leading the world to eschatological catastrophe.

Along with this mythologization of the social experience of oppression, John also drew in material that would be considered "legend" in Lincoln's terms. The phenomenon of talking statues was well known in Greco-Roman societies.[85] It is doubtful, however, that such practices were widespread.[86] Much of the knowledge of talking statues was generated by the denunciation of religious figures as charlatans (e.g., Lucian's portrait of Alexander of Abonouteichos) or by magical speculation. John employed this legendary motif, elevated it to mythic proportions, and turned it against the well-to-do of Asia's cities. Through his use of these two types of materials, John changed the image of imperial cult ritual from piety to chicanery and portrayed Asia's elite families as charlatans whose authority was satanic in origin.[87]

[85] For a summary of texts, see Aune, *Revelation*, 2:762–66.

[86] The only statue I am aware of from western Asia Minor that might have been used in this way is the temple statue from the second-century "Red Hall" at Pergamon, which was dedicated to the Egyptian deities (Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole* [Darmstadt: Primus, 1999], 200–209). Moreover, Steven J. Scherrer's argument that Rev 13:13–15 should be taken literally as evidence for imperial cult practice is hardly convincing ("Signs and Wonders in the Imperial Cult: A New Look at a Roman Religious Institution in the Light of Rev 13:13–15," *JBL* 103 [1984]: 599–610).

[87] John possibly raised legends about Nero's return to mythic status as well. Most commentators conclude that the wounded head of the beast from the sea (Rev 13:3) and the 666 gematria (13:18) are references to the story that Nero would return and take revenge on Rome. It is also possible that the story of Nero's return had already taken on mythic proportions before John wrote, since the idea is present in *Sib. Or.* 5:28–34, 93–100, 137–49; and 4:135–48.

John's use of myth in Rev 13 was extraordinarily creative. He placed distinct Leviathan traditions side by side; he reused the Leviathan/Behemoth pattern in a manner that is unprecedented in our existing sources; he wove Danielic themes into the mix and took liberties with the details; he compressed originally distinct symbols (Leviathan and the beasts of Dan 7) into one monster; and he mythologized social institutions and legendary material. His method was voracious, drawing on a variety of sources. It was also recombinant, producing startling new images and plot twists.

IV. Comparison, Conclusion

The deployments of mythology in imperial cult settings and apocalyptic literature dealt with many of the same themes that are found in John's Apocalypse. The most significant include the administration of justice in particular communities and in the world; the subjugation of nations and peoples; the role of the Roman emperor in these processes; and worship. If there is a common question operative in these themes, it is the question of authority in this world: Who is the king over kings? Imperial cult institutions and apocalyptic texts answered this question differently. Imperial cults in the Roman province of Asia created and deployed myths to show that the (current) emperor was the king of kings. Revelation—written to congregations in this same province—created and deployed myths to show that ultimate authority was not located in this world. In these two sets of materials, then, justice, vengeance, and community come from different thrones.[88]

Imperial cults and Revelation also trafficked in similar methods in their deployments of myth. One important method was mythologization: both settings elevated known characters and stories to a higher level of authority. Another common method was the modification of established myths. This is not an unusual practice; myths are constantly retold and reshaped. Imperial cults and Revelation, however, dealt in an exaggerated form of the practice, introducing new characters for their respective projects. A third method common to imperial cults and to Revelation was the deployment of myth in ritual settings.[89] Imperial mythology was appropriate in the obvious settings of impe-

[88] Revelation 13 does not provide enough gendered imagery for a comparison with the kyriarchal character of imperial cult mythology. The imperial cult materials have similarities with other parts of Revelation where gendered imagery is more evident (e.g., Rev 12 and 17–18), but the scope of this article does not allow for an exploration of those themes. For some comments on these issues, see Friesen, *Imperial Cults*, 185–89.

[89] Revelation is more clearly written for a ritual setting than are the other apocalyptic texts examined in this article.

rial temples such as the Aphrodisian Sebasteion and also in other civic institutions such as the bouleuterion at Miletos. Revelation, too, was written for a ritual setting,[90] although the group and the affiliated institutions were much different. Revelation was written to be read in the rituals leading up to the Lord's Supper. At one level, Revelation's deployment of myth was an attempt to redefine that ritual in the subculture of the saints. The juxtaposition of Revelation and the Lord's Supper would have given the church's ritual a distinctly anti-Roman twist.

The comparative material from imperial cult mythology also allows us to make observations about distinctive features in John's use of myth. First, John displayed a preference for eastern Mediterranean stories. John could draw on ancient Near Eastern or Greco-Roman patterns or myths when it suited his purposes,[91] and it is the nature of really good myths to defy national and ethnic boundaries.[92] The primary resources for John's text, however, came from the eastern edge of the empire—Israel and its regional neighbors. This marked the text and its audience as marginal to the imperial enterprise rather than central. While imperial cults defined normal society in standard terms from Hellenistic mythology,[93] John claimed to reveal truth in themes and characters from a troublesome area at the edge of imperial control.[94] To accept John's mythology required the audience to acknowledge its distance from the imperial center. The focus on eastern Mediterranean mythology was common to other Jewish apocalyptic texts of the early Roman period. John's confrontational deployment, however, created more dissonance with the values of dominant society.

A second distinctive feature in John's deployment of myth is that he tended to make more dramatic changes in the retelling of established mythic patterns. Imperial cults were concerned with the imposition and maintenance of order in society,[95] and so it is not surprising that the associated mythology did not deviate far from the norm. Panhellenic and local myths suited these purposes best because they were already well established. Revelation, on the other hand, pursued disruptive ends, and for these purposes the story lines suffered more serious revisions; the versions of the myths that could be accommodated to normal life were not appropriate to John's message. The compression of diverse themes, characters, and allusions in Revelation served these ends as

[90] Barr, *Tales*, 171–75, 179–80.

[91] Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*.

[92] Doniger, *Implied Spider*, 53–61.

[93] This is especially evident in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (Smith, "*Simulacra Gentium*," esp. 77).

[94] Most specialists accept that Revelation was written, or at least edited, late in the Flavian dynasty. This was the same dynasty that distinguished itself and bolstered its claims to authority by defeating the Jewish revolt against Roman rule. John's use of the religious traditions of Israel was thus a significant political choice.

[95] Friesen, *Imperial Cults*, 122–31.

well. New versions of myths were supplemented by new relations between myths. In this sense, Revelation can be considered a form of religious resistance literature. Its dreams of destruction were told with a mythic method that disoriented the audience: familiar tales took strange turns, colliding with other stories at unexpected intersections. The method dislodged familiar axioms and appealed to experiences that did not fit mainstream norms.[96]

All of this points to the conclusion that John's Revelation is a classic text of symbolic resistance to dominant society. John deployed myths in an eclectic, disjunctive fashion, and did so for a ritual setting. The production of new, disruptive mythology for a ritual setting is not conducive to the maintenance of social hierarchies. It was a dangerous deployment in defense of a minority perspective.

[96] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 31–32, 240.

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CRITICAL NOTES

MEMORY, WRITTEN SOURCES, AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM: A RESPONSE TO ROBERT K. McIVER AND MARIE CARROLL

Robert K. McIver and Marie Carroll recently published in this journal the results of an experiment involving forty-three students, in which three groups were asked to write on six of eight topics.[1] The first group was instructed to write a brief summary (less than a page) about the first two topics without consulting any written sources. For the second two topics, they were permitted unlimited reading of a prepared written source but had to return the source before writing their summary. (They were permitted to use the wording of the source, however, if they remembered it.) For the third pair of topics, they were permitted to use and retain the written source and to borrow from it for their summaries. The second and third groups of students were instructed to do the same with these same topics, but with the procedures regarding the use or nonuse of a written source applied at different times so as to produce writings on the same topic according to all three procedures. In this way, McIver and Carroll sought to determine what the phenomenon of sequential agreement might tell about an author's reliance upon oral and written sources. Ultimately, they hoped that this information might shed light on the composition of the Gospels.

McIver and Carroll found that the summaries written without the use of a source (a source that existed but was not distributed to all the students) agreed with the source for 5.0% of the wording and averaged a maximum of 2.45 words in sequential order; summaries written after reading and returning a source agreed with the source for 15.3% of the wording and averaged a maximum of 5.43 words in exact sequence; and summaries for which a written source was retained while writing agreed with that source for 28.4% of its words, with their longest word sequences averaging 12.6 words.[2] The real focus, as stated above, was the length of sequential agreements. McIver and Carroll write:

[1] Robert K. McIver and Marie Carroll, "Experiments to Develop Criteria for Determining the Existence of Written Sources, and Their Potential Implications for the Synoptic Problem," *JBL* 121 (2002): 667–87. The experiment to which I refer is their "experiment 5." Subsequent references to this article will be by page number(s) in parentheses.

[2] "Sequential order" here refers to a *conjoined* sequence. I point this out because Robert Morgenthaler's category of "Form- und Folge identisch" (*Statistische Synopse* [Zurich: Gotthelf, 1971]) considers the phenomenon of sequential agreement without concern for whether nonagreeing words interrupt the sequence.

> While there is overlap between the various categories, it is clear that long sequences of 16 or more words belong exclusively to the group that retained the source and could copy from it. From the perspective of the development of a test for the presence of copying, the critical group is the group that returned the source before writing. The longest sequence of words in the exact order for almost all of them was fewer than 8. None of them had a sequence of words greater than 15.
>
> The experiments have also shown that this characteristic is accurate only for narrative material, and that it is possible that longer sequences of words from poems and shorter aphorisms might be remembered exactly. Thus it is now possible to state a general test to determine the existence of written sources: *Any sequence of exactly the same 16 or more words that is not an aphorism, poetry, or words to a song is almost certain to have been copied from a written document.* (pp. 679–80; emphasis original)

McIver and Carroll next try to apply these insights to the Synoptic Gospels. They present a table identifying twenty-three passages containing sequential agreements of sixteen or more words, listing them according to length: 31, 29, 28, 28, 26, 26, 24, 24, 24, 24, 23, 23, 23, 23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 17, 17, 16, 16, 16. They pare down this list of parallel passages by removing seven "short aphorisms or distinctive sayings" and seven "longer distinctive sayings."[3] That leaves only the following agreements: 31, 28, 28, 24, 23, 22, 19, 17, 16. For McIver and Carroll's procedure, it is not the length but rather the location of these agreements that matters, as they take each sequence longer than sixteen words to reveal the existence of a written source for the section of Gospel material that the sequential agreement represents. The nine sequences listed above represent the following passages (as defined by Huck's synopsis) respectively: Matt 10:16–25//Mark 13:3–13; Matt 11:25–30//Luke 10:21–24; Matt 24:45–51//Luke 12:41–48; Matt 3:1–2//Luke 3:1–20; Matt 24:15–28//Mark 13:14–23; Matt 11:1–19//Luke 7:18–35; Matt 22:41–46//Mark 12:35–37; Matt 8:1–4//Luke 5:12–16; Matt 24:29–35//Mark 13:24–31.

At this point, McIver and Carroll reveal one of their critical assumptions: "If it was decided on other grounds that it was unlikely that one evangelist copied directly from an existing Gospel, then it would be necessary to postulate a minimum of two further sources: one, the apocalyptic discourse (Mark 13 and parallels), which all three Gospels used, and one used by both Matthew and Luke but not Mark (perhaps Q?)" (p. 683). There are a number of problems with this assumption. First, the authors never tell us on what "grounds" it might be "decided" that "it was unlikely that one evangelist copied directly from an existing Gospel." From the standpoint of scholarly opinion, the "if" that supports this assumption is a huge imposition: it has been over a hundred years since such an assumption was current among scholars in general. From the standpoint of logic, it is necessary not only to explain one's departures from general consensus but also, in certain cases, one's acceptance of consensus. Although McIver and Carroll's failure to allow that Matthean/Lukan coincidences could be the result of interdependence is not so curious from the standpoint of the history of scholarship—Q is so ingrained in people's minds that they still have difficulty conceiving of a world without it—it is very

[3] This filtering process is supported by McIver and Carroll's "experiments 1 and 2."

curious from the standpoint of a statistical argument. Both majority and minority source-critical factions therefore have an interest in knowing McIver and Carroll's hidden grounds for assuming that the Gospels are all mutually independent.

McIver and Carroll's assumption of mutual independence also creates inconsistencies in their application of the experimental results. To illustrate the applicability of their experiments to our understanding of the Gospels, they compare the agreements between Matt 24:45–51 and Luke 12:41–48 (expressed as underlined words in parallel texts) with the agreements between the writing of one of their experimental subjects and the text upon which that subject is known to have relied. They observe that the parallels between Matthew and Luke have "a visual appearance very like that observed in those who retained their written source in experiment 5" (p. 684). They apparently do not notice that the two relationships that they are comparing are represented by very different vector diagrams: one consists (according to their own stated assumption) of two writings independently using a third, while the other consists of a writing and its direct source. Although McIver and Carroll seek to explain the Matthew–Luke agreements through their use of a common source, they compare these patterns of agreement with those of a known case of direct borrowing. One should always expect a lower rate of agreement between the two pendant writings within a fork model of transmission than between either of those writings and its source, because the agreements in the former case are mediated by a third writing while those in the latter case are unmediated. In order to apply their experimental results in a way analogous to their view of Matthew and Luke, they should have compared Matthew–Luke sequential agreements with agreements appearing *between the students participating in the experiment*, rather than with agreements between the students and their source.[4]

One needs to remember that McIver and Carroll are out only to determine which parts of the Gospels spring from written sources, and not so much what the distance between the wording of the Gospels is for its own sake. Nevertheless, the flaw in their reasoning still raises questions about their procedure. If it takes a sequence of sixteen words in a nondistinctive or nonaphoristic passage to prove dependence on a written source, then their assumption that Matthew and Luke are mutually independent complicates things a great deal, for we then must account for the probability of two pendant documents coinciding in their choice of such agreements. This means that considerably

[4] Although there are some differences, McIver and Carroll are essentially committing the well-known error associated with Theodore Rosché, who argued that the fact that Matthew and Luke had lower rates of agreement in the double tradition than they had with Mark in the triple tradition meant that Q was not a written source ("The Words of Jesus and the Future of the 'Q' Hypothesis," *Bib* 79 [1960]: 210–20). Rosché was heavily criticized for his error: see Charles E. Carlston and Dennis Norlin, "Once More—Statistics and Q," *HTR* 64 (1971): 59–78; Sharon L. Mattila, "A Problem Still Clouded: Yet Again—Statistics and 'Q'," *NovT* 36 (1994): 313–29; John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 57. Carlston and Norlin sum up Rosché's error as follows: "in examining the Triple Tradition to see how faithfully Matthew and Luke reproduce their Markan source, he measures the statistical distance of each gospel from Mark; but in examining the Double Tradition to see how faithfully Matthew and Luke have reproduced 'Q,' he measures their distance from each other" ("Once More—Statistics and Q," 60).

shorter agreements in Matthew and Luke might be indicative of their use of a written source.

This logical misstep looms even larger in the next part of McIver and Carroll's article, in which they try to show the existence of parallel passages that are better explained through oral memory, contending that signs of "the mechanisms of memory" characterize "the majority of the parallels between the Synoptic Gospels" (p. 686). Anyone who presupposes the Q hypothesis needs to consider the degree to which the substitution of synonyms and the atomizing of sequential agreements that McIver and Carroll attribute to the "mechanisms of memory" might be due to the failure of Matthew and Luke to coincide in their use of Q. A hypothetical comparison between Matthew and Q might actually reveal more of the sorts of agreement that McIver and Carroll found to characterize the use of a written source.

This brings us to another basic problem with McIver and Carroll's study: they seem to think of the evangelists as compilers without redactional programs (stylistic, literary, and ideological) of their own. The results of McIver and Carroll's study could have told them that such a picture was not realistic, but the authors seem to have limited their inferences to one line of reasoning. Noting that "the emphasis on verbatim accuracy given to the participants in their instructions produced near 100% accuracy in the copying from a written text, something not found in the parallels between the Synoptic Gospels," they infer that the evangelists' mode of operation must have been different (p. 674). They do not consider that their authorial policies could have been different. As we will see below, many of the redactional refinements found in the Gospels involve stylistic preferences connected with the smallest and most colorless words, refinements that one hardly expects to find in the case of a student allowed to cull freely from a prepared source.

McIver and Carroll correctly note that aphorisms tend to be reproduced word for word, but they fail to mention that there are two possible reasons for this: not only is the exact wording of an aphorism more easily remembered than the wording of nonaphorisms (as they note), but the precise wording of an aphorism is also more ingredient to the aphorism as a traditional/semantic unit and is therefore less dispensable. Whether one wishes to pull camels, elephants, or siege engines through the eye of a needle, the difference of expression, when counted in terms of verbatim agreements, will tend to be localized to one or two terms in the aphorism. One can choose to swap camels for elephants, but it is more difficult to imagine someone choosing to rearrange the wording of the whole saying. So while aphorisms make it through McIver and Carroll's experiments intact because they are more memorable, they perhaps make it through the Gospel tradition intact simply because they are more aphoristic. It is surprising that McIver and Carroll do not notice this crucial distinction, because they seem to brush against it when they note that *poetry* is remembered either word for word or not at all. The more we liken aphorisms to poetry, the more we should realize that precise wording is an ingredient aspect of the aphorism.

McIver and Carroll's Chart of Sequential Agreements: Corrections and Comments

McIver and Carroll present a chart of the longest sequential agreements in the Gospels. Unfortunately, their chart contains errors and omissions that compromise its usefulness. Although McIver and Carroll sometimes recorded longer sequential agree-

ments than are actually found in the indicated passages, their general tendency was to record shorter sequential agreements and to omit sequential agreements that should have been included. The chart below compares the actual lengths of the sequential agreements appearing in the Gospels with the lengths recorded by McIver and Carroll, and includes those agreements that they omitted. I have also indicated the exact location of the sequential agreements. As noted above, once McIver and Carroll found a qualifying sequential agreement within a Huck pericope, they stopped looking for additional agreements within that pericope. This is because they were not out to catalogue sequential agreements per se, but rather to indicate which Huck pericopes contained these agreements. In considering the patterns of agreement that generally obtain within the Gospels, however, it is necessary to look at all of the agreements that are sixteen words or longer. I have laid out the evidence in the chart that appears on the following page.

As the chart shows, three of the sequential agreements listed by McIver and Carroll (of 23, 19, and 18 words in length), along with a 16-word agreement that they failed to include, would be lengthened to 29, 21, 19, and 22 words respectively if variant forms of the same word were counted as agreements (*viz.* ἀπολέσῃ/ἀπολέσει; τοῖς ὄχλοις/τοῦς ὄχλους; αὐτῷ/αὐτους; αὐτήν/αὐτούς). Additionally, the sequential agreements for two lines would be significantly lengthened if isogrammatical cognates were counted as agreements (*viz.* from 27 to 40 words for equating ἔκρυψας . . . ἐπιγινώσκει [Matthew] with ἀπέκρυψας . . . γινώσκει [Luke], and from 16 to 22 words for equating ἐάν [Matthew] with ἄν [Luke]).

The last ten lines in the chart require an explanation: they do not represent computational errors on the part of McIver and Carroll but are included simply to show the potential contribution of the more open categories. The sequences of 14, 12, 11, 10, 8, 7, and 6 words are recorded because they become sequences of 25, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, or 16 words (not respectively) when we count variant forms and isogrammatical cognates as agreements. Seven of these last ten lines represent sequential agreements of 16 words or longer when variant forms are included. (Variant forms include [in chart order]: ἐπισυναγαγεῖν [Matthew]/ἐπισυνάξαι [Luke]; καρπὸν ἄξιον [Matthew]/καρποὺς ἀξίους [Luke]; ἐγένοντο [Matthew]/ἐγενήθησαν [Luke]; ἀπολέσει [Mark]/ἀπολέσῃ [Luke]; λέγουσιν . . . ἦλθεν . . . λέγουσιν [Matthew]/λέγετε . . . ἐλήλυθεν . . . λέγετε [Luke]; σπαρείς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ ἡ μέριμνα [Matthew]/σπειρόμενοι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες καὶ αἱ μέριμναι [Mark]; παρελεύσεται . . . παρέλθωσιν [Matthew]/παρελεύσονται . . . παρελεύσονται [Mark].) The remaining three lines represent 16-word sequences that obtain only through isogrammatical cognates (in these cases, εὐθέως [Matthew]/εὐθύς [Mark]; εἰσέλθητε [Matthew]/ἔλθητε [Mark]; ὄντες [Matthew]/ὑπάρχοντες [Luke]). The eleventh line from the bottom never obtains a 16-word sequence in any of the three ways of counting agreement, but I include it in the chart simply to register the fact that McIver and Carroll thought that they saw a 23-word sequential agreement here.

A number of additional comments about these sequential agreements are in order, especially to highlight the fragile nature of the results and the redactional nature of the departures. There are potentially longer agreements lurking behind transgrammatical cognates, paired synonymous particles, and other redactional variants not noted on the chart. The 31-word sequence would be 33 words long if not for a δέ (Matthew)/καί (Mark) discrepancy. The first 29-word sequence would be 35 or 36 words long if not for Mark's omission/Luke's addition of καί. The first 25-word sequence (mistakenly

SEQUENTIAL AGREEMENTS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

N^{inv}	N^{var}	N^{iso}	N^{M-C}	1st Parallel (N^{inv})	2nd Parallel (N^{inv})	McI./C. sections (Huck)
31			31	Mt 10:21.3–22.16	Mk 13:12.3–13.16	Mt 10:16–25/Mk 13:3–13
29			29	Mk 10:14.15–15.18	Lk 18:16.14–17.18	Mk 10:13–16/Lk 18:15–17
27*		40	28	Mt 11:25.20–27.29	Lk 10:21.24–22.30	Mt 11:25–30/Lk 10:21–24
26			26	Mk 1:24.2–25.9	Lk 4:34.2–35.9	Mk 1:21–28/Lk 4:31–37
26			26	Mt 6:24.2–24.27	Lk 16:13.3–13.28	Mt 6:24/Lk 16:10–13
25*			21	Mt 8:9.8–10.2	Lk 7:8.9–9.2	Mt 8:5–13/Lk 7:1–10
25*			28	Mt 24:50.1–51.8	Lk 12:46.1–46.25	Mt 24:45–51/Lk 12:41–48
24			24	Mt 3:9.4–10.2	Lk 3:8.10–9.2	Mt 3:1–12/Lk 3:1–20
24			24	Mt 7:7.1–8.13	Lk 11:9.4–10.13	Mt 7:7–12/Lk 11:9–13
24			24	Mt 8:20.3–20.26	Lk 9:58.3–58.26	Mt 8:18–22/Lk 9:57–62
24			24	Mt 12:41.1–41.24	Lk 11:32.1–32.24	Mt 12:38–42/Lk 11:29–32
23	29		23	Mt 16:24.14–25.19	Mk 8:34.17–35.19	Mt 16:21–28/Mk 8:31–9:1
23			23	Mt 24:18.8–20.5	Mk 13:16.10–18.5	Mt 24:15–28/Mk 13:14–23
23			23	Mt 26:24.1–24.23	Mk 14:21.2–21.24	Mt 26:17–25/Mk 14:12–21
20*			—	Mt 3:10.3–10.22	Lk 3:9.4–9.23	—
20			20	Mt 15:8.4–9.8	Mk 7:6.5–7.8	Mt 15:1–20/Mk 7:1–23
20*			—	Mt 21:42.10–42.29	Mk 12:10.6–11.10	—
19*	21		22	Mt 11:7.8–8.7	Lk 7:24.9–25.7	Mt 11:1–19/Lk 7:18–35
19			19	Mt 22:44.1–44.19	Mk 12:36.9–36.27	Mt 22:41–46/Mk 12:35–37
18*	19		17	Mt 8:2.6–3.11	Lk 5:12.24–13.11	Mt 8:1–4/Lk 5:12–16
18 (NA^{27})/ 12 (Huck)			—	Mt 11:8.19–10.6 (Mt 11:9.1–10.6)	Lk 7:25.21–27.6 (Lk 7:26.1–27.6)	—
17			17	Mt 20:28.2–28.18	Mk 10:45.3–45.19	Mt 20:20–28/Mk 10:35–45
16*			—	Mt 7:28.13–29.12	Mk 1:22.3–22.18	—
16*	22		—	Mt 12:42.8–42.29	Lk 11:31.10–31.31	—
16			16	Mt 15:32.9–32.24	Mk 8:2.1–3.1	Mt 15:32–39/Mk 8:1–10
16		22	16	Mt 16:25.4–25.19	Lk 9:24.4–24.19	Mt 16:21–28/Lk 9:21–27
16			16	Mt 24:33. 8–34.10	Mk 13:29.8–30.10	Mt 24:29–35/Mk 13:24–31
*14**			*23*	Mk 12:38.17–39.10	Lk 20:46.12–46.25	Mk 12:38–40/Lk 20:45–47
14	21		—	Mt 23:37.1–37.21	Lk 13:34.1–34.21	—
12	18		—	Mt 3:7.15–9.2	Lk 3:7.9–8.8	—
12	25		—	Mt 11:21.1–23.10	Lk 10:13.1–15.11	—
11		16	—	Mt 7:11.6–11.16	Mk 11:13.6–13.16	—
10	16	22	—	Mk 8:35.4–35.19	Lk 9:24.4–24.19	—
10		16	—	Mt 26:41.7–41.16	Mk 14:38.7–38.16	—
8	19		—	Mt 11:18.8–19.15	Lk 7:33.12–34.15	—
7	20		—	Mt 13:22.3–22.22	Mk 4:18.5–19.10	—
6	10	18	—	Mt 13:5.3–5.12	Mk 4:5.3–5.12	—
6	19		—	Mt 24:34.15–36.5	Mk 13:30.15–32.5	—

* departs from McIver and Carroll's figures

Key:

N^{inv} = Parallel word sequence for invariant forms (for both NA^{27} and Huck [9th], except as noted).

N^{var} = Parallel word sequence for variant forms of same words (where different from N^{inv}).

N^{iso} = Parallel word sequence for variant forms of same words and isogrammatical cognates (where different from N^{var}).

N^{M-C} = N^{inv} *apud* McIver and Carroll (based on Huck [9th]).

counted by McIver and Carroll as a 21-word sequence) would be 39 or 40 words if not for the omission (Matthew) or addition (Luke) of τασσόμενος. (It should be noted that the second 25-word sequence [which McIver and Carroll mistakenly count as a 28-word sequence] omits the parallelism of τῶν at the end of the sequence. A coincidental use of the definite article can scarcely be counted as a parallel when the article modifies two different nouns.) The first 24-word sequence is separated by one Matthean word from a conjoining sequence of 12 or 18 words (the first 12-word sequence in the chart)—thus redaction accounts for the dissolution of a sequence of 36, 37, 42, or 43 words. The third 24-word sequence would be 31 words if not for a discrepancy between λέγει (Matthew) and εἶπεν (Luke). The second 20-word sequence would be 23 words if not for the discrepancy in word order: Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος (Matthew)/Οὗτος ὁ λαός (Luke). The 18-word (NA[27])/17-word (Huck [9th ed. = Tischendorf]) sequence would be one of 31, 32, or 33 words if not for the addition (Matthew) or omission (Luke) of ἐγώ. The second 16-word sequence would be 19 or 20 words, if not for the omission (Matthew) or addition (Mark) of ἐάν. (Compare the third 16-word and the first 10-word sequences, which both expand to 22-word sequences when counting the isogrammatical cognates ἐάν [Matthew, Mark] and ἄν [Luke] as agreements.) The 8-word sequence (19 words long when counting variant forms) would be 17 or 28 words if not for the word-order discrepancy τελωνῶν φίλος (Matthew)/φίλος τελωνῶν (Luke). The first 6-word sequence in the chart would be 13 words longer if not for the discrepancy καί (Mark)/δέ (Luke), regardless of whether one counts the initial sequence as a 6-, 10-, or 18-word sequential agreement. Every one of these examples demonstrates how the potential for a longer sequential agreement can be defeated by an evangelist's redactional policy.

My point in showing that the sequences could often have been significantly longer is simply to show that the brevity of these agreements is often due to a redactor's hand. Moreover, this same redactor's hand can be seen in the 16-word sequences that never were—that is, many more sequences would have made the chart if not for an ill-placed redactional improvement. For example, if not for the discrepancy of οἱ κατεσθίοντες (Mark)/οἱ κατεσθίουσιν (Luke)—a discrepancy that is not isogrammatical but is nonetheless clearly redactional—a sequence of 28 words would be found in Mark 12:28.17–40.14/Luke 20:46.12–20:47.14. As it is, the resulting two sequences are too short to make the chart. Similarly, a potential 27- or 28-word sequence in Matt 24:34.1–35.13/Luke 21:32.1–33.13 is spoiled by the addition (Matthew) or omission (Luke) of ταῦτα in the middle of the sequence. These two examples hardly represent isolated cases—this sort of thing can be observed throughout the Gospels. The absence of a 16-word sequence, therefore, does not mean that the patterns of verbal agreement between two Gospels at a given point can be characterized as atomistic or that they represent "the mechanisms of memory." The evangelists' redactional policies had the effect of chopping longer sequences into shorter ones (although that was not their intent), while yet preserving the marks of direct copying. The placement of their sporadic dictional improvements should not be taken as an indication that they did not use written sources.

By dividing the evidence into opposing tendencies of scribality and orality, McIver and Carroll repeat the basic error of Thomas Bergemann's *Q auf dem Prüfstand*.[5]

[5] Thomas Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand: Die Zuordnung des Mt/Lk-Stoffes zu Q am Beispiel der Bergpredigt* (FRLANT 158; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

Bergemann sought to show that the verbal agreements in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and Luke's Sermon on the Plain demonstrate the use of separate Greek renderings of an Aramaic *Grundrede* rather than the shared use of a common sayings source (Q). He showed that the rates of verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke range between 8 and 100 percent and that the values comprise a fairly smooth curve.[6] In response to Bergemann's procedure, Adelbert Denaux pointed out that the range and curve of agreements between Matthew and Mark, and between Luke and Mark, are similar to that which Bergemann noted for Matthew and Luke.[7] Denaux rightly faults Bergemann for thinking of the evangelists as compilers working "with the aid of scissors and paste."[8] It appears that McIver and Carroll have fallen into the same trap. The evidence of the Gospels does not suggest that we should gather the patterns of agreement into two baskets, the one marked "written source" and the other "memory." Rather, the numbers plot a continuous curve. It is wrong to view the evangelists as scissors-and-paste compilers, whose ability to use a given source (written or oral) necessarily coincides with their fidelity to that source.

Conclusion

I have no doubt that insights gained from memory experiments could be relevant to our understanding of ancient oral and scribal culture. That alone makes them valuable for biblical studies. McIver and Carroll's recent attempt "to develop criteria for determining the existence of written sources," however, represents a misapplication of this area of study. Their endeavor to divide the Synoptic Gospels into sections using written sources and sections dependent on the "mechanisms of memory" runs aground on the fact that they compare sequential agreements between two purportedly independent writings (Matthew and Luke, on the Q hypothesis) with sequential agreements between a writing and its direct source (the experimental subject and his/her prepared source), and on the fact that the gapped nature of many of the longer sequential agreements in the Gospels is due to redactional preferences rather than memory lapses.

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[6] Stephen Hultgren similarly observes, "The degree of verbal agreement in the double tradition ranges quite broadly, from about 10% to 100% or nearly 100%" (*Narrative Elements in the Double Tradition: A Study of Their Place within the Framework of the Gospel Narrative* [BZNW 113; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002], 338).

[7] Adelbert Denaux, "Criteria for Identifying Q-Passages: A Critical Review of a Recent Work by T. Bergemann," *NovT* 37 (1995): 105–29, esp. 117.

[8] Ibid. For similar criticisms, see John S. Kloppenborg, review of Thomas Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand*, in *JBL* 114 (1995): 325–27; idem, *Excavating Q*, 62–65.

GALATIANS 2:8 AND THE QUESTION OF PAUL'S APOSTLESHIP

It has often been noted that Gal 2:8 (ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) refers to Peter's missionary activity as an "apostleship" or "apostolate" (ἀποστολή) but does not explicitly apply the same label to that of Paul.[1] The omission is indeed surprising, given Paul's vehement insistence on his own apostolic status earlier in the Galatian letter (1:1)[2] and his references elsewhere to his mission as an "apostleship" (ἀποστολή, Rom 1:5; 1 Cor 9:2). Thus, many scholars have assumed that the wording of the latter part of the verse (ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) is to be seen as an ellipsis—"an abbreviated form of speech which would be understood by Paul's readers to explicitly attribute apostleship to Paul as well as Peter."[3] Ernest De Witt Burton, for example, asserts that "εἰς τὰ ἔθνη is manifestly a condensed expression equivalent to εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν, or the like, used for brevity's sake or through negligence."[4]

To support this latter interpretation of Gal 2:8, the ellipsis in the verse immediately preceding (v. 7) is sometimes cited as a parallel. Thus, for example, Frank J. Matera insists:

> The omission of "apostleship" here [in v. 8] does not mean that Paul has an inferior position *vis à vis* Peter. Rather, there is a balance in the use of ellipsis in this and the preceding verse: Paul entrusted with *the gospel to the uncir-*

[1] E.g., Hans Dieter Betz, *A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 98: "Most surprisingly, the statement does not contain the parallel notion of Paul's 'apostolate of the Gentiles' (ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν)."

[2] See also Gal 1:17; 1 Thess 2:6; 1 Cor 1:1; 4:9; 9:1–2, 5; 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1; 11:5; 12:11–12; Rom 1:1; 11:13.

[3] Bradley H. McLean, "Galatians 2.7–9 and the Recognition of Paul's Apostolic Status at the Jerusalem Conference: A Critique of G. Luedemann's Solution," *NTS* 37 (1991): 68–70 (quotation from p. 70). Heinrich Schlier (*Der Brief an die Galater: Übersetzt und erklärt* [14th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971], 78 n. 2) and Franz Mussner (*Der Galaterbrief: Auslegung* [HTKNT 9; Freiburg: Herder, 1974], 116 n. 91) see this as an example of a construction known as *comparatio compendiaria;* on this, see, e.g., Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; Munich: Beck, 1950–71), 2:99 n. 1; and *BDF* §§479, 483.

[4] Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1921), 94.

cumcised, Peter *to the circumcised;* Peter entrusted with *apostleship to the circumcised,* Paul *to the uncircumcised*.[5]

Similarly, Richard B. Hays maintains that "the non-repetition of 'apostleship' in v. 8 is no more significant than the non-repetition of 'gospel' in v. 7."[6]

A close reading of vv. 7 and 8, however, discloses that there is no real parallel in the syntax of the two verses. The relevant portion of v. 7 (πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς) is carefully crafted in such a way as to leave no doubt regarding either the meaning of the statement or, indeed, the actual wording to be supplied. The parallel genitives (τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and τῆς περιτομῆς) make it clear that the words to be supplied (following Πέτρος) are πεπίστευται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (parallel to πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in the earlier part of the clause). Insertion of the missing words in no way disturbs the syntax of the sentence, and no further alteration is required. The resulting sense of the entire clause is then obvious: πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος πεπίστευται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς περιτομῆς.

Such, however, is not the case with v. 8. In the first part of the verse (ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς), it is clear that ἀποστολήν (accusative case) is the object of the preposition εἰς and that τῆς περιτομῆς (genitive case) is related to ἀποστολήν in some kind of descriptive way (e.g., "apostleship of the circumcision," "apostleship to the circumcision," "apostleship for the circumcision"). Thus, a literal translation of these words reads, "For the one who worked in Peter for an apostleship of the circumcision . . . ." The second part of the verse (ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη), however, not only omits ἀποστολήν but also has the preposition εἰς followed immediately by τὰ ἔθνη. Because τὰ ἔθνη is in the accusative case, it (not an implied ἀποστολήν) would appear to be the object of the preposition εἰς, which is regularly followed by the accusative case. Thus, there is no syntactical parallelism between τῆς περιτομῆς (genitive case) and τὰ ἔθνη (accusative case) in v. 8, as there is between τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and τῆς περιτομῆς (both in the genitive case) in v. 7. Indeed, rendering ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη as "he worked also in me for an apostleship of the Gentiles" would require not only supplying the word ἀποστολήν but also changing the accusative τὰ ἔθνη to the genitive τῶν ἐθνῶν. In short, although it is clear that τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is to be repeated in v. 7, it is by no means self-evident that ἀποστολήν is similarly to be repeated in v. 8. The latter part of v. 8 may indeed be an ellipsis, but, if so, neither the meaning nor the wording to be supplied is obvious. A literal translation reads simply, "he worked also in me for the Gentiles";[7] anything beyond this is pure speculation.

The verse immediately following Gal 2:8 also contains an ellipsis (ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν); thus, one might argue that the presence of ellipses in both v. 7 and v. 9 strengthens the case for such an ellipsis also in v. 8. The claim that v. 8 is syntactically parallel to v. 9, however, is even less convincing than that involving v. 7.

[5] Frank J. Matera, *Galatians* (SP 9; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, Michael Glazier, 1992), 77.

[6] Richard B. Hays, "The Letter to the Galatians," *NIB* 11:226.

[7] Thus, Betz, for example, says: "The difference is that only Peter's mission is called 'apostolate' (ἀποστολή) while Paul's mission is not given a specific name" (*Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, 98).

As in the case of v. 7, the phrasing in v. 9 makes clear both the meaning of the statement and, perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent, the wording to be supplied. A verb must be understood in both members of the clause—presumably the same verb.[8] The sense of the entire clause then becomes clear: ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἔλθωμεν (or perhaps εὐαγγελισώμεθα) εἰς τὰ ἔθνη αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔλθωσιν (or perhaps εὐαγγελίσωνται) εἰς τὴν περιτομήν. Again, as in v. 7, no alteration has been required except insertion (twice) of the missing word. As has already been noted, however, such is not the case if v. 8 is to be seen as an ellipsis affirming Paul's apostolic status; there, both the insertion of a word and a change in case are required. In short, neither v. 7 nor v. 9 provides an apt parallel for the alleged ellipsis in v. 8.

There are, in fact, a number of other ellipses in Paul's letter to the Galatians, and in every case, as far as I can ascertain, it is necessary only to supply the missing word or words to make clear the meaning of the statement; no other alteration is needed. Thus, for example, Gal 1:12 reads, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Here, as Burton notes, "a verb such as is suggested by παρέλαβον and ἐδιδάχθην is of necessity to be supplied in thought with δι' ἀποκαλύψεως,"[9] but no further alteration is required. Similarly, Gal 2:10—immediately following the ellipsis already noted in v. 9—reads, μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Here, Burton notes that "ἐθέλησαν or some similar verb might be supplied,"[10] but, once again, no further alteration is required. Further, Gal 3:5 reads, ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; here, a verb such as is suggested by the participles ἐπιχορηγῶν and ἐνεργῶν is to be supplied in the second clause of the sentence, but no further alteration is needed. Other examples include Gal 2:4, where a verb is needed before διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους; Gal 3:19, where a verb is needed in the question, τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; Gal 4:12, where a form of the verb γίνεσθαι is implied before κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς; Gal 4:23, where the verb γεγέννηται is to be repeated in the second clause of the sentence; and Gal 5:13, where a verb is needed in the clause μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί. In none of these examples, however, is any further alteration of the sentence required. Thus, at least in his Galatian letter, Paul appears to be consistent in his construction of ellipses: in order to make the meaning clear, one need only supply the missing word or words.[11] As has been noted, however, such is not the case if Gal 2:8 is to be read as an ellipsis asserting (or implying) Paul's apostleship. This would require both the insertion of a word (ἀποστολήν) after the preposition εἰς and changing the accusative τὰ ἔθνη to the genitive τῶν ἐθνῶν.

If the author of Gal 2:8 had in fact wished to make it clear that Paul's missionary

[8] See, e.g., Burton, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, 96: "A verb such as ἔλθωμεν or εὐαγγελισώμεθα is to be supplied in the first part, and a corresponding predicate for αὐτοί in the second part."

[9] Ibid., 41.

[10] Ibid., 99.

[11] A rather cursory examination of ellipses in the other Pauline letters suggests the same conclusion; see, e.g., Rom 5:3, 11, 18; 8:23; 9:6, 10; 12:1; 13:11; 14:21; 2 Cor 1:24; 3:5; 5:13; 8:19; 9:6; 10:16; Phil 1:28; 3:13.

activity, like that of Peter, was an "apostleship" (ἀποστολή), the verse could easily have been worded in such a way as to accomplish this. Given Paul's insistence elsewhere on his own apostolic status, one might expect that the relevant clause would simply spell this out, fully and explicitly: ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν. If, however, for stylistic or other reasons, an ellipsis were preferred, it could have read, ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν (genitive rather than accusative case, with the words εἰς ἀποστολήν to be understood between ἐμοί and τῶν ἐθνῶν); in such case, Gal 2:8 would have been syntactically parallel to v. 7. In either case, the meaning would have been clear, and Paul's "apostleship," like that of Peter, would have been specified—more explicitly in the former instance, but nonetheless unambiguously in the latter. Neither of these alternatives was followed, however.

Thus, as the wording stands, only two possible conclusions appear warranted. The first is that the composition here is simply incredibly sloppy[12]—that, although the intended sense is indeed εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν), the last two words have been drawn into the accusative case because they come immediately after εἰς, which regularly takes the accusative for its object. This, of course, is conceivable. One must then ask, however, why it is that τῆς περιτομῆς is not similarly drawn into the accusative case (τὴν περιτομήν) following the implied verb πεπίστευται in v. 7.

The other possibility is that, for whatever reason, Gal 2:8 (like the book of Acts)[13] intentionally refrains from claiming apostolic status for Paul. Thus, some commentators believe that Paul deliberately omitted the second ἀποστολήν—perhaps because he was echoing or even quoting the wording of an agreement between him and the Jerusalem leaders "in which the term 'apostleship' was deliberately withheld from the description of Paul's missionary work."[14] In short, because Paul's primary goal in Gal 2:1–10 is simply to claim apostolic support for his Gentile mission, he "could have thought it wiser to cite [the earlier agreement] without comment, since all that he meant and claimed by 'apostleship' had been agreed to in effect, whether or not the title itself had been used."[15]

My own judgment, however, is that, for reasons already noted, Paul would have been highly unlikely to characterize Peter's missionary activity as an "apostleship" (ἀποστολή) without applying the same label to his own—even if this did reflect the lan-

[12] See the phrase "through negligence" in the quotation from Ernest De Witt Burton above.

[13] Except in Acts 14:4, 14, where both Barnabas and Paul are called "apostles" (ἀπόστολοι).

[14] James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: Black, 1993), 107. See, e.g., Erich Dinkler, "Der Brief an die Galater: Zum Kommentar von Heinrich Schlier," *VF* 1–3 (1953–55): 182–83, reprinted with "Nachtrag" in his *Signum Crucis: Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Christlichen Archäologie* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1967), 278–82; idem, "Die Petrus-Rom-Frage: Ein Forschungsbericht," *TRu* n.s. 25 (1959): 197–98; Günter Klein, "Galater 2,6–9 und die Geschichte der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde," *ZTK* 57 (1960): 282–83, reprinted in his *Rekonstruktion und Interpretation: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament* (Munich: Kaiser, 1969), 106–7; and Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater: Übersetzt und erklärt* (KEK 7; 12th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 77 n. 2. See also, e.g., Gerd Luedemann (*Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* [trans. F. Stanley Jones; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984], 64–80), who argues that Gal 2:7–8 reflects the wording of an agreement reached at Paul's first visit to Jerusalem (prior to the "Jerusalem Conference").

[15] Dunn, *Epistle to the Galatians*, 107.

guage of an agreement between him and the Jerusalem "pillars." Furthermore, it is by no means clear that Paul would have regarded himself as bound by the specific wording of such an agreement—particularly when writing to the Christians in Galatia, which is rather far removed from Jerusalem.

This, of course, opens up the possibility that Paul himself may not have included 2:8 in his letter to the Galatians. Thus, more than seventy years ago, Ernst Barnikol argued that the verse should be viewed as part of a later, non-Pauline interpolation.[16] My own judgment is that Barnikol is correct, but this is the subject of another study.[17] For the moment, suffice it to note that Gal 2:8 does not attribute apostolic status to Paul, as it explicitly does to Peter, and, in a letter attributed to Paul, this must be seen as quite surprising.

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[16] Ernst Barnikol, *Der nichtpaulinische Ursprung des Parallelismus der Apostel Petrus und Paulus (Galater 2 7–8)* (Forschungen zur Entstehung des Urchristentums, des Neuen Testaments und der Kirche 5; Kiel: Mühlau, 1931), translated into English by Darrell J. Doughty with B. Keith Brewer as "The Non-Pauline Origin of the Parallelism of the Apostles Peter and Paul: Galatians 2:7-8," *Journal of Higher Criticism* 5 (1998): 285–300. According to Barnikol, the interpolation consists of v. 7b (beginning with τῆς ἀκροβυστίας) and v. 8.

[17] See William O. Walker, Jr., "Galatians 2:7b-8 as Non-Pauline Interpolation," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 568–87.

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[*Editor's note: The first of the following two reviews, by Kevin G. O'Connell, S.J., was originally published in* JBL *90 (1971): 228–31. A longer* JBL *review of Martin Hengel's* Judaism and Hellenism, *not reprinted here, came out six years later (see Louis H. Feldman, "Hengel's Judaism and Hellenism in Retrospect,"* JBL *96 [1977]: 371–82). The second review included here, by J. K. Aitken, represents a reassessment of Hengel's seminal work some thirty years later.*]

Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr, by Martin Hengel. WUNT 10. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1969; 2nd ed., 1973. ISBN 3161452704 (paper); 3161452712 (cloth).

Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period. 2 vols. Translated by J. Bowden. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974 (a one-volume, paperback edition was issued by Fortress in 1981). ISBN 0800602935.

This is a massive, detailed, and often complex study of Judaism's relation to Hellenism in Palestine during the third and the first half of the second centuries B.C.E. The book was prepared as a *Habilitationsschrift,* and its four chapters treat successively: the encounter of Judaism in Palestine with the civilization of early Hellenism as a technically determined political and economic force, Hellenism in Palestine as a cultural force and its influence on the Jews, Palestinian Judaism's encounter and struggle with the spirit of the Hellenistic age, the *interpretatio graeca* of Judaism and the reform efforts of the Hellenists in Jerusalem. The language is generally clear, but sentences are sometimes too cumbersome for effective communication. Most printing errors have been listed at the end of the book, but the following additional corrections are necessary: p. 262, line 9, bestritten for bestitten; p. 438, line 23, 7 for 6; p. 545, n. 242, line 19, ἐκτίσθ[η] for ἐκτίσθ[η.

The book's main thesis is that *all* Judaism from about the mid-third century B.C.E. must be regarded as Hellenistic in the strict sense, because it had all received strong Hellenistic influence. The evidence amassed in support of this thesis should overwhelm

the most hardened skeptic. To replace the customary distinction between Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism, Hengel suggests a distinction between "the Greek-speaking Judaism of the western diaspora and the Aramaic/Hebrew speaking Judaism of Palestine or of Babylonia" (p. 193). This distinction could also be misleading, he notes, since even in Jerusalem there was a strong and influential group of people who were genuinely bilingual.

According to Hengel, Hellenistic influence was practically all-pervasive in Palestinian Judaism, even in circles that decisively adopted an anti-Hellenistic stance. The hundred years of predominantly peaceful Ptolemaic rule gave an easily recognizable Hellenistic character to the life and interests of the Palestinian Jewish nobility and affluent class. Gradually, a critical attitude was developed toward traditional Jewish Law and practices, since they hindered further economic and cultural advancement. Hengel argues that this group's Hellenism led it to exercise decisive influence on the shape of Antiochus IV Epiphanes' persecution. The detailed knowledge of Jewish beliefs and practices evidenced in the persecution could not have been available to Antiochus IV or to his advisors. Only the hellenized Jewish upper classes, regarded as apostates by their fellow Jews, could or would have worked out such a thorough attempt to turn the Law inside out. In order to ensure their own survival and prosperity, the Hellenists sought to crush traditional Jewish observance in Jerusalem, break the power of the "pious," and remove the obstacles to total hellenization. The "reform" failed, but it had decisive effects on subsequent Palestinian Judaism.

The traditional wisdom circles were hellenized in a slightly different way. The identification of "Wisdom" and "Torah" led to a *rapprochement* between the wisdom tradition and a popularized Stoicism. Oriental-Jewish wisdom and Greek popular philosophy both exhibited a rational, empiricist character, a universalistic tendency, an interest in the divine order of the cosmos, and a strong anthropologic-ethical focus of interest.

Not only these groups, but also the Hasidim, bitter opponents of the Hellenistic reform, were deeply influenced by the winds of Hellenism. The "pious" authors of the early apocalypses opposed the new Hellenistic knowledge with a form of revealed knowledge, superior to human knowledge, that laid bare the secrets of the cosmos and of history. An "encyclopedic" character and a concern with understanding the cosmos are clear signs of the Hellenistic roots of this new anti-Hellenistic viewpoint. Hengel argues that, when one group of the "pious" later split off from the Hasmoneans and fled to the desert, the community they formed at Qumran to preserve fidelity to the Law in its purity had organizational analogies with contemporary Greek communal organizations. The second main descendent of the "pious," the Pharisaic movement, itself developed a "Torah-ontology" that allegedly has parallels in Philo's thought.

Hengel stresses the crucial importance of the events of 175 B.C.E. and later for the further history of Judaism and even for the rise of Christianity. He argues that the Hellenistic reform movement and the persecution by Antiochus IV forced the main body of Jewish faithful to put even greater emphasis on the Law as central to, and all-important for, Judaism. Jewish zeal for the Law made the Jews of Palestine increasingly difficult to govern, while it also split the people into mutually hostile parties, each accusing the other of infidelity to the Law and unable to unite even against a foreign oppressor. Jew-

ish fixation with the Torah and with its detailed observance aroused an ancient anti-Semitism that eventually led to Roman persecution. It also made new movements within Judaism or theologically based criticism of Jewish cult and practice virtually impossible. Hengel concludes that the struggle with Hellenism allowed Palestinian Judaism to manifest its great dynamism and vitality, and that it also prepared the way for the new force whose prophetic-eschatological impetus would burst through the too narrow limits imposed by post-Hellenistic Judaism and issue in early Christianity.

The book is heavily documented and deserves careful study. While individual points could be argued further, the main thesis is solidly established.

Kevin G. O'Connell, S.J.
At the time this review was written, O'Connell was at Weston College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He later went on to become president of Le Moyne College, Syracuse, New York (1987-1993).

It could be said that thirty-five years ago a small revolution occurred, even if not as monumental as the ancient one that it aimed to explain. The publication of Hengel's *Judentum und Hellenismus* ensured that the study of ancient Judaism, the later part of the "Old Testament" period, the NT, and even rabbinic literature would never be quite the same again. Few books have had such far-reaching consequences as this and have affected so many fields. The work soon appeared in a second German edition (1973), primarily supplemented with new data and literature to support the argument, and it was this second edition that was translated into English (1974, from which quotations and references are given here).

It can readily be admitted that many of the individual arguments are not new in Hengel (so L. H. Feldman, "Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism* in Retrospect," *JBL* 96 [1977]: 371), but they are supported by such a range of data, both old and new, synthesized into a larger thesis on the nature of late Second Temple Judaism, and presented with such vitality that it is hard not to admit that it is a groundbreaking study. Hengel built on the foundations of J. G. Droysen (p. 2), in presenting Hellenism as a cultural fusion of Greek and Oriental cultures in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great. Prior to Droysen, "Hellenism" had denoted the Greek language as it was used in antiquity by Aristotle and his pupils and in more modern times by J. Scaliger and his followers. In many respects one could also say that Hengel, in tracing the origins of Christianity back to the fusion of Judaism and Hellenism, is the heir of Marcel Simon's *Verus Israel* (1948). The latter aimed to show that the break between Judaism and the Greco-Roman world was gradual and that the separation of church and synagogue was not as abrupt as sometimes thought. Hengel, in a similar and yet distinct vein, traced the origins of Christianity in the pre-Christian era through the hellenization of Judaism. For Hengel, the "parting of the ways" is an issue of the partial rejection and then adoption of Hellenism.

The wealth of supporting material and the complexity of the argument, both to be expected from the author of *Die Zeloten* (1961), do not allow for a simple summary of the book. Reviewers were deservedly appreciative of its importance (e.g., see O'Con-

nell's review above). Despite the recognition the book received, there were criticisms from some. Feldman listed some twenty-two points in the book with which he took issue (1977; cf. idem, "How much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine?" *HUCA* 57 [1986]: 83–111; and *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* [Princeton: Princeton University Press], 3–83, 416–22). M. S. Stern (review of Hengel, *Judentum und Hellensimus*, *Kiryath Sepher* 46 [1970–71]: 94–99) noted many points of detail that could be disputed, and Fergus Millar ("The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism,'" *JJS* 29 [1978]: 1–21) emphasized the role of politics in the interpretation of the Maccabean revolt. But the importance of the theme is indicated by four recent books all addressing the topic directly: Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998]; John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling, eds., *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* [Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 13; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001]; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, ed., *Paul beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001]; and Anders Gerdmar, *Rethinking the Judaism-Hellenism Dichotomy: A Historiographical Study of Second Peter and Jude* (ConBNT 36; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001]). O'Connell's original review (above), on the publication of the first edition, neatly summarizes the argument. From a contemporary perspective, however, our perceptions of the relationship between cultures in antiquity, the political situation of the eastern empires, and the sociological role of religion call for a reevaluation of Hengel's arguments. The data remain the same and can be supported by additional finds (see Hengel, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. Collins and Sterling, 26–28), but the larger theses of the book and the historical narrative are worthy of renewed discussion.

The Thesis

There has often been an attraction for the opposition of polarities seen, for example, in an orientalizing mentality (criticized by Edward Said, *Orientalism* [New York: Pantheon, 1978]), or a counterpole to it (e.g., Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, vol. 1, *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985* [London: Free Association Books, 1987]). For Hengel, the distinction between Judaism and Hellenism was "unavoidable" (see D. Martin, "Paul, Hellenism, and Judaism: Toward a Social History of the Question," in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Engberg-Pedersen, 29–30). And yet he sought to break such neat distinctions in other aspects of the study of ancient Judaism. The traditional opposition between Diaspora and Palestinian Judaism (seen most clearly in G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* [3 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927–30; 2nd ed., 1954), encapsulated in Hellenistic Judaism and "traditional" Judaism respectively, could no longer hold sway. For, from as early as at least the third century B.C.E., Palestinian Judaism was in fact Hellenistic Judaism, having undergone a transformation under the influence of the dominant Greek culture. Palestinian contact with Greeks began early, and by the third century one can detect Greek influence in Jewish mercenaries, the language, and political relations. Hengel thus explains the transformation in Judaism from Alexander the Great to the time of the Maccabees, highlighting the fact that the issues in the Maccabean revolt lay some way back in Jewish history. Even the Qumran community for him reveals

traces of Hellenistic philosophy (on which, see Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 110 n. 15). As already noted, Feldman has been a strong critic of this position, although his interpretations of points of detail are themselves open to question (see Lester L. Grabbe, "The Jews and Hellenization: Hengel and his Critics," in *Second Temple Studies III: Studies in Politics, Class and Material Culture* [ed. Philip R. Davies and John M. Halligan; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002], n. 9). Despite opposition to a Jewish Greek synthesis, notably from the Maccabees, the Hellenistic Jewish culture of Jerusalem prospered and gave birth to Christianity and to Rabbinic Judaism.

The Definition of Hellenism

Many writers who discuss the Jewish encounter with Hellenism do not attempt to define what they mean by the terms. Any definition will, however, presuppose the interpretation of the material evidence. As noted, Hengel took the term to denote a fusion of cultures, and in this he distanced himself from the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*'s understanding of a syncretistic Hellenism (despite his own use of the term "syncretism"). By following Droysen, Hengel drew upon a long heritage of a positive attitude to the Hellenistic epoch and its culture. Droysen (1808–1884) drew upon the German neo-Hellenism of Johan Winckelmann and the historical philosophy of Hegel. He saw in this new epoch a historical principle in which the Greeks progressed toward new achievements, and he termed this epoch "Hellenismus" (*Geschichte des Hellenismus* [2nd ed; 3 vols.; Hamburg, 1877–78]). Although Droysen believed that this was an ancient term, it probably goes back no further than Scaliger and his pupils who discussed the meaning of *lingua Hellenistica* as a special Greek dialect in the biblical texts. Under the influence of Hegelian thought, Hellenism became an ideal with its opposition, in Hegelian terms, being Judaism. Nineteenth-century writers, including Heinrich Heine and Matthew Arnold, saw the synthesis of Hebraism (the ideal religion of Abraham in the preexilic era) and Hellenism as being realized in Christianity (Yaacov Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem: Classical Antiquity and Hellenism in the Making of the Modern Secular Jew* [Littman Library of Jewish Civilization; London/Portland, OR: Littman Library, 1997; Tessa Rajak, "Jews and Greeks: The Invention and Exploitation of Polarities in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* [AGJU 48; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 535–57; and Martin, "Paul, Hellenism, and Judaism"). The nineteenth-century legacy does render it difficult for the modern reader to distance himself or herself from the idea of two cultures in opposition. But it probably does not have a counterpart in the ancient writers, and it simplifies into polar opposites the complex social and cultural interactions. The famous saying in 2 Maccabees that the Jews rebelled against "the highpoint of *Hellenismos*" (4:13) complicates this further, especially when discussing the era of the Maccabees itself.

The impression gained from *Judentum und Hellenismus* is that such opposition still exists, and that Hellenism is to be accepted or rejected. Georg Fohrer's statement that the contrasts between Job and Greek tragedy are "in part of a fundamental nature" (p. 109) is accepted without question. Hengel then suggests that the "intellectual development was preparing to move in the direction of the Hellenistic epoch." The use of the term "fundamental" and the suggestion that an intellectual development was moving toward an epoch do imply that we are dealing with two quite different thought-worlds (a critique of which can be found in James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old*

Testament Perspective [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999], 157–68). While arguing that the two elements are complex and related, the very positing of them indicates their separate identities (cf. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 16–17). Hellenism, as the phenomenon of the spread of "Greek" culture, is multifaceted and can be seen in terms of language (i.e., Greek), literature, pottery, politics, ideas, or the presence of Greek peoples. To class all of these as one cultural system is to ignore the differences between them and the likelihood that one person may be in favor of one aspect but not another. One could, for instance, have no objection to the language or the people, but one might to the political interference. Indeed, the politics of the era, involving Seleucids and Ptolemies, cannot be said to be entirely "Greek," as it combines Syrian and Egyptian traditions with Macedonian and Greek.

Judaism as a religion in its diversity and Hellenism as a cultural phenomenon embracing religious and nonreligious elements alike are both subject to flux and interpenetration from the start. The idea that Hellenism is a dominant culture that requires some response is dependent upon an image of Alexander and the *diadochoi* as promoters of an imperialistic culture. Historical studies, however, have moved away from such an imperialistic view of the Hellenistic empires. This arises not only from the influence of postcolonial studies, but from the nature of the evidence itself, the need for local recognition and acculturation of imperial power (see Susan M. Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* [Hellenistic Culture and Society 13; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993]; Tessa Rajak, "Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition," in *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* [ed. Per Bilde; Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 7; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996]), and the articulation of local traditions (cf. A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa," *JHS* 111 [1991]: 71–86). There was an exchange of relations rather than a dominant culture over a subservient entity (see John Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1999]). Therefore, the language we use should not reflect that of an older generation, such as Emil Schürer's description of Judaism as continuously at war (*Kriegszustand*) with the rest of the Hellenistic world, "it had ever to draw the sword in its own defence" ("es hatte stets das Schwert zur Verteidigung zu führen" [*Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1886), 2:770]). Schürer was probably the source for Rudolf Smend's designation of the book of Ben Sira as "Judaism's declaration of war against Hellenism" ("die Kriegserklärung des Judentums gegen den Hellenismus" [*Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), xxiii]), which is cited by Hengel (p. 138). Even in a sympathetic writer such as W. D. Davies, one can read that "Judaism had been *invaded* by Hellenistic terminology" (*Christian Origins and Judaism* [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1962], 141; emphasis mine). Imperialistic language does, nevertheless, come to the fore in such statements by Hengel as "the bitterest defensive action was being fought against the destructive forces of Hellenism" (p. 311), and the use of words such as "encroaching," used commonly by more recent writers too.

In the first two sections of the work, where Hengel compiles the evidence for the presence of Greeks, the language, literature, and ideas, he does imply that all these features amount to "Hellenism." These sections indicate the increasing contact between

Jews and Greeks, the presence of Greeks in Palestine, and the use of the Greek language. However, as the book progresses, the central focus of what Hellenism signifies for Jews seems to be (or shift to?) the establishment of a bourgeoisie class, and a religious development involving both skepticism and philosophical enlightenment.

Crisis and Controversy

The first two sections of the book, which lay out the evidence of Jewish and Greek contacts, provide in many ways the explanation for the responses discussed in the remainder of the book. In section III, entitled "The Encounter and Conflict between Palestinian Judaism and the Spirit of the Hellenistic Age," various reactions from Jewish groups to the changing socio-political situation are described from the evidence attested in the literature of the time. Perhaps central to this section, and certainly essential for the discussion, is the interpretation of Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) and Ben Sira. Dating Qoheleth to the Hellenistic period, Hengel notes the movement away from timeless sapiential literature to a much more personal, critical form of observation in the person of the author. Along with "Hasidism" and apocalyptic, Qoheleth represents a universalistic and rational mind. Greek thought is here identified with rationality. Hengel was by no means the first to place Qoheleth in the Hellenistic period—Heinrich Graetz had even dated it to the time of Herod the Great (*Kohelet* קהלת *oder der Salomonische Prediger: Übersetzt und kritisch erläutert* [Leipzig: Winter, 1871])—and the debate continues whether it should be dated to the Persian (e.g., C.-L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*: *A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997], 38) or Hellenistic periods (Dominic Rudman, *Determinism in the Book of Ecclesiastes* [JSOTSup 316; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001]). The importance of Qoheleth, which seems to typify a blend of Jewish and Hellenistic thought (in Hebrew garb), is that it allows Hengel to raise a critical question (p. 128): Under the influence of the Greek spirit, was not the criticism of traditional wisdom introduced by Qoheleth extended within it to become a criticism of Jewish religion in general? Hengel identified "a spiritual crisis of early Hellenism" (p. 127) in which the traditional Greek belief in the efficacy of divine righteousness was replaced by a belief in an abstract noncommittal fate (pp. 121–25). He points to poets, comedians and tragedians, none of whom of course is to be taken at face value or as representative of more popular belief. It seems that it is the intellectual movements that most interest Hengel.

The interest in intellectual movements is made clear by Hengel's surprising acceptance of Michael I. Rostovtzeff's Marxist theories of the ancient economy. Qoheleth's acquaintance with Greek criticism of religion and Egyptian belief in fate Hengel attributes as having been communicated by Ptolemaic officials, merchants, and soldiers: "In this way Koheleth encountered not the school opinions of the philosophers, but the popular views of the Greek 'bourgeoisie'" (p. 125). In introducing the "bourgeoisie" into the discussion in the first section of the book (which deals with trade and economic contacts with Greeks), the Marxian terminology is brought into the thesis on religion: "The 'bourgeoisie,' i.e. the well-to-do stratum of society who lived off their capital in the form of land or other investments (cf. Koh 11,1f.), was the really dominant force of the Hellenistic world."

Qoheleth was one of these and therefore did not fully abandon his religion. Ben Sira inaugurates the new era of critical repudiation and is presented in the context of

"controversy with Hellenistic liberalism in Jerusalem." Ben Sira is first and foremost apologetic (p. 136), and yet, in contrast to Qoheleth, highly critical of the dangers of a drive for wealth (p. 137). His is a work, therefore, that displays partisan attitudes toward the politics as well as the sociological ramifications, brought about by the penetration of the Hellenistic style of life and foreign thought-forms into the Jewish upper class—it is "apologetic-polemical."

Hengel's presentation of the religion is very much that of the intellectual tradition, and his explanation for the criticism of traditional wisdom lies in the influence of Greek philosophical liberalism. In this emphasis he has many European predecessors and successors (e.g., Martin P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1940]; Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1985]). Traditionally, writers on Greek religion have referred to a crisis under the influence of philosophical skepticism evidenced from the pre-Socratics onwards. The infamous mutilation of the Herms in Athens and the desecration of the mysteries in 415 B.C.E., and then the trial and execution of Socrates, are taken as emblematic of this "spirit." These events do, however, represent the intimate connection between religion and politics (cf. Robert Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1996], 202), and the way religion, as in the Maccabean revolt, is not so much the instigator but the tool. Some have emphasized that the opposition between philosophy and traditional religion has been exaggerated (e.g., P. Veyner, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988], 86–87), and that Greek philosophical skepticism was not a threat to traditional religion (D. Babut, *La religion des philosophes grecs: De Thalès aux stoïciens* [Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974], 1–2). For both the Greeks and the Jews, shrines, local cults, and devotion were not weakened, and to speak of a "crisis" is to read too much into an intellectual movement. Greater weight should perhaps be given to sociological questions than intellectual (as S. R. F. Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], attempts).

It has been assumed, nonetheless, that there existed a crisis in the religion at this time, and that some Jewish authors, such as Ben Sira, reacted to it (e.g., David A. deSilva, "The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Honor, Shame, and the Maintenance of the Values of a Minority Culture," *CBQ* 58 [1996]: 443). In Hengel a Jewish crisis is predicated on the belief that there was already a crisis in Greek religion that was transmitted by Greeks in Palestine. However, there is little in Ben Sira that could necessarily be seen as a response to a religious crisis, and his emphasis on Torah and religious values are developments and innovations of earlier themes. His interests can be seen much better as political (e.g., J. K. Aitken, "Biblical Interpretation as Political Manifesto: The Seleucid Setting of the Wisdom of Ben Sira," *JJS* 51 [2000]: 191–208) and social (e.g., B. G. Wright and Claudia V. Camp, "'Who Has Been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect?' Ben Sira's Discourse of Riches and Poverty," *Henoch* 23 [2001]: 153–74). One suspects that, had we not had the evidence of the Maccabean revolt, which could be as much as a generation later than Ben Sira, then the crisis would not be seen as inevitable. But the competing groups in Jerusalem are for Hengel indicative of the growing unease with the upper classes, who were aiming at an *interpretatio graeca* of Judaism.

The Intellectual Response to Hellenism

In his account of the Jewish philosophical interpretation of God and the causes of the Maccabean war, Hengel is relies primarily upon E. J. Bickerman's *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (Berlin: Schocken, 1937; see Hengel's expressed debt to Bickerman ["Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," 9]). Hengel identifies the reformist group as "Hellenists," a term from Acts 6:1, where it seems to be used only of Greek as opposed to Hebrew/Aramaic speakers ("Hebraists"). For Hengel they are the wealthy upper classes, who wish to improve their situation through their contact with Greeks. The Hellenists saw the possibilities of unrestricted economic and cultural exchanges with the non-Jewish environment open to them by the removal of the "religious prejudices of conservative groups." The nationalistic religion of the Jews bound by law was unintelligible to Greeks, while the idealized religion was one of theocracy in which the different religions were only the manifestations of the one deity. For Greeks the Jewish faith was not far from such an ideal, if only the Jews could liberate themselves from their national limitations.

Hengel adopted Bickerman's thesis of the Hellenizers' role in instigating the persecutions under Antiochus IV. Thus, Bickerman used the separateness of Jews, and the criticism of Moses and his successors found in Greek writers (e.g., Ps.-Hecataeus), to account for Jewish motivation in the Maccabean revolt. He saw the reformers as responding to the patent difficult position of Jews in society (he was writing in the 1930s) and as wishing to return to a golden age. By removing recent accretions (such legal prescriptions as circumcision, purity laws, dietary regulations) the "Hellenists" would return to a pure religion and remove the barriers separating them from the Gentiles (cf. opening of 1 Macc 1:11; Dan 11:30).

The problem with Bickerman's thesis is that it relies on hostile sources, both views of Greco-Roman writers hostile to the Jews and pro-Hasmonean sources hostile to their opponents. It also presupposes a distinction between Judaism and Hellenism, in which "to hellenize" was the equivalent of abandoning one's faith. Bickerman makes frequent reference to his own contemporary situation, praising the Jewish reformers of his time (G. Riesser, A. Geiger, and I. Einhorn). His argument extols the Judaism of the time of Abraham and finds the legalism of the postexilic period a problem. Such views are strikingly close to those nineteenth-century writers who saw the ideal Christianity as a fusion of Abrahamic religion and Greek philosophy. Bickerman was probably following Moriz Friedländer (*Geschichte der jüdischen apologetik als vorgeschichte des christentums: Eine historisch-kritische Darstellung der Propaganda und Apologie im Alten Testament und in der Hellenistischen Diaspora* [Zurich, 1903]), who argued that in the Diaspora the law of Moses was being turned into a general doctrine that could be admitted by every enlightened mind. Friedländer further argued that the spreading of this principle was the historic mission of Alexandrian Jews, and thus provided the transition from biblical Judaism to Christianity. Hengel himself seems to have taken on some of these ideas of Friedländer, since he concludes his work with some thoughts on the origins of Christianity. Judaism was faced with "national self-preservation" and a "protective attitude" (p. 323), and it required primitive Christianity to break the "nationalistic legalism" and begin a "world-wide mission" (p. 309).

That the Hellenists were aiming to dispense with legalism and align themselves

with Greek philosophical concepts of divinity is indicated by two types of evidence. First, two Greek inscriptions from Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) in Upper Egypt are dedications by Jews but found in a temple to Pan amidst various pagan inscriptions (now thought to be mid-second to late first century B.C.E. rather than third century B.C.E.; A. L. Connolly, "Safety from a Sea Voyage," in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity,* vol. 4, *A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1979* [ed. G. H. R. Horsley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 113–17). We might add the third-century evidence of the Zenon papyri in which the Jew Tobias addresses the Ptolemaic king with a polytheistic greeting (*CPJ* #4). Whether these represent syncretism or the employment of a formulaic address is hard to determine. These examples are clearly from everyday life rather than theological or careful literary creations. Second, philosophical discussions of the identity of the Jewish god with the Greek pantheon are extant. In the *Letter of Aristeas*, for example, a "Greek" explains to Ptolemy the nature of the Jewish God: "They worship the same God . . . though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or Dis" (*Aristeas* 15). Later in the second century Aristobulus also sees the Greek name for god as a designation of the Jewish god, but he offers the caution that it is philosophically wise to select one's name for God. These attitudes of the *interpretatio graeca* Hengel contrasts with the more frequent negative separatist tendencies (p. 266).

For Syro-Palestine, however, he only finds sparse evidence of such alignments prior to the charges leveled in the books of the Maccabees. Most of the evidence adduced for a reforming movement is from later writers such as Philo, who allegorized the law. Hengel felt one could trace back a trajectory from these writers to the reformers, whose goal of a new religion was fulfilled for a while by the new cult of Zeus on the temple mount. He does point to Eupolemus, who, writing in Greek and using the Septuagint, produced a work typical of Hellenistic historiography in its interest in origins (*On the Kings of Judea*). The account there of Solomon's gift of a golden pillar to the king of Troy, who set it up in the temple of Zeus, is taken as evidence of the belief of the pre-Maccabean Hellenists that the greatest god (*theos megistos*), to whom Solomon owed his allegiance and position, was identified with Zeus of the Phoenicians and Greeks. The fact, however, that this Eupolemus was probably chosen as envoy to Rome by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 8:17) indicates that the Maccabean cause might not have aligned itself against such views (see John J. Collins, "Cult and Culture: The Limits of Hellenization in Judea," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. Collins and Sterling, 45–46).

The evidence adduced throws little real light on the pre-Maccabean era in Syro-Palestine, much of it coming from the Diaspora and from post-Maccabean days. It is noticeable how little the Septuagint itself plays a part in Hengel's book. Although C. H. Dodd (*The Bible and the Greeks* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935]) had shown the influence of Greek terminology and thought on the translation, such features are not prominent in the Septuagint, and the silence of such a fundamental document for Hellenistic Jews calls into question the extent of the "reform movement." What little evidence there is need not be interpreted as a move toward theocracy but as expressions of historiographical techniques of the period, apologetic and formulaic language. To downplay such a religious crisis before the Maccabean revolt is not to deny the role of reli-

gion, as Hengel accuses his critics, but to question the role and identification of traditionalism.

Jews in the Hellenistic World

Hengel's book throws open a number of questions on the role of Jews in Hellenistic society, but he relies too much on the assumptions of his predecessors. First, it is a given that Jews would need in some way to respond and accommodate to Greek culture. We have already discussed the colonial presuppositions of this. It is a view derived from a small number of hostile statements in Greco-Roman writers, which need to be interpreted in the context of Greek ethnography and history. The interest of the topic itself in modern scholarship also needs to be seen in its contemporary sociopolitical context from Théodore Reinach (*Textes des Auteurs Grecs et Latins relative au Judaisme* [Paris, 1895]) onwards. Second, it is presumed that a writer in Greek would have apologetic purposes whether addressing Jews or Greeks. This position does not allow for other possible explanations.

The problem with these assumptions is that they contradict the essential thesis of the book, and perhaps the real shortfall is that the thesis is not taken far enough. If Judaism was truly hellenized, then we should take the Jewish Hellenistic writers more seriously as Hellenistic authors. Rather than considering Jewish writers as imitating Greek conventions for apologetic purposes, it should be asked what it means for Jews to be able to write in such a manner. What was their social status if they had such a high level of education to compose Greek works of poetry, philosophy, and history?

The Non-Hellenization of Judaism

Although hellenization is clear in the case of many writers of the time, we should also inquire as to its limits. If we did not know the date of certain books, could we identify them as Hellenistic works? Ben Sira reveals little that is essentially "Greek," except for the author using his own name. There are indeed parallels with Greek writers (especially Theognis), and a proverb reminiscent of Homer, but these are only apparent if we know that the book was composed in that time (cf. Otto Kaiser, "Die Rezeption der stoischen Providenz bei Ben Sira," *JNSL* 24 [1998]: 41–54). Certainly Sirach is to be viewed in contrast to the Wisdom of Solomon, which is not only written in Greek but also has a sophisticated Greek philosophical vocabulary and sentence structure and expresses beliefs in the afterlife and the nature of the soul. Thus, when referring to hellenized Judaism, we must distinguish between different forms and levels. It is possible that the effects of hellenization on Judaism can be seen in a mind-set that is visible beyond external appearances, as G. W. Bowersock argues for late antiquity (*Hellenism in Late Antiquity* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990]). Recently Sacha Stern (*Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* [London/Portland, OR: Littman Library, 2003], 90–102) has argued that the Greek concept of time is absent in Jewish Hellenistic and rabbinic literature, which, if correct, would suggest that hellenization did not in fact have the all pervasive influence often thought. The diversity in Judaism also does not allow for a simple description of it as "Hellenistic," and, if John J. Collins is correct in his interpretation of Greek Jewish literature (*Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* [2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000]), then there are some distinctive Diaspora features that suggest a different emphasis from Pales-

tinian Judaism. Diversity is no surprise either, since the influences on Judaism were more than merely Hellenistic.

Non-Hellenistic Influences on Judaism

Judaism has always been changing, coming under the influence of Babylonian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Persian, and Zoroastrian cultures (among others); the opening chapters of Genesis are symptomatic of that. Under Roman rule it continued to be shaped and influenced, such that the hellenization of Judaism should not be taken as a unique or separate movement (see M. Goodman, "Epilogue," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. Collins and Sterling, 304–7). We see the linguistic influence of Persian and Aramaic in the Bible, and then Latin too in rabbinic literature. Perhaps the most extensive influence has come from Greek culture, and for that alone it deserves a particular place, but not at the expense of other influences.

As a mutual process we should also recognize that Judaism influenced other cultures. The "oriental" influence on Greece has already been demonstrated by M. L. West (*The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Early Poetry and Myth* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1997]), although few would agree with many of the examples. It has been seen too in the possible adoption by Greeks of Jewish-Greek religious terms (H. W. Pleket, "Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World," in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* [ed. H. S. Versnel; Leiden: Brill, 1981], 152–92) or of belief in angels (A. R. R. Sheppard, "Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor," *Talanta* [1980-81]: 12–13, 77–101) and might be seen more broadly still. We would have to call this by the awkward terms "Judaization" or "Hebraization." Thus, if the origins of the Jewish synagogue lie, as some believe, in the adoption of an Egyptian prayer house (*proseuchē*) and the adaptation of Greek meeting places (*synagōgai*), then perhaps we should speak of the "hebraization" of Egyptian worship or Greek meetings. To focus solely on hellenization is to present a misleading one-way relationship. As long as books on the history of Israel begin or end with Alexander the Great (or even Antiochus IV), the prime focus will be on the effects of hellenization. Lester L. Grabbe, by contrast, in beginning his study with the Persian period, emphasizes the continuity through the political eras, the movement in the Persian period away from the temple and priesthood, and the diversity in external influences on Judaism from the Persian to the Roman period (see *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* [London: Routledge, 2000], 53).

Conclusions

While reservations have been expressed concerning the explanation for the religious development in the period and the causes of the Maccabean revolt, the recognition of the Hellenistic nature of much of Second Temple Judaism remains important. The significance accorded to the Greco-Roman background of Christianity in Hengel's own *The Pre-Christian Paul* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991) and other studies (e.g., J. J. Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty and Survival* [T & T Clark, 1998]) is in part a consequence of this, and the occasional drive to determine whether an idea is Jewish or "Greek" becomes obsolete when it can be both at once. Increased interest in the Jewish Jesus perhaps implies a Hebraic kernel that does not exist, and the counterpoint interest

in the cynic Jesus equally implies a dichotomy. Some apologists in the Jewish–Christian debate aim to return to a more "Hebraic" Jesus and distance themselves from the hellenized Paul or the creeds (see F. C. Holmgren, *The Old Testament and the Significance of Jesus: Embracing Change – Maintaining Christian Identity, The Emerging Center in Biblical Scholarship* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999]), which is a reminder that the contribution of Hengel has yet to be worked out. Moreover, the relevance for rabbinic studies is still only beginning to be assessed (e.g., *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture,* vol. 1 [ed. P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998]).

It might also be asked whether the interest in Hellenistic Judaism is a Christian phenomenon (cf. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 10, on Jesus). To conclude this would be to deny, however, the vitality of a Greek Jewish tradition from the translation of the Bible into Greek, to its revisers, on into Byzantium and the modern era. Thus, Greek as the foundation of Western culture is probably an equally important reason for attraction to this topic. But caution has been expressed over the potential for misinterpretation of the modern world, and the "essentialization" of Greek thought (see P. A. Alexander, "Hellenism and Hellenization as Problematic Historiographical Categories," in *Paul beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Engberg-Pedersen, 63–80). And increasing unease with a dichotomy between Judaism and Hellenism is being expressed (see, e.g., E. Will and C. Orrieux, *Ioudaïsmos-hellénismos: Essai sur le judaïsme judéen à l'époque hellénistique* [Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1986]; G. Delling, "Die Begegnung zwischen Hellenismus und Judentum," *ANRW* 2.20.1 [1987]: 3–39; E. S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998]). Hengel sought to break the dichotomy between Diaspora and Palestinian Judaism, but he also continued that same dichotomy between Judaism and Hellenism with his alternatives of acceptance or rejection of the new culture. The reduction of the ancient world to a *Kulturkampf* is a historical simplification, but such binary opposition is popular and continues in literary theory and theology (see the special issue of the journal *Poetics Today* [1998]).

The legacy of the nineteenth century—especially of Hegel and Bickerman—is easy to identify in Hengel. Thus, his emphasis on the resolution of the problem in Christianity will be hard for many to accept. It is no accident that in his book on the first century he notes that "the term 'Hellenistic' as currently used no longer serves to make any meaningful differentiation in terms of the history of religions within the history of earliest Christianity" (*The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* [in collaboration with Christoph Markschies; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989], 53). Moreover, the importance of Hebraism and Hellenism in the nineteenth century has continued to have its influence in another form. Hengel's tendency to equate Hellenism with paganism (or apostasy, as in Feldman), an association to be found only from late antiquity in Christian writers (see Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, 9–11), is also unfortunate and leads to a misunderstanding of the place of the Jewish Greek writers. Perhaps the real tragedy of the Maccabean revolt is that it has established an opposition between Judaism and Hellenism that has persisted ever since. A proper appreciation of the Hellenic contribution to Judaism therefore remains to be written.

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A New Heart and a New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah, by Risa Levitt Kohn. JSOTSup 358. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002. Pp. xii + 148. $85.00 (cloth). ISBN 0826460577.

Risa Levitt Kohn's interest in Ezekiel's message to the exiles, "during one of the most traumatic periods in Israelite history" (p. 1), brought her to study systematically the lexical and thematic similarities between Ezekiel and P, and Ezekiel and D/Dtr. She poses questions regarding the nature of the relationship between Ezekiel and the abovementioned sources. By considering the implications of these literary connections on the evolution of the Torah, Levitt Kohn is able to place Ezekiel within the context of Israelite history, theology, and literature.

Levitt Kohn joins a "gigantic controversy" in biblical scholarship, with J. Wellhausen and Y. Kaufmann as major speakers. In a thorough introduction (ch. 2), she examines Wellhausen's thesis as well as Kaufmann's counterthesis regarding the evolution of the Pentateuch and Ezekiel's contribution to this process. Studying idiomatic similarities between the language of Ezekiel and P, on the one hand, and D/Dtr phrases, on the other, Levitt Kohn establishes (once again) the improbability of the assumption that Ezekiel preceded both P and D/Dtr sources. She thus joins "Kaufmann's school" in this debate. In her study, Levitt Kohn strives to release Ezekiel from the burden laid on him by Wellhausen, who considered the prophet to be no less than "the original spiritual architect of Judaism" (thus Levitt Kohn [p. 110]).

Levitt Kohn presents four major arguments regarding the relationship between Ezekiel and the Torah (ch. 6). First, though she argues that Ezekiel does not know the entire Torah (p. 117), the prophet is certainly aware of both P and D/Dtr sources in their written form. Yet Ezekiel is not "working furiously to preserve these traditions for posterity . . . Ezekiel is not safeguarding Israelite tradition from extinction" (p. 111). Rather, he uses both traditions, separately and in combination, as sources for his own pronouncements; "he questions these traditions, comments upon them, and, ultimately, reformulates them" (p. 111).

Second, Levitt Kohn refutes the moderate path that explains the connections between Ezekiel and P as resulting from common priestly concerns, ideology, vocabulary, or heritage in general. She rather emphasizes the "*direct* literary allusions to P" in Ezekiel (p. 112, emphasis original).

Third, Levitt Kohn illuminates Ezekiel's independence with respect to his sources and explains his position in accordance with his main motives in using them. The legal standards of both P and D serve Ezekiel, on the one hand, as theological arguments to explain the 587 B.C.E. disaster and, on the other, as potential standards for his contemporaries' improvement or as means to a future redemption. Yet, when neither P nor D serves his purpose, Ezekiel paves his own new way, which oftentimes integrates both schools' ideologies (pp. 113–14).

Finally, through a comparison with exilic and postexilic literary compositions, Levitt Kohn places Ezekiel at the roots of a process of synthesizing pentateuchal literary sources, exemplified years later in the redactor's work on the Torah, in Ezra-Nehemiah, and in Chronicles. By articulating Ezekiel's combination of the contradictory theologies of P and D, then, Levitt Kohn gives the prophet primacy as precursor of the Torah redactor(s). Thus, she argues that Ezekiel anticipated the restoration authors and redac-

tors in constructing an inclusive ideology that intentionally combined the rival streams of thought known to us as P and D. Hence, while denying Wellhausen's appointment of Ezekiel as "architect of Judaism," Levitt Kohn nevertheless awards the prophet another major role: Ezekiel established an integrated ideology that went beyond the preexilic separate Priestly and Deuteronomistic schools of thought. This ideology is considered to go hand in hand with Ezekiel's self-presentation as a second Moses (pp. 109–10) and his "dream of unified national theology" (p. 118).

Levitt Kohn's overall thesis is based on examination of the nature of the relationships between Ezekiel and P and Ezekiel and D/Dtr. In chs. 3 and 4, she concentrates on common lexical expressions and terms. She briefly discusses ninety-seven phrases shared by Ezekiel and Priestly sources (including H) and twenty-one phrases shared by Ezekiel and D/Dtr. These lexical lists are certainly one of the main benefits of the book. They suggest more similarities by far than have been presented in the previous general or specific studies of S. R. Driver, Millar Burrows, Avi Hurvitz, Jacob Milgrom, Baruch A. Levine, Robert Polzin, and Mark F. Rooker.

Levitt Kohn classifies the terms and phrases common to P and Ezekiel (ch. 3) in order to illustrate not only shared language but even thematic resemblances and differences. She presents ten categories of content (p. 30): Yahweh's relationship to Israel; covenant; land; social structure; law; holy days; tabernacle/temple and priesthood; ritual; humans, animals, and plants; and miscellaneous.

In discussing Ezekiel and D/Dtr expressions (ch. 4), Levitt Kohn does not employ classifications of content; she lists mainly idioms that testify to "shared terminology," common not only to Ezekiel and D/Dtr but also to Jeremiah. Nevertheless, she argues for the direct connection of Ezekiel to D/Dtr. Special attention is given to the relationship of Ezekiel and D/Dtr where alternative P idioms are absent (e.g., ch. 4, idioms 9, 17) and particularly where they are present (e.g., idioms 4, 5, 7, 8). Following the lists in chs. 3 and 4, Levitt Kohn adds a conclusive analysis of each.

The most persuasive discussion in this book is ch. 5: "Fusing P and D/Dtr in Ezekiel." Although the examples are relatively scant, Levitt Kohn considers them to be "the most illuminating aspect of Ezekiel's use of P and D" (p. 96). Indeed, the author's insights on Ezekiel's synthesis of P and D are thought-provoking.

Reading carefully through chs. 3 and 4 of the book raises several methodological questions. First, there is no methodological explanation of how the lists were compiled. Should one conclude from the study that Levitt Kohn has exhausted the idiomatic resemblances between the literary compositions she studied? One may note at least two missing idioms. The first is shared by Ezekiel and P: *ʾākal ʿal haddām* ("to eat with the blood"; Ezek 33:25 and Lev 19:26, elsewhere found only in 1 Sam 14:33–34). The second is shared by Ezekiel, H, D, and Jeremiah: *ʿāśâ tôʿēbâ* ("to commit abominations"; Ezek 16:50; 18:12; 22:11; 33:26, etc., and Lev 18:26–30; 20:13; as well as Deut 18:12 and Jer 7:10; 44:22).

Second, Levitt Kohn's focus on the literary-historical relationships of the texts under scrutiny unfortunately kept her from considering in ch. 3 both the stratification of P and H and the literary complexity of the book of Ezekiel itself (mainly chs. 1–39 and 40–48). This aspect of the procedure is left without sufficient explanation (p. 30); it is particularly questionable as one studies the list of idioms and its analysis (pp. 31–85) and

then the conclusion that "Ezekiel's linguistic correspondence to PT is as pervasive as its correspondence to the HS, *if not more*" (p. 85, emphasis added). The data call for more complex classifications, and such would hardly harm Levitt Kohn's "chief concern to cast the net as wide as possible" within the common corpus of P and Ezekiel (p. 30). On the contrary, a more nuanced approach would have enriched the study and would have been even more useful for future studies of the interrelationship between Ezekiel and his sources.

Third, the discussion in ch. 3 sharpens the question of whether the restriction to idiomatic similarities is justified when discussing the relationships between literary compositions. Clinging to similarities in vocabulary leads to overlooking additional thematic allusions in the sources. For example, there is no mention of the phrase *mišpětê nōʾăpôt wĕšōpĕkōt dām,* "the punishment of women who commit adultery and murder" (Ezek 16:38; 23:45; clearly alluding to Lev 18 and 20). This methodological question is wider by far than the limits of this review, but it comes to mind constantly when reading the book.

Levitt Kohn's work has the potential of being an important contribution to the field of inner-biblical interpretation. The discussion is not focused on this angle, but in several discussions Ezekiel's interpretive perspective is suggested (*ʾereṣ mĕgûrêhem,* "the land of their sojourning" 3.6 [p. 39]; *rab lākem,* "Enough!/You've gone too far!" 10.8 [pp. 68–69 and elsewhere]), and some of the terminology of inner-biblical analysis is sporadically used (e.g., "echo," "allusion," "reversal"). Moreover, it seems Levitt Kohn is aware of the limitation she has imposed on her study, and her comments regarding other thematic affinities are of great importance and relevance for the argument (for instance, pp. 94–95).

Despite this limitation, in establishing P (H) and D/Dtr as source texts for Ezekiel, Levitt Kohn's study lays a foundation for further research on inner-biblical interpretation and allusion. The data presented in the lists should aid further studies of the functional and thematic use made by Ezekiel of these earlier sources.

Fourth, the analytical discussions of the relationships between Ezekiel and P or D/Dtr are unfortunately not as helpful as the lists themselves (ch. 3, pp. 75–84; ch. 4, pp. 93–94). The analysis in each chapter is aimed at considering general characteristics of the ways that Ezekiel uses his sources. However, the discussions can hardly be taken as conclusive, since they treat only a relatively small portion of the phrases adduced (forty out of ninety-seven terms in P; seven out of twenty-one terms in D/Dtr). Moreover, methodologically the analysis is heterogeneous, mingling categories of genuine inner-biblical interpretation (e.g., "1. Reversals"; "5. Literal to Metaphorical") with several types of context or content allusions ("2. Legal citations"; "3. The Exodus and the Restoration"; "4. Tabernacle to Temple?"). Finally, some of the classifications are questionable. For example, the data adduced and the conclusions reached concerning "The Exodus and the Restoration" (pp. 80–81) seem inadequate, since most of the expressions discussed do not support the "Second Exodus" theme.

Furthermore, caution is due with reference to some of the parallels discussed, since it seems that they can hardly be evaluated as more than coincidentally shared phrases (e.g., ch. 3, idioms 5.1; 8.2–5, 11; 9.7, 11; 10.19, among others; ch. 4, idioms 5, 12, 20).

Levitt Kohn's overall thesis is definitely intriguing and well supported. She con-

tributes a comprehensive study of the idiomatic similarities between Ezekiel and P and Ezekiel and D. For many of these shared expressions she succeeds in proving the direction of influence, placing Ezekiel last in this literary relationship, not first. However, I question the new role Levitt Kohn imposes on Ezekiel. Based on the relatively small number of examples of conflated P and D phrases and ideologies (only five examples are presented), can Ezekiel really bear the burden of initiating an inclusive national ideology? Does Ezekiel mark a unique change in his integration of earlier pentateuchal sources (Jeremiah seems to be especially close to Ezekiel in this respect)? And an even more bothersome question: Is it not highly conjectural to assume a preexilic rivalry between P and D literary schools that Ezekiel (being one of the priests in exile) allegedly was anxious to settle? I definitely agree with Levitt Kohn that in the prophet's rich message, both allusive and original, Ezekiel had a tremendous impact on the constitution of an exilic ideology, yet I doubt whether Ezekiel was the "liminal figure" that the author (in agreement with Wellhausen) wants to see (p. 117).

In conclusion, Levitt Kohn's study should definitely serve scholars of both Ezekiel and the Pentateuch. As a window for further research, it could, moreover, be instructive for scholars interested in inner-biblical interpretation.

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Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era: Papers Read at the First Meeting of the European Association for Biblical Studies, Utrecht, 6–9 August 2000, edited by Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking. Studies in Theology and Religion 5. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003. Pp. xxi + 300. €67.50. ISBN 902323880X.

This volume consists of papers read at the first meeting of the European Association for Biblical Studies in Utrecht (Netherlands) in August 2000. All papers are written in English with one exception—the essay by Rüdiger Schmitt, which is in German—and most of them offer an important contribution to a better understanding of the Persian period and its significance for the formation of the Hebrew Bible.

In the foreword, the editors (Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking) describe the Persian period as a "transit period" from the former Israelite and Judahite religions, which reveal multiple Yahwisms, to Judaism as it appears in the Hellenistic period. They also emphasize the difficulty of understanding the Judean situation during the Persian era, since we have no documents from the Persian administration that are related directly to the province of Yehud. Hence, biblical sources remain important, even if their date and intention are not easy to identify; at times, some evidence from inscriptions and archaeology may also shed some light on the period. Albertz and Becking conclude with a brief presentation of each paper.

The essays are ordered alphabetically. Instead of following this order, however, this review will briefly discuss the articles according to their topics.

The first essay, by Rainer Albertz ("The Thwarted Restoration," pp. 1–17), is a good introduction to the whole volume. Albertz argues that the term "restoration," often used by biblical scholars to describe the Persian period, is not actually adequate. Indeed, the Persian period does not witness a return to preexilic institutions but a new political

and ideological structure, which Albertz describes as follows: on the top of the province of Yehud is a governor (who may be either Persian or Jew); under him stand two councils of Jewish self-administration, the "congregation of the priests" and the "council of elders." Beneath those councils, Albert identifies a third institution, the "assembly [*qāhāl*] of the people," which had quite restricted powers compared to the councils of priestly and lay leaders. Furthermore, these two councils had the same interest as the Persian government, namely, to prevent the emergence of monarchic or messianic movements in Yehud. The view of Antje Labahn ("Antitheocratic Tendencies in Chronicles," pp. 115–35) partially contradicts Albertz's analysis, since Labahn argues for an important role of the Levites during the Persian period. Labahn argues that the Levites, which she identifies as the probable authors of Chronicles, established themselves as a third pressure group beneath the priestly and political leadership. The Levites should then be conceived of as a "multi-functional group in the Second Temple period" (p. 129). They recognized the privileges of priests in the sacrificial cult, but this topic only plays a limited role in Chronicles. Much more attention is given to the Levites, who apparently functioned as administrators and were influential in almost all areas of the Judean society. Yet, if one follows Labahn's interpretation of Chronicles, the Levites agreed with the other leading groups in rejecting monarchical ideology.

Some essays emphasize the ideological and institutional changes that took place in Yehud under the Achaemenids. David Vanderhooft ("New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," pp. 219–35) discusses nonbiblical evidence for Babylonian and Persian administration in Judea. Tablets recently published by the French scholars Francis Joannès and André Lemaire indicate the existence of a town in Mesopotamia called Al-Yahudu. These tablets also seem to indicate that for Jews in Babylonia it was possible very early to obtain official roles under the Achaemenids. In addition, Vanderhooft argues that the Persians invented a new administrative organization in Palestine ruled by a governor (some of whom are now known, thanks to inscriptions on jars, seals, or bullae), which was quite different from the previous organizations. Ehud Ben-Zvi's paper ("What Is New in Yehud? Some Considerations," pp. 32–48) focuses on the ideological changes between the Persian Yehud and the monarchic Judah as reflected in the Pentateuch and the Prophets. He first discusses the invention of the "exile" as the matrix of a new identity for the Second Temple community. The invention of exile is at the beginning of a vast literary activity, which is reflected in the books of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets. From Moses on, "exile" appears continuously in the "Primeval History." The underlying assumption that this exile has not been fully overcome leads then to the marginalization of the present (that is, life under the Persians).

The ideological changes that are at the very beginning of Judaism can also be observed in the case of the conception of death in Palestine. Herbert Niehr ("The Changed Status of the Dead in Yehud," pp. 136–55) shows very convincingly the considerable changes brought in this area by the Priestly and Deuteronomistic writings: abolition of the royal cult of dead ancestors, condemnation of the feeding of the dead and the "funeral banquets," interdiction of mourning rites, and interdiction of necromancy. The Priestly and Deuteronomistic circles did not have the same motives to battle against the importance of death in the popular religion. The Priestly school was concerned with the

question of ritual purity, whereas the Deuteronomists insisted on exclusive veneration of Yhwh. Their covenantal theology was at odds with strong family bonds, which are at the root of the cult of the dead.

Nevertheless, the rejection of several areas of popular theology in "official" circles did not succeed easily. The stimulating article by Rüdiger Schmitt ("Gab es einen Bildersturm nach dem Exil? Einige Bemerkungen zur Verwendung von Terrakottafigurinen im nachexilischen Israel," pp. 186–98) contradicts the thesis of a vast iconoclastic Yahwistic movement during the Persian period. On the contrary, the archaeological evidence confirms the constant popularity of a widespread votive cult that goes back to the early Iron era. Thus, a clear distinction should be made between ideological changes put forward by the intellectual elite and the actual practices of popular religion, which may have been relatively untouched by some of the developments taking place in the elite circles of Yehud.

In general, biblical scholars focus mainly on three issues when discussing Judah in the Persian period: temple, Torah, and messianism. The main witnesses for the importance of the temple (and its reconstruction) are the prophets Haggai and Zech 1–8. According to Mark J. Boda ("Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?" pp. 49–69), the temple building is only one theme among others in Zech 1–8. The redactors of Zech 1:1–16 and 7:1–8:23 are very concerned with Jeremianic and Deuteronomistic traditions; hence, they present the prophet above all as a prophet of *penitence* who appeals to an ethical renewal among the community. These texts may reflect a liturgy of penitential prayers that are now canonized (cf. Neh 9 and Dan 9) and endure outside and even without the temple. Thomas Pola analyzes Zech 3 ("Form and Meaning in Zechariah 3," pp. 156–67) and concludes that according to the text, which he regards as being written before the consecration of the temple in 515, "the re-erection of the temple was the necessary prerequisite for re-establishing the priesthood and its head" (p. 167). Bob Becking's paper deals with the question of *torah* in the Persian period ("Law as Expression of Religion [Ezra 7–10]," pp. 18–31). Becking does not consider Ezra 7–10 a historical report but a "narrative fiction," a later retelling of the episode in Neh 8. The text was written by the so-called Ezra group to claim divine and Persian legitimization. Becking answers the crucial question of the identity of the "law" in this chapter by identifying the *torah* "as a set of rules given by God in Mosaic times" (p. 23). Most scholars might not find that answer very convincing, but the usual identifications with the book of Deuteronomy or even the whole Pentateuch also raise considerable problems. Becking points out that the measures against mixed marriages in Ezra 9 should be understood as an aggravation of the Deuteronomistic legal tradition. According to Becking, the law of Ezra 7–10 should be seen as "a vital and dynamic concept," "a gift of God by which the people can remain in freedom" (p. 30), although the exact meaning of such concepts is not always entirely clear to me.

Closely related to the issue of law in the Persian period is the issue of the origin and significance of the figure of Moses. Meindert Dijkstra ("The Law of Moses: The Memory of Mosaic Religion in and after Exile," pp. 70–98) adopts the view of Egyptologist Jan Assmann and regards Moses as a figure of *memory*, not of history. The question of the historical Moses is a matter of pure speculation. As for preexilic Mosaic traditions, they certainly existed, as Hos 12 clearly indicates, but they differ considerably from the

exilic and postexilic portrait such as it can be found in the Pentateuch. Deuteronomy 34 probably indicates that there existed a veneration of Moses' tomb, which was in preexilic times a place of pilgrimage. The invention of the pentateuchal Moses must be seen in connection with the transformation of the former Israelite religion into a book religion, which started in 2 Kgs 22–23, the narrative of the "discovery" of the law book of Moses. During and after the Babylonian period, the traditions of Moses as a lawgiver rapidly developed, in relation to the compilation of the law, which was put under Mosaic authority. It is regrettable, however, that Dijkstra specifies neither who were the promoters of the "pentateuchal" Moses nor the possible social-historical location of these late Moses traditions.

William Johnstone ("The Revision of Festivals in Exodus 1–24 in the Persian Period and the Preservation of Jewish Identity in the Diaspora," pp. 99–114) addresses the question of Priestly rewriting of older traditions during the Persian era. He shows how the Priestly edition of the book of Exodus (which he considers as the "final" editorial layer) reinterprets the earlier Deuteronomistic version of Passover by creating two festivals, Passover (Exod 12:1–51) and Pentecost (19:1–24:11) in order to provide practical festivals for the Diaspora. These festivals helped to preserve the identity of the Jewish communities outside the land, as did circumcision, observation of Sabbath, and the dietary laws. The question of rewriting older traditions in the Persian period is also analyzed by Zipora Talshir ("Synchronic Approaches with Diachronic Consequences in the Study of Parallel Redactions: First Esdras and 2 Chronicles 35–36; Ezra 1–10; Nehemiah 8," pp. 199–218). She argues that the redactor of 1 Esdras was dependent on the traditions incorporated in Ezra-Nehemiah and added the story of the Three Youths. In a certain way, 1 Esdras may be considered as one of the first extracanonical midrashim.

There is a certain scholarly consensus about the existence of messianic groups in Yehud during the Persian era. This view is challenged by Walter H. Rose ("Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period," pp. 168–85). According to him, Hag 2 says nothing of the promotion of Zerubbabel to kingship. The "messianic" oracles in Zech 3 and 6 depend on the Jeremianic tradition and do not support the idea of a specific messianic fervor during the Persian period. Personally, I am not convinced by Rose's arguments, but he succeeds in initiating a fresh discussion about this central issue.

This volume is a very important one and is to be highly recommended to all biblical scholars as well as advanced students interested in the Persian period. The indexes at the end of the book (authors, bibliography, biblical texts and other ancient sources) make it easy to use. Of course, some themes of the actual discussion about Yehud in the Persian area are not or only partially addressed (the so-called imperial authorization, the problem of the "Tempel-Bürgergemeinde" hypothesis, etc.). Several aspects or ideas presented in the volume will not convince everyone (for instance, the rather "naive" reading of Ezra-Nehemiah by Albertz or the results of Rose's analysis of Zechariah). However, the quality of the articles collected in this volume makes it a most significant contribution to biblical scholarship.

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Der Bericht Nehemias: Zur literarischen Eigenart, traditionsgeschichtlichen Prägung und innerbiblischen Rezeption des Ich-Berichts Nehemias, by Titus Reinmuth. OBO 183. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 2002. Pp. xiii + 381. €51.80. ISBN 3727813776.

Reinmuth begins his study by noting that, despite other positive developments in the field of Persian-period studies, Nehemiah has not attracted much attention in recent years: "Um Nehemia ist es still geworden" (p. 1). To some extent, this apparent neglect can be explained on the basis of more general hermeneutical shifts within Second Temple studies away from concerns with individuals and their achievements toward social structures or constitutive elements in the religious and political infrastructure of Persian Yehud. Perhaps especially the "perils of autobiography" associated with the first-person narrative of Nehemiah have elicited caution rather than confidence with respect to our ability to reconstruct information about specific historical persons and the texts associated with them. Thus, Reinmuth's book is virtually the first comprehensive study of the Nehemiah narrative since Ulrich Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* (BZAW 102; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), and indeed Kellermann represents an important conversation partner for Reinmuth throughout his book. As such, Reinmuth is to be commended for addressing a topic that has been dormant for over thirty years. On the other hand, one may perhaps wonder why such a study is conducted now and how it is situated among the more recent approaches to biblical literature from the Persian period.

The goal of this book is twofold: a definition of the extent, form, and content of the Nehemiah narrative itself and an analysis of its reception within the larger history of tradition (p. 2). Central to this project is Reinmuth's thesis, following H. G. M. Williamson's proposal of a two-stage composition of the Nehemiah-source (*Ezra, Nehemiah* [WBC; Waco: Word, 1985], xxiv–xxviii), that the first-person narrative associated with Nehemiah consists of two distinct sources. Specifically, Reinmuth suggests a narrative about the construction of the wall (*Mauerbau-Erzählung*—wall-building narrative; Neh 1:1–4:17; 6:1–7:5; 12:27–43) and a memorial composition (*Nehemia-Denkschrift*—Nehemiah-memorial; Neh 5:1–19; 13:4–31). Both compositions share the use of the first-person narrative voice, as well as a few key terms or themes such as חרפה (reproach; 1:3; 2:17; 3:36; 4:13; cf. 5:9; 6:13) or the installing (עמד) of reforms (4:3, 7; 7:3; 13:11, 19), but differ more substantially in style, grammar, vocabulary, and orientation. The wall-building narrative exhibits a greater degree of literary coherence, while the texts of the Nehemiah-memorial, characterized by the repeated use of the verb זכר (remember) relate events that are not necessarily thematically connected. Reinmuth posits that the wall-building narrative is the older of the two sources, composed during the governorship of Nehemiah (i.e., contemporary to the events it narrates), while the memorial was written after his activity during the last decades of the fifth century (p. 336). Furthermore, the two compositions are said to reflect different sociohistorical settings. The wall-building narrative relates a collaborative effort involving the aristocratic and political leadership of Jerusalem as well as the temple priests and the people. The Nehemiah-memorial reflects a conflict between Nehemiah, the peasant population, and the lower priestly and Levitical groups, on the one hand, and the aristocracy and political leaders, on the other (pp. 335–36).

Regarding a traditio-historical evaluation of the texts at hand, Reinmuth points to

several themes that emerge from an analysis of the wall-building narrative and that connect it thematically to other parts of the Bible. There is a sense of God's judgment implicit in the reconstruction of the destroyed city and expressed through the use of key terms such as רעה (misfortune) and חרפה (reproach), as well as the idea of a new beginning for the province of Yehud, which is also evident in the book of Ezra (p. 338). Furthermore, the wall-building narrative appears to have been particularly well received by the authors of Chronicles, who also report about successful building projects and make use of the same characteristic combination of the key terms בנה (build) and צלח (succeed; p. 339). The Nehemiah-memorial, on the other hand, which shows Nehemiah as closely linked to the lower priestly classes and critical of the aristocratic leadership, finds resonance in texts that are strongly Torah oriented, such as the legal texts of the Pentateuch as well as the postexilic redaction of prophetic texts (p. 330; for a convenient list of intertextual links, see pp. 342–43). This Torah-oriented focus, Reinmuth suggests, also dominates the redaction of the Nehemiah narrative as a whole, which likely took place in the late Persian period (pp. 346–47). The Nehemiah tradition was then preserved and perpetuated by priestly rather than prophetic groups, and traditio-historical links to such books as Third Isaiah or Malachi cannot be convincingly supported, as has been proposed in particular by Kellermann.

Methodologically, Reinmuth's study is characterized by the analysis of key words and their function in Nehemiah and other biblical texts. The use of language (*Sprachgebrauch*) in its syntactical, semantic, and structural aspects (p. 19) is central to his reading of the text. Nevertheless, Reinmuth's general orientation is decidedly diachronic, as one would expect from a study concerned with the redaction of sources and the history of traditions. A significant theoretical influence with regard to exegesis is Odil Hannes Steck (*Exegese des Alten Testaments: Leitfaden der Methodik* [12th ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989]), who emerges as a leading voice in Reinmuth's discussion of new approaches to literary criticism (pp. 25–28). Also noted are James A. Sanders on canonical criticism (*Canon and Community* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984]) and Michael Fishbane on intertextuality and tradition criticism (*Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1985]). He occasionally refers to synchronic approaches to biblical narrative, such as studies by Tamara Eskenazi, Meir Sternberg, or D. J. A. Clines, but otherwise he makes relatively little use of what is generally identified as new literary criticism among English-speaking scholars.

Reinmuth's book has a certain commentary-like quality. He reads the texts that are considered for his analysis sequentially in exegetical units in the order in which they appear in the book, rather than grouped in two categories according to his division of sources into wall-building narrative and memorial composition. The advantage to this approach is that it presents a sharper contrast between the two compositional units by highlighting the stylistic and rhetorical ruptures in the narrative, lending greater force to Reinmuth's two-source theory. Each exegetical unit contains a working translation with text-critical notes; an analysis of its structure, style, and use of language; an examination of its reception and its place in the history of traditions; and a concluding interpretation of the passage with regard to its significance within its respective compositional source. There is also a discussion of Neh 3:1–32 and 10:31–40, which Reinmuth does not consider to be part of either the wall-building narrative or the memorial composition but which provide exegetical cohesion and the opportunity to develop ideas about the roster

of people involved in the construction of the wall and about the relationship between Nehemiah's reforms and the development of Torah respectively. Only the list of returnees in Neh 7 (cf. Ezra 2) and the material dealing with Ezra and the covenant-renewal ceremony in Neh 8:1–10:30 are not included in Reinmuth's study. On two occasions the sequential reading is interrupted by chapters dealing with specific intertextual relationships and that represent perhaps some of the most interesting explorations in this book, since they examine specific instances of the traditio-historical connection between Nehemiah and the legal and prophetic traditions of the Hebrew Bible. The first of these intertextual comparisons looks at the issue of the remission of debt and the problem of debt-slavery in Neh 5 in relation to Lev 25, Deut 15, and Jer 34 (pp. 160–82). A close reading of these texts and their use of key vocabulary suggests, according to Reinmuth, that Neh 5 represents a positive foil for Jer 34, where the same problem of social injustice prompts Jeremiah to issue an oracle of doom. Furthermore, Lev 25 appears to presuppose Neh 5, suggesting that Nehemiah's reforms had a significant impact on postexilic legislation (p. 182; cf. pp. 218–19). The second intertextual exploration examines Isa 58:12; 61:4; Amos 9:11, 14; and Mic 7:11 with regard to the idea that the building of the wall in Nehemiah represents the fulfillment of postexilic prophecy (pp. 234–46). As mentioned earlier, Reinmuth argues that the evidence for such an idea is inconclusive, further supporting his claim that the traditio-historical impact of Nehemiah is to be found in priestly and legislative rather than prophetic circles.

Reinmuth's analysis raises some significant sociological questions. It is perhaps all the more surprising that this book offers very little discussion of social-scientific categories or theories, a discourse that has been very prominent in other recent studies of Persian-period literature. This disparity between broad sociological conclusions and fairly narrow literary evidence is perhaps one of the more problematic aspects of this study. Similarly, his use of synchronic data (key terms, use of language, etc.) to support diachronic conclusions about composition, redaction, and tradition is not without its difficulties. Although Reinmuth's critiques are apt and relevant, especially his assessment of Kellermann's work, and his suggestions certainly intriguing and often quite plausible, he relies too heavily on the presence or absence of key terms or term clusters to provide a solid foundation for his larger conclusions. As a result, the intertextual links he seeks to establish often appear somewhat overstated. One may wonder, for example, if he is not reading too much into the implication of the occurrence of such terms as בנה and צלח or the installing (עמד) of reforms. Even on a larger, thematic level, his judgments appear occasionally too strong for the evidence at hand. Are two negative portrayals of Solomon (Neh 13:18, 26) enough to suggest that the text is implicitly rejecting any possible hopes for the reestablishment of monarchic rule in Judah (cf. p. 345)? Even though this idea is in itself quite probable, and also expressed by other studies, more evidence would have been desirable to support such a claim. Similarly, a more thorough sociological investigation of such concepts as Torah or prophecy would have been appropriate to strengthen an otherwise purely internal body of evidence. Finally, this study would benefit from a more explicit distinction between the figure of Nehemiah according to the text and the figure of Nehemiah himself. While Reinmuth's arguments do not hinge on the historicity of Nehemiah, his assumption that at least the wall-building narrative is probably an eyewitness report by the governor of Yehud himself is not necessarily helpful. Suggestions that the roster of people who participated in the construction was a lit-

erary independent source that was likely included in the wall-building narrative by Nehemiah himself (p. 86) are without any historical proof and do more to weaken the credibility of a study that is otherwise concerned with internal, literary evidence. Nevertheless, the questions raised by Reinmuth are relevant and intriguing, and one can hope that this study will stimulate other investigations into the sociology of the book and the intertextual relationships between the book of Nehemiah and other parts of the Hebrew Bible, especially the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch. Much work remains to be done in this area. It is not implausible to expect that future studies will in fact confirm many of Reinmuth's conclusions.

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The Most Magic Word: Essays on Babylonian and Biblical Literature, by William L. Moran. Edited by Ronald S. Hendel. CBQMS 35. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2002. Pp. x + 212. $11.50 (paper). ISBN 0915170345.

In a distinguished academic career extending over half a century, the late William L. Moran, Andrew W. Mellon Professor of the Humanities at Harvard University, authored nearly seventy articles, a hundred critical reviews, and a volume of translations of the Amarna letters (produced in French and translated into English). He also edited the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,* vol. 7 (I/J), a volume known for its particular excellence. The current collection containing fifteen articles, two in print for the first time, samples but a small, tantalizing taste of the author's scholarly legacy. Missing are examples of Moran's numerous contributions concerning the Amarna letters (a career-long occupation and arguably his major field of endeavor; see *William L. Moran, Amarna Studies: Collected Writings* [ed. John Huehnergard and Shlomo Izre'el; HSS 54; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003]), Northwest Semitic philology, Assyriology proper, and certain major Mesopotamian myths such as *Enuma Elish* and *Anzu.* The works in this volume, selected apparently for their "biblical" import, epitomize nonetheless the evaluation in the introduction to his Festschrift: "But his work has also always had a special appeal. Regardless of the topic, there is in his approach a humane quality, a concern for broader issues that expresses the intellectual and vital excitement that he brings to the text" (Tzvi Abusch, John Huehnergard, and Piotr Steinkeller, eds., *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* [HSS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], x).

The title of this volume is borrowed from Rainer Maria Rilke's impression of the Gilgamesh Epic (read in Ungnad's German translation) as "das zaubernde Wort zu irgendeiner Zeit." Its use testifies to Moran's conviction that ancient Mesopotamian literature was not an arcane corpus of interest only to a handful of scholars conversant in dead languages but of highest humanistic value of concern to people of culture even in modern times. Moran's commitment to human culture in general even while studying the ancient Near East finds expression in his frequent citations in foreign languages, abundant use of Latin expressions, and, most significantly, comparative use of classical literature to explain Mesopotamian writings. In the same vein, of the essays selected for publication, one discusses Gilgamesh's coming to grips with his own humanity, another

focuses (through the lens of Ovid and other classical authors) on the humanization (by lovemaking) of his companion Enkidu, and yet a third discusses the creation of humankind according to Atrahasis. In this essay, published here for the first time, Moran relates the use of the remnants of a slain god in the newly formed man to "man's religious impulse, the inner urging he experienced to submit to the yoke of the gods and satisfy their needs." The divine is at the center of Moran's interest mostly in the last essay on the role of Marduk in the "Babylonian Job" (see below), but even there at issue is not theology but the divine in its relationship to humankind.

The collection hosts three components. The first half as well as the concluding chapter highlight Babylonian literature and contain four items on the Gilgamesh Epic (one is not an article per se but a translation of Gilgamesh's famous lament over his fallen friend Enkidu and Siduri's words of consolation), an equal number of pioneering articles on Atrahasis (the Babylonian story of the flood and antediluvian history, which is more essential than Gilgamesh XI for background to Gen 5–6), and a never-before-published study of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi,* the so-called Babylonian Job, which eschews a biblifying reading of the poem in favor of one concentrating on the theology of Marduk. In this chapter Moran suggests that the righteous-sufferer motif, long considered the dominant theme of the text, is quantitatively minor and structurally off center, and, in fact, the work is meant to proclaim a new religion in which Marduk has supplanted the so-called personal deities who cannot offer salvation to their devotees. These compositions are, of course, major works of world literature as well as of overwhelming importance for the background of the Hebrew Bible. Moran's sensitive and penetrating studies analyze the overall literary structures of the compositions as well as certain central themes, individual crucial passages or words, and even specific rhetorical devices illustrating his ability to span and integrate the entire range of problems in reading a text from the most minute to the final message. Although Moran is too good a philologist to be accused of postmodernism, he fully realizes the importance of self-awareness and the perils of personal perspective in literary analysis and presents his interpretations of both works as "my Gilgamesh" and "my Ludlul."

These are followed by three studies of Old Babylonian letters. One tracks a proverb ("The hasty bitch brings forth blind whelps") found in a Mari letter that subsequently appears throughout the world down through the Hellenistic period and on into modern times. Another presents editions of and philological commentaries on the (then) newly published Mari letters mentioning prophecy. A third offers a rhetorical analysis of a report (not actually a letter, according to Moran) of a prophecy found at Nerebtum.

The book concludes with three essays on a range of biblical topics including YHWH's saving acts (Deut 2:14–16 and the relationship between Deut 2–3 and Exod 15), a quiet miracle of salvation performed by a Gentile woman (Rahab), and the covenantal love of God in the context of ancient Near Eastern treaties.

Much water has flowed in the Euphrates since some of these articles were penned, and plentiful new primary sources and scholarly literature relating to the subjects covered in this book have appeared. These include Andrew George's volume of translations of all known Gilgamesh stories (*The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian* [London: Penguin, 1999]); a new recension of Atrahasis from the Neo-Babylonian library found at Sippar (A. R. George and F. N. H.

Al-Rawi, "Tablets from the Sippar Library VI. Atra-has," *Iraq* 58 [1996]: 147–90); and a reedition of the Mari letters relating to prophecy and other mantic activities (J.-M. Durand and D. Charpin, *Archives epistolaires de Mari* I/1[1–2] [ARM 26; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988]). The last decade has also been marked by a revolutionary sea-change in the study of the Bible and ancient Israel that, in its most extreme expression, would uproot the writings of the Bible from the Late Bronze and Iron Age and replant them in the late Persian and even early Hellenistic periods. One might expect such developments to make any reproduction of articles produced over a full half century sorely out of date, and one certainly regrets that Moran is no longer with us to consider the new sources and scholarly perspectives and integrate them into his writings. All this notwithstanding, Moran's works, based on sound philology, sensitive reading, and a regard for theology and ideas not bound by historical circumstances, stand the test of time retaining their vitality and validity.

Although Professor Moran was fully at home in both biblical and Mesopotamian literature and qualified like few others to draw comparisons, he respects the cultural and conceptual autonomy of the two civilizations. Most of the articles are pertinent to biblical studies, but the relevance is not always investigated explicitly (the major survey of prophecy in the Mari letters is silent about biblical prophecy), allowing the Mesopotamian texts to speak for themselves out of their original contexts and leaving the biblical scholar to apply them independently according to his or her own inclinations.

The readers of *JBL* are indebted to Ronald S. Hendel for producing this gem of a monument to an outstanding scholar, humanist (and Celtics fan), and hope for sequels containing Professor Moran's remaining studies.

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Tobit, by Joseph A. Fitzmyer. Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003. Pp. xviii + 374. $88.00 (cloth). ISBN 3110175746.

The book of Tobit is challenging in a variety of ways. The situation of the transmission of the text is difficult; several text forms in different languages are extant. The genre is not easy to determine, and the theological content offers various aspects ranging from ethics to human images of God, from the theology of prayer to eschatological motifs. Hence it is appropriate to approach this book repeatedly from divergent perspectives.

Fitzmyer's commentary is a very important contribution to knowledge about and interpretation of the book of Tobit. Its point of departure, its strength, and its focus can be seen from the first sentence of the preface: "A modern commentary on the Book of Tobit must take on a different shape in view of the discovery of the fragmentary Aramaic and Hebrew texts of it among the Dead Sea Scrolls" (p. v). Indeed, the manuscript evidence is the focus of a large part of the introduction (pp. 3–17) and determines the layout and design of the commentary.

The introduction confronts the reader with the unusually complicated manuscript transmission of the story of Tobit. This is salutary for modern readers of Bible translations, since every translation smooths the underlying text and at times might give the wrong impression that there was one clear text from the ancient times up to our era.

Fitzmyer presents a clear overview of the manuscript evidence. He first distinguishes the Greek translations: the Short Recension (G^{I}; mainly Vaticanus and Alexandrinus), the Long Recension (G^{II}; Sinaiticus; the fragmentary MS 319), and the Intermediate Recension (G^{III}; MSS 44, 106, 107; a compromise between the other two Greek recensions). Fitzmyer makes clear that G^{II} is more original. The Latin translation is also known in two forms: the shorter Latin Vulgate (Vg) by St. Jerome and the Long Recension of the Old Latin (VL). The picture is enlarged and complicated by the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls, here the Hebrew and Aramaic fragments of the book of Tobit found in Cave 4 in 1952. Fitzmyer acknowledges repeatedly the great work of J. T. Milik, who pieced together the many fragments of the manuscripts. The final publication in the DJD series was done by Fitzmyer himself ("Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4: XIV* [DJD 19; 1995], 1–76). It can be noted here that in this commentary Fitzmyer offers a brief insight into the content of the Aramaic and Hebrew texts of Tobit. The next part of the introduction discusses the question of the original language of the book. Fitzmyer presents the pros and cons of the different opinions and finally follows J. Milik's judgment that Tobit was originally an Aramaic composition.

Attention to the complicated manuscript transmission covers the first half of the introduction. The other introductory chapters deal with subject matter and literary genre, the integrity of the book, its teaching, date and place of composition, and the question of canonicity. The reviewer welcomes Fitzmyer's argumentation for the integrity of the book, since it seems to be difficult to work with the usual criteria for different sources or layers in a story that underwent such a complicated process of transmission. Page 58 summarizes the structure and outline of the book (which mirrors the outline of the following commentary), and pp. 59–88 present a comprehensive general bibliography. Further bibliographical information is added after each introductory chapter as well as after each section of the commentary.

The design of the commentary takes the manuscript evidence into account in a sophisticated way. For each section, the English versions of G^{II} (based on Sinaiticus and MS 319) and G^{I} are put in synoptic columns. Words in italics represent what corresponds to the Aramaic or Hebrew fragments of Tobit from Qumran. Text in parentheses represents differences or additions found in the Qumran texts. The two columns of the translation are followed by a shorter part entitled "Comment." Here Fitzmyer comments on the story line and the structure of the narrative and adds information about persons, places, and dates mentioned in the text. Then follows a larger part headed "Notes." These notes refer to the differences between the text forms and versions of the story of Tobit. Fitzmyer often quotes parts from the VL or the Vg, too, in order to show the details of how, for example, G^{I} curtails the *Vorlage* or how Jerome's Vg sometimes smooths things out. Hence, each version is largely dealt with as a text in its own right, and the reader of the commentary gets an idea of how the versions relate to each other and how at times they pursue their own ways. The notes are also the place where Fitzmyer mentions reflections of or allusions to other parts of Scripture.

Necessarily, the notes on such allusions or references are short. As an example, one might look up the passages that deal with the Jewish obligation to marry within one's clan or tribe (pp. 112, 156, 172): the relevant passages from the Torah are mentioned, and it is stated that Tobit (1:9) followed the endogamy or consanguineous marriage of the patriarchs in Genesis (p. 112). Fitzmyer also admits that this becomes an important

theme in the book of Tobit. However, there is no further interpretation of this matter in the commentary. It is not Fitzmyer's goal to pursue such questions, and hence this is no critique. Fitzmyer rather provides the basic information that is necessary to find one's way through the thicket of variations. As another example, Tobit 14:4 may be mentioned. From Fitzmyer's translation and notes (pp. 321, 325–26) one can clearly see that G^{II} refers back to the prophecy of Nahum, while G^{I} mentions Jonah. Since the story is about the awaited destruction of Nineveh, Nahum seems to be more appropriate. From the lack of both names in VL and Vg Fitzmyer concludes that, in contrast to Jonah in G^{I}, the mention of Nahum in G^{II} may be a secondary insertion into a text that originally did not mention either. Probably the insertion of Jonah in G^{I} was made by one who was more familiar with Jonah than with Nahum. Here the commentary ends, but one could pursue the issue further and ask what the mention of either Nahum or Jonah contributes to the meaning of the text, what the allusion to Nahum's prophecy means, why the reader needs to know Nahum's book in order to understand Tobit here appropriately, and so forth. These issues of intertextuality Fitzmyer does not stress. Again, this is no critique but rather a suggestion for further study on the book of Tobit for which Fitzmyer provides an invaluable tool.

The book comes with several helpful indexes, such as an index of references, of names and subjects, and of modern authors. The index of references is not limited to biblical texts but includes also the OT Pseudepigrapha, the NT, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, Josephus, rabbinic literature, early Christian literature, Greek and Roman literature, and papyri. This indicates that Fitzmyer at times refers to the book's history of reception and provides ample background information about the setting of the book of Tobit in the early Jewish literature.

Fitzmyer's commentary on the book of Tobit is a masterpiece. It sets the benchmark for the new Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature series edited by Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Pieter W. van der Horst, Hermann Lichtenberger, Doron Mendels, and James R. Mueller. The editors and the publisher (de Gruyter) are to be commended for launching a new series of commentaries on a group of texts that are so important for our understanding of the history and literature of early Judaism as well as of early Christianity. The reviewer hopes that soon other commentaries will follow that are as excellent, well thought out, and intelligible as Fitzmyer's painstaking work on the book of Tobit.

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The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, by Jodi Magness. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. xlvi + 238. $18.00/£12.99 (paper). ISBN 0802826873.

The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus? by James H. Charlesworth. With Appendixes by Lidija Novakovic. Grand Rapids/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. xiv + 171. $20.00/£12.47 (paper). ISBN 0802839886.

The two books examined in this review, both written by leading authorities in Qumran studies, explore the historical background of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the

archaeological site of Khirbet Qumran. Informed by a judicious use of textual evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Jodi Magness's book, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* seeks to reconstruct the history of the Qumran settlement primarily through an analysis of its archaeological remains. James H. Charlesworth's study, *The Pesharim and Qumran History,* examines whether historical episodes are reflected in the pesharim and if there is currently a consensus regarding the most likely reconstruction of Qumran history in light of these documents. Archaeological analysis not only plays a central role in Charlesworth's reconstruction of Khirbet Qumran's occupational history, but to some extent provides the basis for his analysis of the pesharim and related Dead Sea Scrolls that likely reflect historical events. Because Magness and Charlesworth present new analyses or interpretations of Khirbet Qumran's occupational history that substantially impact our understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this review will examine some of the most significant issues raised in these two publications and their possible implications for Qumran studies.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the excavation of Khirbet Qumran have greatly enriched our understanding of Second Temple Judaism. For several decades, scholars wishing to understand the history of these documents were denied access to the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially those from Cave 4, as well as their photographic plates. Oxford don Geza Vermes, writing at the time of the thirtieth anniversary of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, warned that the lack of publication of the Qumran texts "is likely to become the academic scandal *par excellence* of the twentieth century" (Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* [London: Collins, 1977], 24). By the late 1980s, the continued denial of access to the complete corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls became an international *cause célèbre.* Following a protracted media campaign, the unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls were made accessible to scholars in 1991 (for a detailed account of these events, see Neil Asher Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls: Christianity, Judaism, and the War for the Dead Sea Scrolls* [New York: Grosset/Putnam, 1994]). Under the able leadership of Emmanuel Tov, editor-in-chief of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series, the number of translators was increased. Since 1992, Tov has supervised the publication of the majority of DJD volumes, twenty-nine of which were released between 1992 and 2002 as compared with eight that appeared during the first forty years of the project (for these figures, and information on the entire series, which will comprise thirty-eight volumes with a separate introductory volume with indexes, see E. Tov, "The *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* Series: History and System of Presentation," in DJD 39, 1–25). The delegates at the 2001 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature celebrated the immanent completion of the DJD series, which will also include several reeditions of previous volumes. The major problem for Qumran scholars now is merely keeping abreast of the rapidly increasing number of publications, most of which are in some manner indebted to the DJD series; the list of publications is updated weekly on the Hebrew University's Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature Web Site (http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il). Magness and Charlesworth provide a valuable scholarly service by summarizing the best of recent Qumran scholarship as well as providing succinct assessments of the current debates concerning the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran.

While the battle to free the Dead Sea Scrolls has been won, Magness and Charlesworth highlight a lesser-known problem with Qumran scholarship: the complete

records and artifacts from Roland de Vaux's excavations of Khirbet Qumran have still not been published in full or made accessible to all interested scholars. Magness comments on this situation: "In other words, the secrecy and delays in publication that created the Dead Sea Scrolls scandal still surround the material from de Vaux's excavations" (p. 4). Although some of the lost skeletal remains from Khirbet Qumran have recently turned up in Jerusalem, Germany, and France, and have been published in several articles, Magness comments that the status of the remaining artifacts from de Vaux's excavation are uncertain. Some finds, including many coins, have simply disappeared. For this reason, Magness warns her readers that "most of the interpretations and conclusions presented in this book are tentative" (p. 4), since a definitive work on the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran is impossible without access to the full array of artifacts uncovered during de Vaux's excavations. Nevertheless, in 1991 Magness was permitted to view the unpublished pottery from the Khirbet Qumran excavations that is stored in the Rockefeller Museum. Her volume benefits enormously from access to this material, which, in many instances, allows her to offer some new interpretations concerning the specific uses of rooms at Khirbet Qumran based on their architectural design and ceramic remains. These observations alone make her book an essential reference work for all Qumran scholars, since they bear profound implications for understanding some of the halakic materials in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Although Magness and Charlesworth did not have access to the complete repository of unpublished finds from Khirbet Qumran, they both benefit from some recent publications pertaining to Khirbet Qumran archaeology. Until recently, Roland de Vaux's popular Schweich Lecture of his Khirbet Qumran excavations, first issued in French (*L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer Morte* [London: Oxford University Press, 1961]) and later printed in an expanded and revised English edition (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [London: Oxford University Press, 1973]), has served as the primary source for many scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls seeking to understand Khirbet Qumran's occupational history. For archaeologists, de Vaux's preliminary reports, which appeared in a series of articles in *Revue Biblique* between 1953 and 1959 (see 60 [1953]: 83–106; 61 [1954]: 206–36; 63 [1956]: 533–77; 66 [1959]: 225–55), still provide the major source of information for some of the ceramics, and other archaeological data, from Khirbet Qumran. Although de Vaux never wrote a final excavation report, the English edition of his popular synthesis is nearly one-third longer than the French original and shows that he was still working on the Khirbet Qumran materials at the time of his death (see further de Vaux's thoughts in "Qumran, Khirbet and 'Ein Feshka," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* [ed. E. Stern; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993], 4:1235–41). The thesis presented in de Vaux's publications, namely, that Khirbet Qumran was a sectarian settlement, most likely the home of the Essene community that Pliny (*Nat.* 5.17.4 [73]) situated on the western shore of the Dead Sea, became the consensus interpretation until the late 1980s.

Because de Vaux failed to complete his final report, it is not surprising that some scholars gradually began to pose alternative theories regarding the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran and the purpose of this site. In 1988, de Vaux's competence as an archaeologist was even called into question when one prominent Qumran scholar assessed his excavation as an example of how archaeology should not be conducted (see Philip R.

Davies, "How Not to Do Archaeology: The Story of Qumran," *BA* 51 [1988]: 203–7). The 1994 appearance of a new volume containing original photographs of de Vaux's excavations of Khirbet Qumran, accompanied by some plans (line drawings) and original field notes (Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha 1* [Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1994]), rather than settling the debate, has fostered new competing interpretations. Several scholars, some of whom base their views on material contained in this report, propose, among other theories, that Khirbet Qumran was a *villa rustica,* a manor house, or a commercial entrepot. The release of additional material from de Vaux's excavations (Roland de Vaux, *Die Ausgrabungen von Qumran und En Feschcha* [ed. F. Rohrhirsch and B. Hofmeir; NTOA 1A; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1996]), especially numismatic discoveries and a list of extant archaeological artifacts, has not resolved this debate concerning the purpose of Khirbet Qumran. The field of Qumran studies is clearly in a state of flux and in dire need of a competent assessment that takes into consideration the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the available archaeological data. Magness and Charlesworth boldly accept this challenge by seeking to understand the Khirbet Qumran community through a careful analysis of its archaeological and textual remains. When read together, these two books represent the best available sources for current information on Khirbet Qumran and its connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Magness and Charlesworth accept de Vaux's thesis that Khirbet Qumran was a sectarian community of Essenes. Both believe that the presence of numerous workshops, the excessive number of *mikva'ot,* the large assembly room (L77) with an adjacent pantry containing more than one thousand dishes (L86 in de Vaux's Period Ib which he divided into L86, L87, and L89 in his Period II), clearly demonstrate that Khirbet Qumran was built for communal living as proposed by de Vaux. They both believe that the great assembly hall (L77) was also used as a communal dining room for meals such as those mentioned in several Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus (1QSa 2.11–22; 1QS 6.4–6; Josephus, *War,* 2.129–31). Magness also comments that the small room (L4) containing a low plastered bench (20 cm. high) likely functioned as an assembly room. Neither author, however, discusses the recent suggestion put forth by several scholars that these two rooms (L4 and L77), and possibly others at the site, were synagogues (see further the evidence cited in Kenneth Atkinson, "On Further Defining the First Century CE Synagogue: Fact or Fiction?" *NTS* 43 [1997]: 491–502; and Donald D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* [SBLDS 162; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999], 453–71). This proposal is significant in light of Magness's suggestion that there were several dining rooms at Khirbet Qumran that, in light of their similarities with L77, could have also served as places of worship. Although L77 is the only communal dining room identified by de Vaux, Magness believes that the northern cluster of animal bones (located in L130, L132, L135) points to the existence of an upstairs dining room located in the secondary building situated in the western sector (L111, L120, L121, L122, and L123) of Khirbet Qumran (pp. 59, 124–26; for photographs of these loci, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân,* nos. 201–10). Magness's conclusion is supported by the presence of an additional store of dining dishes (L114; for photographs of these dishes, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân,* nos. 222–23), which are similar to those

found in the pantry (L86) adjacent to the great assembly hall (L77), as well as a staircase (L113) that turned 180 degrees, like the staircase in L13 (photograph in Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân,* nos. 96, 97) of the main building, which provided access to the area above these loci (L111, 120, 121, 122, and 123; for a photograph of the staircase, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân,* nos. 227, 231, 233, and 236). Magness also shows that the great assembly room (L77) was likely rebuilt and moved upstairs following the earthquake of 31 B.C.E. (p. 123). This not only demonstrates that meeting rooms were important to Khirbet Qumran's inhabitants, but suggests that the same community occupied the site after 31 B.C.E. The presence of these two dining rooms raises the intriguing possibility that these meeting halls, located in the western and the eastern portions of the site, were each restricted to particular members of the community.

Although Magness and Charlesworth accept de Vaux's thesis that Khirbet Qumran was a sectarian settlement that met in common assembly rooms and practiced strict purification rites, as evident by the presence of numerous *mikva'ot,* they nevertheless offer competing chronological scenarios of Khirbet Qumran's occupational history. Because the manner in which they use the archaeological data affects the way in which they treat the historical references in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is important to provide a brief discussion of stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology, which Magness and Charlesworth each believe support their views. Although many Dead Sea Scrolls scholars may not be conversant with archaeological methodology, Magness and Charlesworth both demonstrate that such a knowledge is necessary for anyone who wishes to understand the Scrolls' historical references, several of which may refer to events that took place at Khirbet Qumran.

Archaeologists seeking to uncover Khirbet Qumran's history have two primary tools at their disposal: stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology. In archaeology, stratigraphy is as important as a critical edition of a Scroll is to Qumran scholars: it provides the foundation for all subsequent scholarship and interpretation. As archaeologists excavate successive layers of occupation, called strata (singular, stratum), they must meticulously document these deposits as well as all objects with which they are associated. For example, any ceramic or numismatic remains connected with a particular stratum, such as a floor, could prove crucial to dating that particular level of a structure. Because many rooms at Khirbet Qumran were altered, particularly after the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., it is important to distinguish between the different strata in each room in order to distinguish between their original and subsequent uses, which may not necessarily have been identical. Although methods such as radiocarbon dating of organic remains and evidence supplied through numismatics are sometimes helpful in dating archaeological strata, neither is able to furnish the exact dates necessary for precise historical reconstruction; both only provide a likely range of dates.

After carefully recording the layers of earth they uncover, archaeologists compare the remains associated with each stratum, especially pottery and coins, or—if they are extremely fortunate—texts, to determine the date and possible use(s) of that particular occupational layer. For archaeologists, pottery remains the best dating tool since ceramic styles and shapes periodically changed. Through the study of ceramic typology, the examination of a vessel's fabric, rim, base, and shape, archaeologists can determine

its likely use and approximate date of manufacture. Certain ceramics, such as fine wares and oil lamps, are best for dating purposes since they tend to change form and decoration more rapidly than utilitarian vessels like storage jars or cooking pots. Because utilitarian vessels often display little change for considerable periods of time, pottery typologies frequently differ from region to region: ceramics discovered in strata from one site cannot necessarily be used to date strata from other sites since typological changes may have been restricted to a particular geographical region.

Despite the great advances that have been made in both stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology since de Vaux's excavations of Khirbet Qumran, archaeology is still to a great extent a subjective discipline. Archaeological excavation and analysis alone cannot precisely date a particular stratum at Khirbet Qumran to within a few years. For this reason, archaeology must rely upon other evidence, such as the historical references from the Dead Sea Scrolls or clear signs of destruction like the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., which provide definitive dates for the strata in which they are associated. In the case of Khirbet Qumran, which by all assessments is a unique site, the presence of associated documents, some of which contain clear historical references, should provide enough evidence to offer a precise historical reconstruction of the community that inhabited the site. Unfortunately, the imprecise nature of archaeological procedures, combined with the often elusive sobriquets employed by the writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls, continues to frustrate scholars seeking to determine the precise times and circumstances behind these texts as well as the nature and dates of the archaeological remains uncovered at Khirbet Qumran. Neither the dating procedures commonly used by archaeologists nor paleographical analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls is able to provide a precise date for an occupational layer at Khirbet Qumran or when a particular scroll was actually copied by a scribe. For scholars of the Second Temple period, even a narrow span of dates is not precise enough for historical reconstruction: a range of dates to around the time of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., for example, is still imprecise, since the world of ancient Palestine was a very different one preceding and following this event. Because of their imprecise nature, all of the dating tools currently available must be used with some measure of caution.

For the reasons described above, correlating Khirbet Qumran's archaeology with the Dead Sea Scrolls is a difficult endeavor. Unfortunately, de Vaux complicated matters by frequently using a single locus number for an entire room to designate all of its features and levels. Normally, each archaeological feature, such as an oven or a particular floor of a room, is given a separate locus number. When archaeologists are uncertain if they have reached a new floor, for example, they typically give the new layer a different locus number and record all objects found in this locus by this new designation. If they are mistaken and there is only one floor, they can later collapse the two numbers into a single locus. Because archaeological excavation is a one-time process, since once earth is removed it cannot be returned into its original stratum, it is essential to exercise extreme caution whenever there is any doubt as to whether a new occupational level has been reached. By using a single locus number for an entire room during all its phases of occupation, de Vaux increased his chances of mixing remains from different occupational levels. Despite this methodological flaw, which is easy to recognize with the benefit of hindsight, Magness notes that these same recording methods were still used a

decade later by Yigael Yadin at Masada (p. 7). While it is easy to criticize de Vaux's methods when compared with today's procedures, Magness effectively demonstrates that he was a competent archaeologist who used the best techniques available in his day. Nevertheless, the chronological confusion that to some extent resulted from de Vaux's excavation methods continues to frustrate contemporary Qumran scholars and, in part, accounts for the incompatible historical reconstructions offered by Magness and Charlesworth.

Although this brief discussion of archaeological methodology may sound rather arcane to many textual specialists, it is nevertheless important for all Dead Sea Scrolls scholars: the stratigraphy and ceramic remains from Khirbet Qumran provide a basis for dating the historical references in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as the site's history. The debate over the presence of other possible Essene settlements along the Dead Sea provides one small example that demonstrates the importance of acquiring a basic competence in archaeological methodology and dating techniques. While Magness (pp. 39–44) and Charlesworth (pp. 61–62) accept the consensus interpretation that associates Qumran with the Essene settlement situated by Pliny on the western shore of the Dead Sea (for the debate over Pliny's description of the site as *infra hos fuit* Ein Gedi, see R. A. Kraft, "Pliny on Essenes, Pliny on Jews," *DSD* 8 [2001]: 255–61), they make the important distinction that not all Essenes resided at this site. Charlesworth uses the reference to Jericho in the recently discovered ostracon found at Khirbet Qumran to place one Essene settlement in this city (p. 66). He differs from Magness (pp. 41, 45–46) by accepting Yizhar Hirschfeld's interpretation of the stone structures above Ein Gedi as huts that belonged to Essenes (pp. 61, 66). A close look at Hirschfeld's publication ("A Settlement of Hermits Above 'En Gedi," *Tel Aviv* 27, no. 1 [2000]: 103–55) of these structures suggests that Magness is correct: the Ein Gedi site was not a sectarian settlement, but merely a constellation of agricultural installations such as storage cells and irrigation pools. The plates of ceramics in Hirschfeld's report, moreover, display a noticeable absence of clearly identifiable first-century B.C.E. wares such as dining dishes to support his conclusion and dating of any supposed Essene habitation prior to 70 C.E. (see further the thoughts of David Amit and Jodi Magness on the Ein Gedi site, followed by Hirschfeld's rebuttal, in *Tel Aviv* 27, no. 2 [2000]: 273–91). This disagreement between Magness and Charlesworth over the interpretation of Ein Gedi's ceramic profile is significant for the light that it sheds on the importance that ceramic typology continues to play in Qumran studies. The debate concerning ceramic typology becomes even more pronounced when Magness and Charlesworth offer different historical scenarios for Khirbet Qumran's occupational history based on its pottery.

Roland de Vaux divided the sectarian settlement at Khirbet Qumran into three major occupational phases: Period Ia (roughly 130–100 B.C.E.), Period Ib (approximately 100 B.C.E. to 31 B.C.E.), and Period II (approximately 4–1 B.C.E. to 68 C.E.). According to de Vaux, a late Iron Age settlement preceded these periods while a short Roman occupation, referred to as Period III (68 C.E. to 73 or 74 C.E.), marked the site's final occupational period. Magness comments that de Vaux based these periods on the discernible changes that he saw in the occupation levels and architectural remains at the site. Her most controversial proposal regarding de Vaux's excavation is her rejection of the existence of his Period Ia. Here Magness points out a flaw in de Vaux's retrieval methods. Nearly all of the pottery that he saved consisted of whole vessels, whether

intact or restored. Such ceramics normally originate from destruction levels that mark the end of an occupation phase, when they were smashed or dropped and subsequently abandoned in their entirety upon a surface and then buried by collapsed debris. Because de Vaux used whole vessels for dating purposes, which tend to reflect the latest date of occupation for a particular archaeological strata, it is difficult to determine when each occupational phase at Khirbet Qumran actually began. Because none of the published pottery from Khirbet Qumran has to antedate the first century B.C.E., with the exception of a single storage jar, Magness concludes that the majority of architectural remains associated with Period Ia actually belong to de Vaux's Period Ib.

Magness offers a new chronology of Khirbet Qumran that divides de Vaux's Period Ib into two periods: a pre-31 B.C.E. phase (100–50 B.C.E. to 31 B.C.E.) and a post-31 B.C.E. phase (31 B.C.E. to approximately 9/8 B.C.E. or sometime thereafter [4 B.C.E.?]). She attributes the majority, if not all, of the architectural remains from de Vaux's Period Ia to her pre-31 B.C.E. phase of Period Ib. De Vaux's Period Ib, therefore, includes both pre-31 B.C.E. and post-31 B.C.E. remains (p. 64). Echoing other scholars who have suggested that de Vaux was influenced by the content of the Dead Sea Scrolls in his interpretation of the site's stratigraphy, Magness suggests that he pushed the foundation date of the Khirbet Qumran settlement earlier than archaeologically sustainable based on his understanding of the apparent reference to the establishment of the site as reflected in CD 1.3–11. Magness proposes that Khirbet Qumran began around 100 B.C.E. and that the site was not abandoned after the 31 B.C.E. earthquake, but was immediately repaired and strengthened by its inhabitants. The settlement continued without apparent interruption until 9/8 B.C.E. She bases this reconstruction on the silver coin hoard (L120), most of which are Tyrian tetradrachmas dating from 126–9/8 B.C.E., which provides a *terminus post quem* when the site suffered a deliberate and violent destruction (p. 67). Magness believes that the jar in which these coins were buried was actually associated with the post-31 B.C.E. phase of her Period Ib, a phase that de Vaux did not recognize, and not with de Vaux's Period II (pp. 67–68). Based in part on this numismatic evidence, Magness proposes that Khirbet Qumran was abandoned for a short time around 9/8 B.C.E. or shortly thereafter and reoccupied early in the reign of Herod Archelaus in 4 B.C.E. This settlement lasted until 68 C.E. (p. 68). Because she recognizes the imprecise nature of archaeological dating, Magness suggests that, in light of her reassessment of Qumran's stratigraphical sequence, it is possible that the site was destroyed during the revolts and turmoil that erupted following the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E. (p. 68). Magness's chronology, if correct, bears profound implications for understanding Qumran's history as evident in Charlesworth's challenge.

While Magness primarily focuses on archaeological matters, Charlesworth's book is a little more ambitious: he seeks to correlate Khirbet Qumran's occupational phases with references to historical events in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In this regard, his study is reminiscent of Jean Starcky's ("Les quatre étapes de Messianisme à Qumrân," *Revue Biblique* 4 [1963]: 481–505) famous attempt to associate the site's occupational phases with the Dead Sea Scrolls as a basis for understanding the community's evolving concept of messianism (see also the rebuttal of Starcky's effort by Raymond Brown, "J. Starcky's Theory of Qumran Messianic Development," *CBQ* 28 [1996]: 51–57). Charlesworth, who was able to incorporate Magness's book in his study, rejects her thesis that de Vaux's Period Ia does not exist. He accepts de Vaux's chronology of Khirbet

Qumran as well as his dating of the coin hoard to Period II. Charlesworth suggests this hoard was hidden around 40 B.C.E. when the site was invaded by the Parthians (pp. 50–52). It was the latter who were responsible for the site's extensive abandonment and not the 31 B.C.E. earthquake. He believes that the site's abandonment was extensive and lasted from 40 B.C.E. to 4 B.C.E. (pp. 44–52). Charlesworth, moreover, suggests that de Vaux's Period Ib, which he dates "from ca. 102 to ca. 40 or 31 B.C.E.," was the period during which "virtually all the pesharim and related commentaries were composed" and likely received their final editing (p. 49).

Charlesworth attempts to support his historical reconstruction by proposing that the renovation of the earliest Hellenistic phase of Khirbet Qumran removed all evidence of de Vaux's Period Ia. He writes: "Also, those living at Qumran would have removed, intentionally or unintentionally, *realia* from the first occupation level" (p. 44). Commenting upon the ceramics, Charlesworth states: "Finally, the sequence of pottery chronology does not change from Period Ia to Ib. To claim that none of the pottery found at Qumran must date before 100 B.C.E. is not insightful or helpful" (p. 44). Although Charlesworth does not discern any significant changes between the ceramic profiles from de Vaux's Periods Ia and Ib, it is important to note that de Vaux relied upon whole vessels for dating Khirbet Qumran's archaeological strata, which would reflect the final use of an occupational stratum rather than its earliest use. Nevertheless, the absence of early ceramic remains from Khirbet Qumran as well as its vicinity is perplexing: archaeological structures, even when renovated, tend to leave behind traces of earlier strata, especially potsherds. The lack of ceramic remains that can be dated with confidence before 100 B.C.E. tends to favor Magness's reconstruction despite the potential consequences it poses for understanding the historical references and allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Charlesworth recognizes that Magness's dating of Khirbet Qumran's occupational phases poses some significant difficulties for the traditional identification of Jonathan or Simon as the Wicked Priest, and Khirbet Qumran as the place where a dissident group of Essenes moved. He accepts the established view, which holds that Khirbet Qumran was the locale where the Teacher of Righteousness—a *terminus technicus* that Charlesworth for grammatical reasons prefers to translate as "the Righteous Teacher" (pp. 28–30)—led a small group of his followers to live a monastic lifestyle in the wilderness (pp. 30–42). Charlesworth does suggest that the designation Wicked Priest may have been used as an epithet early in Qumran history: there may have been several Wicked Priests but only one Teacher of Righteousness (pp. 37, 66). According to his extensive analysis and discussion of all clearly recognizable historical references and sobriquets in the pesharim, he concludes that all datable events in these documents can be identified with historical people who were active after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness and before Herod the Great (p. 117). Because Charlesworth's historical reconstruction of Khirbet Qumran, as read through its archaeological remains and the Dead Sea Scrolls, demands the existence of de Vaux's Period Ia, he also uses evidence from CD to place the origin of the Khirbet Qumran group sometime in the first half of the second century B.C.E. (p. 27). Commenting on Magness's rejection of the existence of de Vaux's Period Ia, Charlesworth states that "her position makes sense if one looks only at the archaeological evidence; much of the pottery and coins do not lead to conclusive evidence that de Vaux's Period Ia existed" (p. 37 n. 97). While Magness's revision of

de Vaux's stratigraphy certainly complicates matters, as Charlesworth recognizes, it is perhaps easier for Qumran scholars to take the numbers in CD *cum grano salis* and revise their dating of the historical references in this particular Dead Sea Scroll than to argue for the existence of a settlement at Khirbet Qumran for which there is as yet no discernible archaeological trace.

Despite their differences as to whether archaeological evidence, primarily stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology, or the historical allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls should be used to resolve debates concerning the existence or absence of de Vaux's Phase Ia, the works of Magness and Charlesworth contain more similarities than differences. Both recognize that the numerous *miqvaʾot* at the site demonstrate that Khirbet Qumran was home to a sectarian community that emphasized purity. Magness devotes much of her work to addressing how archaeological remains, including ceramics, can assist scholars in understanding the importance of purity for Khirbet Qumran's residents. She sees in the design of the site evidence that the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran conceived of their settlement as a series of spaces with varying degrees of purity and impurity. One of the more insightful chapters in the book concerns the unique sanitary habits of the Essenes, documented in Josephus, the *Temple Scroll,* and 4Q472. She notes that the toilet (L51), located on the eastern side of the main building to the north of the *miqveh* in L48–L49 (pp. 105–13; for photographs of the toilet, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân,* nos. 149–51), demonstrates that this part of the site was considered an impure space (p. 127). Magness comments that this toilet, along with its adjacent *miqveh,* went out of use after the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., thereby suggesting that Khirbet Qumran's inhabitants, at least until 31 B.C.E., did not believe that this portion of the site corresponded to the "temple city" or wilderness camp of the *Temple Scroll,* which prohibits toilets within the city (contra Charlesworth, who believes that the toilet was added by the Romans sometime after 68 C.E. [p. 58]). The disappearance of such facilities, along with animal bone deposits from communal meals within the settlement after Period Ib (either after 31 B.C.E. or 9/8 B.C.E.), suggests a reorganization of space along the lines of the sectarian ideal Jerusalem (p. 129). This archaeological evidence discerned by Magness suggests that there is physical evidence at the site for changes in the community's theology that may be reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Magness and Charlesworth present insightful discussions regarding living space and the presence of women at Khirbet Qumran, topics which continue to be among the most contested aspects of Qumran scholarship. Both rightly raise some objections to Joseph Zias's recent study ("The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 [2000]: 220–53) concluding that the burials at Khirbet Qumran are those of recent Bedouin, which would make the debate concerning whether or not the graves of women belonged to female members of the community, some of whom may be mentioned in some Dead Sea Scrolls, irrelevant. The manner in which the skeletons excavated from Khirbet Qumran have been handled during the decades when their whereabouts were unknown, in part described in the recent study of the skeletons from the Paris and Jerusalem segments of the Khirbet Qumran collection (see Susan G. Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran," *DSD* 9 [2002]: 199–242), should urge scholars to study these remains with caution. A new book containing unpublished evidence from de

Vaux's Khirbet Qumran cemetery excavations (Robert Donceel, *Synthèse des observations faites en fouillant les tombes des necropoles de Khirbet Qumrân et des environs* [Cracow: Enigma Press, 2002]) provides some valuable information, including an early aerial photograph, concerning its original appearance and number of burials. The recent excavation of the cemetery and region surrounding Khirbet Qumran by Hanan Eshel and Magen Broshi has demonstrated that some of the graves clearly contain Second Temple period remains as indicated by the presence of diagonistic sherds, including a cooking pot similar to one found by de Vaux in L30 where the inkwells and tables were discovered (Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi, Richard Freund, and Brian Schultz, "New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran," *DSD* 9 [2002]: 135–65). Despite these new discoveries and publications, the debate over the presence of women in the Qumran graves cannot as of yet be settled apart from new archaeological excavations.

While the recently published evidence pertaining to the Qumran cemeteries has added much to our knowledge of Khirbet Qumran, Magness and Charlesworth do not believe that it alters the traditional interpretation of the site as a sectarian settlement of male Essenes. Both note that there are several explanations that account for graves of women and children, such as their temporary presence in the site as part of the annual Renewal of the Covenant ceremony. The *Damascus Document* even points to the existence of married Essenes mentioned by Josephus, some of whom may have occasionally visited the site. Nevertheless, Magness suggests that although there may have been female sectarians at Khirbet Qumran, they were present in such small numbers as to have left behind scant traces. Concerning the absence of living spaces for Khirbet Qumran's permanent residents, which would have provided little or no room for members of the opposite sex, Magness and Charlesworth accept the recent findings of Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel from the marl terrace ("Residential Caves at Qumran," *DSD* 6 [1999]: 328–48), which suggest that many of Qumran's inhabitants lived in caves and tents surrounding the site (Magness, pp. 70–71; Charlesworth, p. 46).

Charlesworth's book contains many insightful discussions of the pesharim that place their composition at Khirbet Qumran during de Vaux's Period Ib (ca. 100–40 B.C.E.) with the possibility that one or two may have been written near the end of Period Ia between 110 and 100 B.C.E. (p. 118). Because Magness was given access to the unpublished ceramic materials from the Khirbet Qumran excavations, her observation that there is a noticeable lack of diagnostic shards from de Vaux's supposed Phase Ia poses a serious challenge to all theories of Qumran history, such as Charlesworth's, that seek to associate historical events reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls with de Vaux's Period Ia. In this instance, the old archaeological adage that absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence does not hold: if the numbers contained in CD 1.3–11 are meant to be taken literally, then the chronology they provide, as recognized by Magness, should be understood as referring to the origin of the sect around the mid-second century B.C.E. and not to the establishment of the sectarian settlement of Khirbet Qumran which likely postdated 100 B.C.E. (pp. 65–66). If CD does refer to a settlement in the wilderness that was established by the Teacher of Righteousness, it cannot have been Khirbet Qumran but must have been somewhere else (for a recent interpretation that places the Teacher of Righteousness and his movement to between approximately 80 B.C.E. and 30 B.C.E., which incorporates Magness's dating of Khirbet Qumran, see the

recent analysis and insightful discussion in Michael O. Wise, "Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the *Floruit* of his Movement," *JBL* 122 [2003]: 53–87).

Magness's findings suggest that although Qumranology may not be in a state of chaos, it is far from the "impressive consensus" that Charlesworth believes the field has reached (p. 21). A deeper look into the issues raised in these two outstanding books raises the disturbing thought that we would perhaps be closer to a consensus regarding the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran if not for the perplexing references contained in the pesharim and related Dead Sea Scrolls (for an examination of the pesharim apart from the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran, see the excellent treatment of Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* [Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002]). Rather than serving as a model for the integration of texts and archaeological remains, the findings from Khirbet Qumran and the Dead Sea Scroll caves continue to defy all efforts toward reaching any kind of a consensus. Let us hope that the appearance of these two exceptional books will urge scholars to call for the prompt publication of all the archaeological findings and records from de Vaux's excavations, lest the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran become the academic scandal par excellence of the twenty-first century.

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Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor, by Warren Carter. Interfaces Series. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Michael Glazier, 2003. Pp. xii+162. $14.95 (paper). ISBN 0814651135.

Interfaces is a new series of book-length character studies drawn from the Bible and intended for use in undergraduate classes. While serving as a focal point, a biblical character such as King Saul or John the Baptist also exposes students to a portion of the Old or New Testament. The exposure is designed to be critical, with each study drawing on methodologies current in biblical studies, some even cutting edge. In lieu of the traditional survey course, it is suggested, a professor may assign several of the Interfaces volumes during a semester to introduce students to a range of interpretive approaches as well as to a significant portion of biblical content. Included in the series is Warren Carter's *Pontius Pilate: Portaits of a Roman Governor,* a book that endeavors to show how a relatively minor character in the Gospels can provide a window on issues of social justice and reflect significant literary artistry on the part of the evangelists.

In ch. 1, Carter prepares the ground for his own views of the biblical Pilate by referring to several scholarly positions. He questions whether Pilate was, as many have held, an indecisive and ultimately weak governor who became a pawn of the Jewish leadership intent on executing Jesus. Carter disputes other standard descriptions of Pilate's role (e.g., Christian convert) before proposing that Pilate was arrogant and manipulative so as to protect the interests of the ruling elite as well as the structures of Roman imperial power upon which those interests were based. In fact, this proposal becomes the book's thesis, and as such it is developed in subsequent chapters from the perspectives of the four Gospels.

In ch. 2, Carter explains his methodology: the character of Pilate is to be studied

with techniques of literary criticism, specifically audience-oriented criticism (a footnote on p. 22 cites several practitioners of reader-response criticism). Like an audience, readers of the Gospels "build" or "assemble" Pilate's character, Carter suggests. Indeed, the following chapters offer a close reading of the literary object, Pilate's character, and with this method Carter draws attention to literary verities such as paradox and irony. With an interest in Pilate as a governor who makes alliances with the Jewish elite under the aegis of the Roman empire, Carter introduces a second methodology, postcolonial criticism. This reading strategy, Carter argues, foregrounds "the impact of imperial structures and worldviews" on the Bible's composition and subsequent interpretation (p. 31). Reading Pilate from a postcolonial perspective, he maintains, allows readers to see how the Gospels resist the Roman imperial system rather than submit to it. Here he cites Gerhard Lenski and R. S. Sugirtharajah.

Carter's use of postcolonial criticism merits an evaluative aside. On the one hand, reading the trial scenes as a highly political confrontation between God's providential order and Roman domination is not unique to postcolonial criticism (see, e.g., Marcus Borg, *The Meaning of Jesus: Two Visions* [San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999], 91). Postcolonialism additionally critiques current developments such as American imperialism, economic globalization, and power dynamics that have shaped the field of biblical studies, and readers would be profitably alerted to this fact. On the other hand, Carter's applications of postcolonialism are often masterful. For example, that the Matthean Pilate manipulates the crowd through words and signs such as his handwashing invites a postcolonial reading. Postcolonialism would identify in this part of Matthew a hegemonic code of discourse designed to authenticate the dominant values, prejudices, and prerogatives of the ruling class (see R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 79–86). While not using Sugirtharajah's terminology, Carter captures the scene's hegemonic element: "[The people] are puppets prompted by their masters to declare themselves in control of this situation in doing the elite's will" (p. 97). He concludes that the scene's hegemonic discourse is attenuated by Matthew's narrative, itself a different type of discourse that foregrounds not the people's demand for Jesus' execution but rather the elites' instigation of the same (p. 97). Such analysis offers readers a nuanced understanding of the political realities confronted by Jesus and early Christians, and explains in detail how Christians mustered a defiant response when threatened by the Roman Empire.

Chapter 3 explains how power was structured in the Roman Empire, where the emperor established alliances with ruling elites such as Pilate. These alliances typically resulted in the domination of the populace by means of taxation and military intimidation. The elites, in turn, were in league with a retainer class of provincial officials, who in the case of Judea included the Jewish leaders bolstered not only by their religious authority but a temple-based tax system. Barred from power were all other classes, including the artisans, slaves, and commoners such as Jesus. Carter's clear delineation of the social hierarchy illuminates his reading of the NT accounts of Pilate's interaction with Jesus. To conclude the chapter, Carter adds detail to the portrait of Pilate, the Roman *praefectus*. He notes the great likelihood of one in Pilate's position to inflict corporal punishment when a commoner like Jesus was brought to trial, and he characterizes the governor of the day as plundering and exploitative, per Josephus's tale of the bloodsucking fly.

Chapter 4 investigates Mark's Pilate. Carter's reading begins at Mark 15:1, where the Jerusalem elite hand over to their ally Pilate the rebel Jesus, after he has been found guilty of blasphemy. Pilate's actions in the following verses, 15:1–15, are said to establish his control over the scene's participants; they comply with him in ways "consistent with the imperial dynamics of the scene" (p. 73). Citing these and additional verses, Carter emphasizes the clash between the Roman view and Jesus' vision of a just society based on divine mercy and life-giving purpose (p. 61). Conspicuously absent from the discussion is the centurion whose confession of Jesus on the cross as the son of God (15:39) indicates a Markan development beyond Carter's dichotomy of Roman and Christian social orders.

Carter finds in Matthew's Gospel the same dichotomy of social orders; Pilate is said to embody a system of domination while service is the key to Jesus' realm. Both characters, Carter notes, are given titles such as governor and king, but for vastly different reasons. At Jesus' trial (Matt 27:11–26), Pilate is said to manipulate the crowd into readily accepting responsibility for Jesus' death. The manipulation peaks when Pilate's handwashing induces the common cry, "His blood be on us" (27:24–25). The exchange is said to reflect "the ruling elite's control over the people in this imperial situation" (p. 97).

Arrogance and ignorance characterize Luke's Pilate, according to Carter. His view challenges that of a weak Pilate who succumbs to the demands for Jesus' crucifixion even though the accusations appear to be groundless (Luke 23:4). Carter maintains that Pilate, in dismissing the ostensibly harmless Jesus, is arrogant and unaware that the divine purpose at work in Jesus and his followers threatens the Roman Empire and its status quo. Carter amply demonstrates the threat by discussing the countercultural facets of Christianity that Luke highlights. Less secure is the view that Pilate's arrogance leads him to underestimate Jesus; the claims that Pilate "seems" arrogant and "seems" blind to the dangers that Jesus poses (p. 119) are somewhat subjective and unlikely to convince all readers.

In reading John's Gospel, Carter focuses on the trial (chs. 18–19), which he subdivides into seven scenes. In each scene irony is said to prevail as Pilate's coercive exercise of imperial power coincides with Jesus' appearing as a king portending God's rule over all things, including the Roman Empire. John's Pilate, in Carter's analysis, plays the role of spiteful antagonist opposite Jesus and as well Jesus' detractors, the Jerusalem elite. The view of Pilate in this chapter is consistent with that found throughout the book: far from being weak and indecisive, Pilate rules with power that is derived from the Roman Empire and exercised in the shadow of irony.

This and the other views in the book are expressed cogently and clearly. In sum, the book achieves its aims and reads well. There is but one noteworthy shortcoming: no indexes. Topical and scriptural indexes would assist readers wanting to explore more fully the issues raised by Pilate's actions. Even without indexes, however, Carter's book is highly serviceable to undergraduates and will be of interest to those engaged in social-scientific criticism of the NT.

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John among the Gospels, by D. Moody Smith. 2nd ed. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001. (First Edition published by Augsburg Fortress, 1992). Pp. xx + 262. $14.95 (paper). ISBN 157003446X.

D. Moody Smith has been interested in the sources of the Fourth Gospel since at least since 1959, when he began work on his doctoral thesis at Yale, published in 1965 as *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press). His dissertation was devoted to an analysis and evaluation of Rudolf Bultmann's source theories, which included the claim that while the Fourth Evangelist wrote independently of the Synoptics, the editorial work of the final redactor was influenced by them. Smith adopted this stance himself, which he then regarded as the "consensus" of scholarship. Since then, Smith's numerous publications on the Johannine writings, including three commentaries on the Gospel, have all dealt with the issue of John and the Synoptics directly or indirectly, and on several occasions he has explicitly addressed this issue. Four essays published in various journals from 1965 to 1982 that focus on the topic have been reprinted in *Johannine Christianity: Essays on Its Setting, Sources, and Theology* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), with additional articles and lecture series on the subject since then. Thus, the first edition of this book (not reviewed in *JBL*), which gathered up the research and reflections of three decades, was already a milestone in the history of the discussion. The present expanded edition incorporates Smith's response to recent studies and represents the definitive presentation of the state of the discussion. A major contribution of this edition is its thorough analytical summaries of key works in the history of the discussion, always presented with balance and fairness even when the author's own view is clear. The reader who is unable or uninclined to work through a large bibliography in English, French, and German finds here both a roadmap and a bird's-eye view of the whole landscape. Fairly often, the bird's-eye view is narrowed to include detailed samples of the argument of key authors on specific texts, so that the reader has an up-close exposure to pivotal contributions to the discussion.

Smith first sketches the problem of the Fourth Gospel's relation to the Synoptics in early Christianity and the development of what became the standard solution: John knew the other Gospels, presupposed that his readers knew them, and wrote a "spiritual Gospel" to supplement and interpret them (Clement of Alexandria). When this became problematic, the solution received a negative spin (e.g., by Hans Windisch): John was aware of the Synoptics and wrote not to supplement but to displace them. In a variety of forms this "consensus" that John knew and was influenced by the Synoptics persisted until the twentieth century and beyond. (Smith speaks frequently of "consensus," aware that each such "consensus" has several significant exceptions; "prevailing opinion" might sometimes be a preferable expresson.)

The heart of the book documents the development of the independence theory in the twentieth century (B. W. Bacon, Hans Windisch, P. Gardner-Smith), the formation of a consensus (the impact of Gardner-Smith, C. H. Dodd, and the influential commentaries of Rudolf Bultmann, Raymond E. Brown, Rudolf Schnackenburg), the relation between John and Luke (Julius Schniewind, F. C. Grant, J. A. Bailey, P. Parker, F. L. Cribbs, R. Maddox), the renaissance of the problem with reference to the passion narratives (redaction-critical approaches, Anton Dauer, Rosel Baum-Bodenbender), fol-

lowed by the dissolution of the consensus (M.-É. Boismard, Franz Neirynck, Anton Dauer and H.-P. Heekerens, Hartwig Thyen, Bruno de Solages). The first edition concluded with a chapter summarizing the character of the comparison and prospects for its future study. This edition includes an additional chapter, entitled "John, an Independent Gospel," in which Smith examines the problem in the light of historical issues, concentrating on the setting and presentation of Jesus' ministry and relationships. He also offers his own detailed analysis of the passion narrative. The conclusion makes explicit his stance which has been implicit throughout, that there are "significant reasons for emphasizing the independence of the Fourth Gospel, whether or not at some compositional or redactional level it was influenced by Mark or the other Synoptic Gospels" (p. 241).

The issue is important, worthy of the time and energy Smith and others have devoted to it. The stance one takes to it significantly influences (not to say "determines") one's conclusions regarding a number of interrelated issues, including: (1) the date and provenance of the Fourth Gospel, and thus (2) one's understanding of the development of early Christian history, literature, and theology, (3) the nature of the gospel genre, (4) issues of text, form, and redaction criticism, (5) the usefulness of the Fourth Gospel as a source in studies of the historical Jesus, (6) issues of biblical and systematic theology such as the Eucharist, and (7) exegesis of the Gospel itself.

Of these, the exegetical issue is paramount for Smith, and it is clear what he is against—exegesis of John as though it were only a commentary on or development from the Synoptics. Thus by "independence" he does not necessarily mean that the author was ignorant or neglectful of the Synoptics, but that the meaning of Johannine texts must not be derived primarily by assuming that he had the Synoptics (or any one of them) as his base text, and noting additions, omissions, and modifications in the style of Synoptic redaction criticism. For Smith, it would be an untenable exegetical procedure to consider John a "fourth Synoptic" in the manner of F. Neirynck, and to adopt or adapt the exegetical methods used in interpreting Matthew and Luke (on the presuppositions of the two-source theory) as the model for exegesis of John.

For Smith, John could be "independent" of the Synoptics if its distinctiveness is seen as primarily the product of an independent witness (p. 195), even if "at some compositional or redactional level it was influenced by Mark or the other Synoptic Gospels" (p. 241). Thus, it is not important to Smith to argue that John neither "knew" nor "used" the Synoptics, and Smith never does so. He is fully aware that the question of whether or not John is "dependent" on the Synoptics cannot be posed in yes-or-no terms. He thus avoids explicitly sorting Johannine scholars into two categories and uses a wide variety of expressions to describe the possible relationship of the Fourth Gospel to the other three, only a sampling of which I note here: "acquainted with" (p. 14), "to some extent indebted" (p. 14), "devours and digests" (p. 16), "knew, used, presupposed" (p. 22), "derived from" (p. 58), "direct literary dependence" (p. 66), "had at his disposal" (p. 72), "knowledge of the Synoptics as a genre" (p. 80), "some direct contact" (p. 83). Some of this variation is the product of wanting to accurately portray the view of each author; some seems merely stylistic. Though Smith himself does not construct a systematic categorization of the possibilities, the book incites the interested reader to attempt a more systematic grid: from "unavailable" (the author couldn't have located the Synoptics even

if he was searching for them) and "unknown" (they might have been available, but the author did not know them) through "uninfluenced" (they were present and known, but had little or no effect on his own writing) and various degrees of availability, knowledge, influence, use, dependence. The extremes would be "absolutely unavailable" (because not yet written) to "exclusive dependence" (the author had no other sources except the Synoptics). When these stages are combined with the possibilities of which of the Synoptics the author may have known, and the time(s) at which the influence possibly occurred (not at all, pre-Evangelist tradition, Evangelist's composition, post-Evangelist redactor), the various ways in which Synoptic influence on John could be conceived are indeed "almost infinite" (p. 71).

Despite Smith's awareness of the complexity of the issue, he still tends to discuss the issue and sort scholars in terms of "independence" vs. "dependence." However, in a 1979 treatment of the issue (now found in *Johannine Christianity,* pp. 170–71), Smith states that, while it still seemed more plausible to explain the phenomena of the text on the hypothesis that John did not know or use the Synoptics, he was beginning to conceive of a scenario in which John knew or knew *of* them and yet produced an independent, distinctive Gospel. According to this scenario, the independent and distinctive Johannine traditions (especially miracle stories, sayings and discourses, and a passion tradition) were developed early in the history of the Johannine community. After the Johannine traditions had received their distinctive shape and tenor, the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and Matthew became known to the Johannine community, and (especially Mark) may have had a catalytic effect in generating the comprehensive Johannine narrative. Even so, according to this scenario, one should not speak of the Synoptics, or of any one of them, as a "source" for the Gospel, which nonetheless did not receive its narrative form without their influence.

In my opinion, it is regrettable that Smith has not developed this (in my opinion) promising scenario. The way it impinges on the issue of the gospel genre is particularly important. If (contrary to his previous scenario) John in fact received its narrative form without any influence from the Synoptics, this would mean one of two things: (1) The narrative form of the gospel is not particularly distinctive, but a Christian adaptation of the genre of Hellenistic biography (a popular view nowadays) that John could have made with no awareness of the Synoptics; (2) the narrative form of the gospel is a distinctively Christian genre (not necessarily "unique"), and the same dynamics in the tradition that induced Mark to create a distinctive narrative form were also operative on John, who would be the second inventor of the gospel genre. However, if, as Smith previously proposed, John was "generically" aware of the Synoptics without seeing his task as merely supplementing, interpreting, or replacing them, the distinctiveness of the gospel genre could be maintained without requiring John to be dependent on them for the content of his narrative or portraying him as having devised this distinctive genre on his own. The analogy of the epistolary genre of 2 Peter comes to mind. There is no doubt that the author knew the Pauline epistles (2 Pet 3:15–16)—a distinctive genre related to other epistolary literature in somewhat the way that NT Gospels are related to other narratives. And there is hardly any doubt that he knew 1 Peter (2 Pet 3:1). Yet there is scarcely any literary evidence of 2 Peter's "dependence" on earlier epistles; underlining of common words and analysis of common order fail to demonstrate that the author

knew 1 Peter; indeed, without 2 Pet 3:1, 15–16, it could be argued that 2 Peter was "independent" of the Pauline letters and 1 Peter. No one, however, doubts that 2 Peter "knew" the Paulines and 1 Peter in the generic sense, yet was not greatly "influenced" or "dependent" on them. One could contrast the relationship of 2 Thessalonians to 1 Thessalonians, where dependence is closer to the category of Synoptic interrelationships.

One thus finishes this book with a sense of gratitude for its information and analyses, but wishing that Smith had argued his own thesis more vigorously. Perhaps the fact that the book was originally projected as only a chapter, a *Forschungsbericht* for a larger project, inhibited him from doing so. He tends to assume the stance of the previous "consensus" and to ask whether recent arguments are compelling that John was "dependent" on the Synoptics. Thus the issue of the "burden of proof" is always in the background. Beginning where Smith does, it is all but impossible for anyone to "prove against reasonable grounds for doubt" (p. 58) that John knew the Synoptics. It is equally difficult, of course, to "prove" the opposite thesis, to which Smith himself is inclined. Here as elsewhere, the burden of proof is always on the scholar making a case. In this book, Smith does not argue a case, but adopts the stance of a careful, fair-minded reporter who stands within the previous "consensus," weighs the opposing evidence, and finds it wanting. It is not clear whether Smith still thinks his previous proposal sketched above could be persuasively documented in detail, but one would like to see the strongest case made for it, and no one is better equipped to do this than D. Moody Smith.

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Philodemus and the New Testament World, edited by John T. Fitzgerald, Dirk Obbink, and Glenn S. Holland. NovTSup 111. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004. Pp. xiv + 434. €109.00/$136.00 (cloth). ISBN 9004114602.

While Hellenistic culture in general, and Hellenistic philosophy in particular, have been shown time and again to shed indispensable light on early Christianity, the writings of the Epicurean philosopher and epigrammatist Philodemus have, for a variety of reasons, figured only minimally into NT research. A native of Gadara, Philodemus studied in Athens with the preeminent Epicurean philosopher Zeno before becoming an important part of a vibrant Roman intellectual community that also included the likes of Horace and Virgil (see further on this community L. Michael White's contribution in the present volume, esp. pp. 104–8). In the eighteenth century, a number of Philodemus's writings were found among the ruins of Herculaneum's aptly named Villa of the Papyri, which was apparently owned by Philodemus's patron (and Cicero's nemesis), L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus. Of these writings, the one that has thus far garnered the most attention from NT scholars is the treatise Περὶ παρρησίας, whose extensive treatment of "frank speech" as a form of moralistic, psychagogic discourse has been used to illuminate the Pauline literature in particular (see Abraham Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], and esp. Clarence Glad, *Paul and Philodemus: Adaptability in Epicurean and*

Early Christian Psychagogy [NovTSup 81; Leiden: Brill, 1995]). The SBL's Hellenistic Moral Philosophy and Early Christianity section produced an English translation of this work in 1998 (David Konstan et al., eds., *Philodemus: On Frank Criticism. Introduction, Translation and Notes* [SBLTT 43, Greco-Roman 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998]), and the present volume, produced by the same SBL section, is intended as "something of a companion" to it (p. viii).

As its title suggests, however, this collection of studies goes well beyond the specific theme of frank speech. The book presents a wide-ranging series of essays by classicists and NT scholars on a variety of Philodemus's writings (Section I: "Philodemus' Ethical, Theological, Rhetorical, Aesthetic and Historical Works"), their broader cultural contexts (Section II: "Philodemus' Thought within the Context of the Greco-Roman World"), and their relevance to early Christianity in particular, especially the Pauline literature (Section III: "Philodemus and the New Testament World"). The essays are preceded by a general introduction to Philodemus and the Herculaneum papyri by John T. Fitzgerald, and followed by indexes of ancient authors and modern scholars.

Most of the fourteen essays treat one of three broad themes: frank criticism, rhetoric, or economics. As it happens, these three themes are also those emphasized by the contributors who attempt to bring Philodemus's works directly to bear on the early Christian literature.

Six essays deal specifically with Philodemus's treatise *On Frank Criticism*. Half of these, located in the first section of the volume, are concerned specifically with the Philodemean corpus itself, while the other half use this treatise to illuminate works outside that corpus. L. Michael White's "A Measure of Frank Speech: The State of the Manuscript of PHerc. 1471" provides an illuminating look at the social processes that lie behind this text, tracing from the original composition through its restoration by contemporary scholars. The contributions by Diskin Clay ("Philodemus on the Plain Speaking of Other Philosophers") and David Sider ("How to Commit Philosophy Obliquely: Philodemus' Epigrams in Light of his *Peri Parrhesias*") use this treatise to illuminate problems in the interpretation of other works by Philodemus: his disparate treatment of the Stoics in *The Ordering of the Philosophers* and *On the Stoics*, and the relation of his epigrams to his philosophical writings, respectively. Glen Holland's "Call Me Frank: Lucian's (Self-)Defense of Frank Speaking and Philodemus' Περὶ Παρρησίας," on the other hand, uses the treatise to contextualize, and thus highlight, Lucian's innovative appropriation of the philosophical valuation of frank speech to validate his own satiric attacks on philosophers.

The remaining two works concerned with this theme have an explicit interest in the Pauline literature. In "The Pastoral Epistles in the Light of Philodemus' 'On Frank Criticism,'" Benjamin Fiore identifies a series of parallels between this treatise and the Pastorals in order to show that the latter "provide examples of the aim and practice of [παρρησία] as it is elaborated by Philodemus" (p. 281). (That these similarities are best explained in terms of the Pastorals' direct engagement with Epicureanism, as Fiore suggests, is less obvious.) J. Paul Sampley, in turn, shows in "Paul's Frank Speech with the Galatians and the Corinthians" that Paul's own use of criticism is consistent with the conventions elaborated in Philodemus's (and Plutarch's) treatment of the topic. On the

basis of Sampley's reading of Philodemus and Plutarch, he emphasizes two general points: (1) the proportion of praise and blame in a work provides an index of the harshness of its criticism, and thus of the extremity of its situation; and (2) harshness of speech requires a proportional enhancement of ethos. With this analysis, Sampley furnishes an interesting lens through which to view the development—and the deterioration—of the relationship between Paul and the Corinthian community in particular. The interpretation is limited only by a certain one-sidedness: Sampley analyzes Paul's *deployment* of frank criticism against reluctant recipients in Corinth without studying Paul's *reaction* to what arguably amounted to analogous criticism, leveled by those same Corinthians, at an equally resistant Paul. If the Corinthians, typical of those who "think themselves wise," only become irritated by frank criticism (p. 314), one might well say the same of Paul! The escalating tensions in Corinth, in this case, would not be the result simply of the Corinthians' refusal of Paul's critique; they would reflect a struggle for power and authority between two parties, each of which claimed a spirit-inspired wisdom.

Two of the essays deal with Philodemus's often overlooked *On Rhetoric*. Robert N. Gaines shows that Philodemus "was an active participant in the developments that shaped late Hellenistic rhetorical theory," and that his work is, for this reason if no other, an important document for understanding the state of that theory in the late first century B.C.E. This study is complemented well by Bruce W. Winter's "Philodemus and Paul on Rhetorical Delivery (ὑπόκρισις)." Winter argues that both writers react negatively to the increased emphasis on oratorical performance in the late Hellenistic period, suggesting specifically that "Philodemus' comments help us to understand" the trenchant attacks leveled by both Paul and his Corinthian opponents over the issue of oratorical ability (p. 324). The Corinthian issue is read in light of differing Christian responses to the Second Sophistic—the essential characteristics of which, Winter argues, were in place already in the first century B.C.E., as Philodemus's treatise shows. Paul, like Philodemus, had pointedly rejected the notion that delivery was crucial, and his Corinthian opponents, who apparently embraced it, replied by derisively highlighting Paul's lack of ability in this area.

The articles by Elizabeth Asmis ("Epicurean Economics") and David L. Balch ("Philodemus, 'On Wealth' and 'On Household Management': Naturally Wealthy Epicureans against Poor Cynics") provide similarly complementary studies of Philodemus's two economic treatises. The former aims to clarify "how a person combines the need to earn a living with the choice to be an Epicurean" (p. 133) and the result is a wide-ranging study of both the theoretical principles behind, and the social realities attending, the Epicurean approach to economics. In the last third of this lengthy study, Asmis examines the distinctive contribution of Philodemus in light of this general background, showing how he tailored Epicurean economic theory to suit his aristocratic Roman environment. While remaining within the bounds of Epicurus's moderate concept of "natural wealth," Philodemus nonetheless "comes close in effect to meeting the Stoics in their preference for wealth" (p. 176), ranking the life of the "gentleman farmer"—and particularly that landowner who uses his resources to support a philosophical community—second only to philosophy itself as the best source of income. Balch provides translations of significant portions of the relevant Philodemean texts in order to outline the basic contours of the Epicurean–Cynic debate regarding the nature and value of wealth and

poverty. He is particularly interested to show how this debate sheds light on the blessings pronounced for "the poor" and "the poor in spirit" in Luke 6:20b and Matt 5:3, respectively. Balch argues that "Jesus' blessing of mendicants belongs within a centuries-old mutual polemic between Epicureans and Cynics" (p. 193). He is less interested in tying this point into the larger question of a "Cynic Jesus," however, than illuminating the social significance of early Christian reflection on wealth by comparison with a contemporary analogue. "With regard to this ancient dispute, Jesus blesses Cynic mendicancy and lives that life style . . . with or without knowing that the alternatives had philosophical labels and arguments" (p. 194). That is to say, whether "Cynic" or not himself, Jesus' blessing on the poor was not merely metaphorical of the human condition; it represented a radical advocacy of the type of concrete socio-economic condition that was characteristic of the Cynics.

A variety of topics relating to Philodemus in particular and Epicureanism in general are dealt with in the four remaining essays, none of which attempts to tie its theme explicitly to the early Christian literature. David Armstrong's "All Things to All Men: Philodemus' Model of Therapy and the Audience of *De Morte*" advances two theses as a result of a close reading of Philodemus' *On Death*. Armstrong argues, first, that the rhetorical and stylistic peculiarities of this work relative to the rest of the Philodemean corpus are due to the fact that it is not intended primarily for Epicurean, but for a philosophically diverse audience. It is cast, that is, "into protreptic rhetorical form" to convince such an audience that "Epicureanism offered the best therapy for the fear of death" (p. 53). More broadly, Armstrong shows that Philodemus's acknowledgment of the "natural pains" that can accompany death, and which can be effectively consoled, requires a serious reconsideration of the Epicurean treatment of death, particularly the typical criticism of it as being unrealistic and unduly callous. Dirk Obbink's contribution, "Craft, Cult and Canon in the Books from Herculaneum," examines the Epicurean works found in the library of the Villa of the Papyri in order to dispute the notion that Epicureanism was in effect a Hellenistic religion (contrast esp. David Sedley, "Philosophical Allegiance in the Greco-Roman World," in Miriam Griffin, *Philosophia Togata: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society* [ed. Jonathan Barnes; Oxford: Clarendon, 1989], 97–119). His focus on the key issue of authority in this context is quite illuminating, and his argument largely compelling; Epicureanism in any event emerges as a potentially interesting *exemplum* for theoretical study of the nature of religion. Pamela Gordon's "Remembering the Garden: The Trouble with Women in the School of Epicurus" presents a sophisticated and clear analysis of the problems inherent in attempts at historical reconstruction of the earliest Epicurean community. Gordon focuses on the role of women in that community in particular, showing how the significance of gender within the discourse of later writers—both polemical and apologetic—shaped their accounts of women in Epicurus's Garden, and how this, in turn, leaves intractable problems for contemporary historians. John T. Fitzgerald, finally, provides an extensive historical survey of Gadara in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, with special attention to its political and cultural aspects, in "Gadara: Philodemus' Native City."

This is an excellent collection of essays. In the spirit of "frank speech," however, it is perhaps not inappropriate to point out two small editorial matters. First, the organization of the volume as a whole is not entirely transparent. It is unclear why Fitzgerald's

lengthy essay on Gadara—which deals with Christianity tangentially at best (pp. 344–46)—is included in the section dealing with the NT, while Balch's essay—whose interest in the Jesus movement is quite explicit—is not. More generally, while Gordon's contribution is undoubtedly one of the brightest gems of the volume, its marginal interest in Philodemus (let alone the NT) leaves one wondering why it was published in this particular collection. Second, more than a third of the essays are devoid of any section breaks signaling transitions in their train of thought. Some editorial intervention in these pieces would have been very helpful to the reader, particularly in the case of those exceeding twenty pages, or at the very least in the case of those that are forty and fifty-five pages in length.

These are obviously minor points, however, and they scarcely detract from the value of the collection. This series of solid contributions to the study of Philodemus and the NT will benefit scholars of both Epicureanism and early Christianity, and indeed all those interested in the Hellenistic world.

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Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society, by Philip A. Harland (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003). Pp. xv + 399. $22.00 (paper). ISBN 0800635892.

Harland's work is an examination of the literary and archaeological remains of western Asia Minor in the first few centuries of the Christian era. The region and the period were particularly fertile for the Christian movement, as is immediately apparent when one considers the list of works considered to have been produced thereabouts, such as the Pastorals, Ephesians, Colossians, Acts, 1 Peter, possibly the Johannine writings, the Ignatian correspondence, and more. Such a voluminous output not only shows the importance of attaining a proper understanding of the region, but also provides us with abundant documentary evidence to use in the development of that understanding.

Harland's study focuses on the related phenomena of associations, synagogues, and congregations; he is concerned with "assessing and comparing the place of [these groups] . . . within the framework of the Greek city, or polis, under Roman rule in Asia Minor. More specifically, [he] focuses on the significance of imperial cults, honours and connections in the external relations and internal life of these groups" (p. 8).

In the past, there has been a tendency to consider these three groups ([pagan] associations, [Jewish] synagogues and [Christian] congregations) as isolated from each other. Associations have been seen as the, so to speak, "indigenous" product of the Hellenistic polis, from which the early Christian groups were eager to distinguish themselves by their fanatical, aggressively sectarian character. The Jewish groups are considered to have been less vehement in their rejection of contemporary pagan norms, quietly isolationist rather than loudly secessionist, but nonetheless sharply distinguished both from pagan associations and from their Christian relatives and rivals. Harland rejects this view, however, at least in its extreme form: he argues that synagogues and congregations "*were associations* in important respects" and that "ancient observers . . .

recognized this parallelism, sometimes describing synagogues and assemblies [used as a synonym for 'congregations'] in terms of association life in the Greco-Roman world" (p. 3, italics his). This is not to say that there were no differences between Christian, Jewish, and pagan groups; rather, Harland thinks these differences have been overstated, as has been the degree to which Jews and Christians were integrated into their predominantly pagan environment.

Overall, Harland intends to reevaluate and, simultaneously, to nuance our understanding of these related phenomena, with particular emphasis on associations, to which his work gives clear priority both in terms of the amount of space allotted to them and in the way that they provide the template for discussions of synagogues and congregations. But this is to be expected, given that one of his goals is to decrease the perceived distance and tension between these latter sorts of organizations and day-to-day life in the late antique world of Asia Minor. It is precisely Harland's point that these groups are not purely foreign implantations, at odds with or at the very least alien to their Hellenistic contexts, but rather that they are integrated into them, and that this integration is carried out following the model laid down by the popular associations.

Harland avails himself of three sources of evidence. First, as is to be expected, he uses literary remains—texts produced in, or relevant to, Asia Minor in this period. His analyses of these texts are not extreme or tendentious, but he does try to show the hitherto-overlooked evidence in them of the integration of the early Christian communities in their (pagan) environments, an effort that goes against the interpretative grain but which Harland presents convincingly.

His second and major source of evidence is epigraphic, coming from inscriptions, a source that is often underused by scholars of early Christianity. Harland helps remind us of the dangers of such neglect: indeed, the majority of his most revolutionary conclusions are drawn from and supported by the evidence provided by the inscriptions.

Finally, Harland offers some analysis of the archaeological remains having to do with associations of various kinds. One wishes, naturally, that this sort of evidence were more extensive, but he briefly and sensitively deals with what is available. Rarely is archaeological evidence the main focus of an argument: rather, it generally serves to illustrate, to expand on, or to buttress arguments drawn primarily from the inscriptions.

Through the use of these three sources of evidence, Harland sets out arguments that challenge some of the received opinions in the historical study of this period and in NT and early Christian scholarship. As his arguments regarding the latter build on and, to a certain degree, presuppose his revaluation of the nature of pagan Hellenistic associations, it is with these that I begin (in this regard following Harland's organization of his work).

For our purposes, perhaps the most interesting aspect of Harland's revaluation of the associations is his look at their relationship to pagan religion. In earlier works, the tendency has been to stress their social function—the general attitude was "yes, of course many of them *claimed* to have a religious orientation, but the focus was *really* on the social aspects, the feasting and comradeship and such." Harland notes that the sharp distinction between the religious and the social is in fact a modern, Western development, anachronistic in the context of antiquity, "where 'religion' was very much embedded within various dimensions of the daily life of individuals, whose identities were inextricably bound up within social groupings" and where it had to do "with appropri-

ately honoring gods and goddesses . . . in ways which ensured the safety and protection of human communities. . . . Moreover, the form that such cultic honours . . . could take do not necessarily coincide with modern or Western preconceptions of what being religious should mean" (p. 61). In his discussion of associations, Harland takes pains to show how the sacred, the social, and the functional were entwined.

The rise of associations is often considered as a symptom of the decline of the polis, with associations often understood as a subversive phenomenon contributing to that decline. Harland challenges both of these assumptions. The mere loss of some degree of autonomy for the individual polis was not equivalent to an overall decline (see, e.g., the work of M. Hansen on this topic, esp. "The 'Autonomous City-State': Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction," in *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* [Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995]), particularly with such generally "hands-off" rulers as the Romans, and Harland provides considerable evidence that associations provided a means by which the people could be enfranchised, by organizing them into influence groups which could have an effect on rulers and help to shape and nourish the social life of the community. Associations should thus be seen as preservers of the polis rather than agents of its decline. And while associations were frequently organized on the basis of links of homeland, race, or profession, this did not necessarily produce an exclusionary attitude, but rather could function as a basis for a greater participation in civic life. "Belonging within an association and belonging within the polis were by no means mutually exclusive" (p. 106).

With regard to the Jewish and Christian groups, I have already mentioned Harland's view that they were more integrated into the day-to-day fabric of pagan society, and more influenced by the association model in their structure and goals than has previously been assumed. There was a range of accommodation to their contemporary environment, rather than the uniform extremist response that is commonly assumed to have been operative. While we have ample testimony of (quite understandable) Jewish hostility to Rome and its rulers, particularly following the destruction of the temple, Harland points out many contrary indications of Jewish organizational willingness to assimilate, honor the emperors and enter into contact with the powers that be, and compete "for benefactions from influential figures within the civic and provincial context" (p. 228). Likewise, there were efforts within Christian groups to lessen the tension between themselves and their social surroundings, although there were also, of course, attempts to heighten that tension, as shown in the book of Revelation, to an analysis of which Harland devotes the latter portion of his final chapter. But the very vehemence of Revelation's rejection of all participation in contemporary pagan practices and society indicates that some Christians did participate in them. Integrating Revelation's critique with Paul's own testimony regarding the eating of idol-food and his involvement in the associations linked to his occupation, Harland argues that "it is quite possible to suggest that some of the opponents [attacked in Revelation] . . . were continuing in their occupational affiliations and sustaining membership in other local guilds" (p. 261).

Harland's purpose, then, is not simply to replace the old paradigm by its opposite: rather, his goal is to show the old paradigm represents only one in a range of options for our understanding of the sociological self-awareness of the early Christian groups. And he achieves this goal with precision and clarity.

It is the mark of a good book that one finds oneself straining to identify some flaws,

so as to write a review rather than a panegyric. But in this case there are few. This is not to suggest that Harland has exhausted his subject, or that specialists will not find aspects of his evidence or his use of it to be problematic. But his primary goal in this book, at least as I see it, is to open things up, to create a context for a more open and wide-ranging discussion of associations, synagogues, and congregations, and this he has achieved with gusto. In these discussions, which I feel confident are sure to come, I would like to see more in-depth analysis of the Christian side of things, and more analysis of Jewish evidence and opinions, which I found underappreciated in this book.

Turning to nonacademic aspects of the work, it is a pleasure to note that the book is attractively laid out, and that the writing throughout is clear and readable. I must admit that my personal preference is for footnotes to be printed at the bottom of the page rather than at the end of the book as is the case here, and as seems to have become the dominant scholarly practice. If one does choose to print endnotes, one should definitely have the pages in the text to which the notes refer printed at the top of the page. But this is just a quibble.

Overall, this book is highly recommended to anyone interested in this important and hitherto underdeveloped subject.

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The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric: Classroom Exercises, by Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil. Writings from the Greco-Roman World 2. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002. Pp. xiv + 411. $49.95 (paper). ISBN 1589830180.

This book is the second of a projected three volumes containing introductions, texts, translations, and commentary dealing with the literary form known as the chreia. A chreia is a pithy saying introduced by a crisp description of the situation in which it was purportedly spoken by some well-known historical figure. Much of the current interest in this form can be traced directly to the important work of Hock and O'Neil almost two decades ago in the first volume of the trilogy (*The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric: The Progymnasmata* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986]). The intervening years have contributed to a depth and precision that is everywhere apparent in this second volume. This stellar example of the excellence that can be attained when two competent individuals work together will quickly become required reading for specialists interested in how the chreia was used in the educational curriculum from the Hellenistic through late medieval periods.

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–49) opens with a brief survey of Greco-Roman and Byzantine education that divides it into primary, secondary, and tertiary stages. It then explains the role of the chreia in primary education, which was typically that of a model for reading and writing. The remainder of the chapter provides a sequential treatment of twelve texts derived from papyri and ostraca that exemplify the actual use of the chreia in primary education.

Chapter 2 (pp. 51–77) begins with a summary of the use of the chreia in the secondary phase of education. Classroom exercises at this level included reformulating an

initial version of the chreia according to all the Greek declensions so that students could learn grammar and morphology. The texts treated in the rest of the chapter include both actual student notes from classroom exercises and literary sources discussing the use of the chreia at this level of education.

Chapter 3 (pp. 79–359) concentrates on the use of the chreia in the tertiary phase of education. This phase, which began at about age fifteen, usually concentrated on rhetoric. By the early Byzantine period, popular chreiai were customarily used as model thesis statements that were explained and defended in compositional exercises that consisted of eight rigidly structured sections. The reasoning, contents, and sequence of these sections approximated the basic reasoning, contents, and sequence of arguments in standard types and elements of speeches known from the common rhetorical handbooks of antiquity. Most of the texts in this chapter are compositions elaborating various chreiai according to this rigid format, each of which demonstrates the persistence of this technique for training students in the skills needed to compose speeches.

The book includes a short preface, list of abbreviations, bibliography, and index of Greek words. The footnotes include a critical apparatus evaluating various witnesses and reconstructions of the texts, of which all but one (in Latin) are in Greek. The translations of the texts are usually defensible and have attempted to balance faithfulness to the original with clarity of English style. The introductions and commentary are also written in a clear style and the entire work has been impeccably edited.

The book is a commentary on a collection of disparate texts produced over a long period of time, not a monograph exploring and advancing a unifying thesis. Nevertheless, one conclusion that does emerge from reading this book is that in all three phases of a student's education in the Greco-Roman and Byzantine curriculum the chreia played a crucial role. Even though most of the texts in this volume date to after the first century and the comments and introductions in the book are more explicitly related to Byzantine education than to education in earlier periods, perceptive NT scholars will quickly recognize the significance of this conclusion for their field. The widespread popularity of the chreia in ancient education complicates the confident attribution of the sayings in the famous chreiai in the Synoptic Gospels to Jesus rather than to the transmitters of the Jesus traditions, many of whom would have been competent to construct their own chreiai. At the same time the evidence presented in this volume for the importance of the chreia at all levels of the ancient educational curriculum places a fresh urgency on wrestling with the question of the education of Jesus himself.

Perhaps the most important point that Hock and O'Neil make and consistently develop in explicit statements in the introductions and commentary and emphasize in the long third chapter is that the pattern of elaborating the chreia that was developed by Aphthonius of Antioch in the fourth century not only triumphed over all of its competitors, but maintained its superiority and popularity in the rhetorical curriculum for the next millennium. Hock and O'Neil point out the variety of uses of the chreia in earlier models of rhetorical composition and the debt that Aphthonius himself owed to some of these earlier models (pp. 81–90, 122–23, 132–35). But Hock and O'Neil's meticulous source criticism vividly demonstrates that later students of rhetoric followed Aphthonius's eight-part structure for elaborating the chreia (pp. 84–93, 98–99, 203–10, 234–42, 259–68, 283–86, 309–10, 321–23, 339–43, 349–53). The role of the Aphthonian tradi-

tion is clearly attested even in the very latest of the texts discussed in this volume, which dates to the fourteenth century (pp. 348–54). This clearly requires a new appreciation for both the stability of the educational curriculum that emerged in late antiquity and the role of Aphthonius in developing at least one element of it. Hock and O'Neil are well aware that material from the periods after Aphthonius is outside the normal purview of classicists and NT scholars, so they have wisely accommodated themselves to specialists in these fields by offering more details when dealing with the historical context of authors and texts from these later dates (e.g., Gregory of Cyprus, pp. 308–24).

Every page of this book exhibits a caution, precision, balance, and reliability that are exemplary of the best in modern historical scholarship. Thus any criticism is almost compelled to be reduced to squabbles over minor details or petty complaints about what the book omits rather than what it contains. For example, the use of paleography in the attribution of various texts to primary education in the first chapter would be enhanced by a few photographs of manuscripts or drawings of letter forms (pp. 6, 13, 31, 36, 38, 41, 60). Readers who have not read the first volume of the trilogy or who have little familiarity with ancient rhetoric will occasionally experience some difficulty because allusions to ancient rhetorical theorists or terms that are explained clearly and at length in volume 1 are presumed in this volume. Even the word chreia itself is not defined here until p. 89. Such issues will not, however, offer any hindrance to readers of the first volume. In most cases alert readers will find an internal coherence in the notes and comments in this volume that alleviates the need to consult any outside source.

The concise but reliable commentary and the collection of so many useful texts in one volume, many of which have been translated for the first time, render this book a quantum leap in the study of the chreia. The specialized nature of this topic, the book's frequent use of untranslated Greek, and other technical details will reduce the potential audience to a limited pool of highly trained readers. But the book can be strongly recommended to advanced students and researchers interested in ancient and medieval education, the history of rhetoric, rhetorical criticism, and any field in which this ancient literary form may hold some interest.

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A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period, by Michael Sokoloff. 2nd ed. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. Pp. 847. $109 (cloth). ISBN 0801872340.

The release of this second edition of Sokoloff's *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (*DJPA*) is timed to coincide with the release of the first edition of his *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Gaonic Periods* (*DJBA*) by the same publishers. The first edition of the *DJPA* took just under ten years to produce (1979–88) and was mostly and justifiably well received (for reviews of the first edition in English, see in particular those of Kaufman in *JAOS* 114 [1994]: 239–48 and Wesselius in *BO* 51 [1994]: 525–33). Sokoloff began work on the *DJBA* in 1988, and its release together with the second edition of the *DJPA* in late 2002 has been

much anticipated. The author has also just finished *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (*DJA*), which covers texts from 150 B.C.E. until 200 C.E., and plans are afoot for a history of rabbinic lexicography. Thus, there can be little doubt that Sokoloff is the most prolific lexicographer of Aramaic of his generation.

The present reviewer organized a conference on Aramaic lexicography at the University of Sheffield, July 23–25, 2002, and there had the pleasure of meeting Sokoloff and hearing about the methods he used to produce these dictionaries. Much of this information is in the public domain already (see the following papers by Sokoloff: "The Current State of Research on Galilean Aramaic," *JNES* 37 [1978]: 161–68; "The Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic: Progress and Prospects," in *Studia Aramaica* [ed. Geller et al.; JSS Supplement 4; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995], 189–97). The vast majority of errors highlighted by reviewers of the first edition have been corrected in the second edition, in addition to many discovered by Sokoloff himself. For those who already own the first edition and consider $109 too much to invest, however, an alternative would be to purchase the Addenda et Corrigenda, which is to be made available separately by the Bar Ilan University Press.

DJPA covers the Aramaic vocabulary of the Jewish literary and epigraphic sources from the land of Israel from the third century C.E. until after the Arab conquest. These sources are grouped by Sokoloff as follows: inscriptions, mostly from synagogues but also including tombstones and the like; targumic sources such as *Targum Neofiti* to the Pentateuch and the Cairo Genizah fragments; midrashic sources from the land of Israel; talmudic sources from the land of Israel; Gaonic-period halakic sources from the Genizah; poetry from Egyptian papyri and the Genizah; papyri containing correspondence and other documents from Egypt; magical texts, specifically amulets discovered in the land of Israel and the Genizah; marriage contracts, again from Egypt and the Genizah; and, finally, the marginal notes to the Bible in the Masoretic codices.

For each of these genres Sokoloff provides a detailed list of the textual sources used in the compilation of *DJPA* (pp. 19–28), and also an index for all cited passages, again divided according to genre and source (pp. 595–820).

Until now, for the dialects covered by Sokoloff's two Jewish Aramaic dictionaries, we have had recourse mainly to Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Berlin: Harz, 1924), and Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London: Putnam, 1903). These are out of date, however, as they were produced prior to a number of significant studies on Aramaic lexicography, the publication of new sources that have come to light from the Cairo Genizah and other locations, and the production of more reliable text editions of the various corpora. The problems inherent in the study of the Jewish Aramaic dialects are compounded in both Levy and Jastrow by the inclusion of post-biblical Hebrew words and the lack of any delineation with respect to dialect and text type. The significance of Sokoloff's contribution to Aramaic lexicography is the clear division between the Western and Eastern Jewish Aramaic dialects in his dictionaries. It is not an exaggeration to say that for the first time we have dictionaries of Jewish Aramaic that are sound in terms of both dialectology and lexicography. Furthermore, the etymological references in Levy and especially Jastrow are not a strong feature of those lexicons, but Sokoloff's dictionaries provide a firm though not exhaustive etymological

analysis. (For a discussion of the current state of Aramaic lexicography, see the forthcoming article by Theodore Kwasman, "'Look it up in . . .'? Aramaic Lexicography—Some General Observations," in *Aramaic Studies* 1, no. 2 [2003].

The entries themselves consist of up to six parts: lemma, such as verbal root or absolute noun; part of speech (e.g., adj., adv.); gloss, in the most general terms; etymology, beginning with cognates in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) and Samaritan Aramaic (SA), that is, the other Middle Western Aramaic (MWA) dialects, followed by Syriac (Syr.) and Talmudic Babylonian Aramaic, other Aramaic dialects (such as Biblical Aramaic [BA]), Mishnaic Hebrew (MH), other Semitic (such as Akkadian [Akk.]) and finally non-Semitic languages (such as Old Persian [OP]); a morphological and semantic section, complete with examples and references; and finally, a bibliography.

Before we discuss some of the editorial decisions that have shaped *DJPA,* it is worth mentioning that different lexicons rarely concur in such matters. In the following paragraphs, comparisons are made with other Aramaic and Semitic lexicons in order to provide a context for *DJPA: AHw* = von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–81); *CAD* = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–); *CDG* = Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987); *DCH* = Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); PS = Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903). Criticisms leveled at such decisions should nearly always be heavily garnished with admiration and gratitude to the lexicographer. Most people who write reviews of dictionaries have not worked as lexicographers, and the comments of such "metalexicographers" (for the term, see Green, *Chasing the Sun: Dictionary Makers and the Dictionaries They Made* [London: Jonathan Cape, 1996], 469) can sometimes display a lack of understanding as to why particular decisions were made. As a former lexicographer, the present reviewer can certainly appreciate the reasoning behind most of Sokoloff's decisions.

In contrast to previous Aramaic lexicons, *DJPA* does not give reconstructed vocalizations of nominal forms, except where a vocalized form occurs in the sources (p. 6). This decision is prudent because a reconstructed vocalization on the basis of comparative or etymological data is tinged with uncertainty.

DJPA excludes personal names and toponyms. Sokoloff explains this exclusion by stating that they require a "specialized treatment" (p. 6), which is certainly the case. Some may question, however, whether the need for such a specialized treatment necessarily justifies their exclusion from *DJPA.* This approach differs from Jastrow and *DCH* but concurs with *CDG,* so the various lexicons do differ on this.

The etymological section is limited; by Sokoloff's admission, *DJPA* is not a "full-fledged etymological dictionary" (p. 6 n. 32), but the data given are sufficient to place the word in some context. Thus *DJPA* falls between the approach of *DCH,* which has no etymological analysis, and that of *CDG,* which has the most exhaustive etymological analysis. This approach understandably leads to some inconsistency in coverage. For example, for the nouns *ʾrgwn* (p. 73) and *nbz* (p. 339) Sokoloff refers to Akk. as well as *CPA* and SA, while for the noun *ṭʿm* (p. 228) Sokoloff only refers to SA, omitting the Akk. *ṭēmu* (see *AHw* 1385–87), despite the discussion in Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influ-*

ences on Aramaic (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 109, which Sokoloff utilizes often. Similarly, sometimes the coverage of Persian loanwords is inconsistent. Thus for the noun *ptgm* (p. 454) Sokoloff refers to OP as well as CPA and Syr., while for the verb *šdr* #2 (p. 538) there is no mention of Rosenthal's suggested link to Persian **ā(x)šti-drauga* (see Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [6th ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995], 63). Such inconsistency in coverage is understandable, particularly as a proper etymological survey of Aramaic is not really possible until a new generation of decent dialect dictionaries has been produced, thus enabling a comprehensive survey to be made. Sokoloff's efforts certainly bring us closer to this aspiration.

Not every entry has a bibliographical section. Such data are supplied for technical terminology such as botanical terms and to refer the reader to discussions of dialectology/orthography and the like, which have a bearing on the dictionary's coverage or treatment of a particular lexeme. This seems to be a sensible approach, especially in comparison with *DCH,* which has an exhaustive bibliographical section that often contains superfluous entries. Again, because there is no attempt at a comprehensive bibliography, there are oversights. For example, one who consults the entry for the verb *krz* (p. 268) will find no reference to Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977), 126, which contains an essential analysis of the suggested derivations of this root. The reader will need the presence of mind to consult the entry for the noun *krwz* (seven entries before *krz*) to be referred to this resource.

The reverse index of references cited in *DJPA* (pp. 595–820) will prove of limited use, and perhaps the space could have been devoted to more useful indices (cf. Kaufman, 242, who is more positive about this feature of *DJPA*). For example, *DCH* and *CDG* give reverse English-Hebrew and English-Geʿez vocabulary lists respectively. Such lists are not too difficult to compile electronically.

As noted above, many corrections have been incorporated into this second edition, so the present reviewer noticed only one questionable gloss in *DJPA.* Sokoloff defines the idiom *ʾkl qwrṣyn* (p. 507) as "to inform on someone," whereas "to denounce" or "to slander" is preferable, along the lines of its use in Syr. (*ʾkl qrṣʾ;* see PS 521) and Akk., from which the idiom ultimately derives (see *CAD* 1/I 255–56, 266).

In recent years, Aramaic scholars have begun to respond to the need for new lexicons. Thus we have Abraham Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), and there are plans by Christa Müller-Kessler to compile a new Christian Palestinian Aramaic dictionary. With the production of these two Jewish Aramaic dictionaries, Sokoloff has furnished the scholarly community with essential reference tools of a high standard, for which we are grateful.

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The Culture of the Babylonian Talmud, by Jeffrey L. Rubenstein. Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. Pp. 248. $42.00 (cloth). ISBN 080187388-6.

In his latest book, Jeffrey Rubenstein describes an academic institution in which colleagues engage in turbulent verbal battles. The goal of these battles is not always a

pure search for truth and illumination, but a pursuit of the participating scholars for personal advancement in the institutional hierarchy. Each colleagues' greatest fear is the shame which might be brought on by his inability to respond correctly; hence such violent discourse is both typical and yet institutionally discouraged. Although academic ability is essential toward promotion, genealogical descent from other scholars is not a negligible consideration. The male scholars of such institutions find it burdensome to conduct family lives while being totally dedicated to their academic pursuits. Their superior intellectual abilities lead them to disdain the simple, uneducated folk.

Rubenstein is not describing a modern university; these scholars are not young assistant professors seeking tenure nor are they tenured professors sitting in the ivory towers of elite universities. Rather Rubenstein is describing the elusive cultural world of the academy of the redactors of the Babylonian Talmud, coined Stammaim by David Weiss Halivni, after the fact that they do not identify themselves by name.

According to Rubenstein, at some time in the late fifth to early sixth century, Babylonian Torah study was formally institutionalized, leading to transformations in the structures in which their oral Torahs were preserved and significant editorial changes in the very literary style of these traditions. The establishment of a formal academy (or perhaps academies) is reflected in many of the Babylonian aggadot, and especially in those which purport to portray earlier Palestinian sages. The emphasis placed in these stories on dialectical ability is a reflection of an academic setting in which sages debate each other in public, each attempting to "conquer" the other, and thus rise through the hierarchy, which inevitably accompanies a more established academy. Sages who fail are shamed, and hence these stories frequently warn of the consequences of shaming others. These qualities are featured prominently in later Babylonian aggadot and are much less prominent in Palestinian literature and in earlier strata of the Babylonian Talmud. Hence, although they purport to portray life in Palestine in the second and third centuries, in reality they are pseudepigraphic. According to Rubenstein, they are cultural artifacts of the Stammaitic period, the period that fell between the end of the Amoraic period and the beginning of the Geonic period. The late dating of these stories, established through philological tools and source criticism, allows us to correlate them to historical changes that occurred between the Amoraic and Stammaitic periods.

We should appreciate that Rubenstein is attempting to solve one of the greatest mysteries in talmudic scholarship, and perhaps one of the great conundrums of all of Jewish history: who edited the Babylonian Talmud, why was it completed (as opposed to continuing to grow in a more amorphous form), and why don't we know their names? Since the beginning of *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* entire books have been dedicated to this issue and multiple theories have been offered. For several generations, these theories typically attributed the redaction/completion of the Talmud to various political/religious persecutions, although such persecutions have never been convincingly identified. I once heard a teacher suggest that a great comet which landed in Babylonia around this time may have contributed to a depression in Torah learning, and that the accompanying loss of authority caused rabbis to withhold their names from their talmudic traditions! In my opinion, Rubenstein's suggestion that formal academies rose during this period is the most compelling suggestion that has been offered to solve this puzzle. Redaction is a product of cooperation between sages, formalization of their

learning, and a self-recognition in the change from one epoch to another. Such changes seem most likely to occur in institutional settings.

With regard to the puzzle of why we do not know the names of the heads of these groundbreaking Stammaitic academies, Rubenstein tentatively suggests that those sages whom R. Sherira Gaon, the tenth-century rabbinic chronicler, identifies as "Saboraim" and who lived between the Amoraic and Geonic periods, may have functioned as the heads of the academies. Rubenstein's research demonstrates a certain degree of continuity between the qualities characteristic of Stammaitic and Geonic culture, as if the former were an embryonic version of the latter. Indeed, Rubenstein points to a greater continuity between the Stammaitic and the Geonic periods, rather than between the former and the Amoraic period. It is interesting to compare this suggestion with the proposal made by David Weiss Halivni, Rubenstein's doctoral mentor, in the introduction to his commentary on *Bava Metzi'a.* Halivni pushes back the dating of the Stammaitic period to the beginning of what we call the Geonic period. In other words, whereas he previously thought that the historical progression was Tannaim, Amoraim, Stammaim, and then Saboraim, he now believes that the Stammaim were later than the Saboraim and that they overlap with the Geonic period. In this way, both Halivni and Rubenstein may be, albeit from different angles, arriving at a similar point.

The first half of this book is basically a demonstration of these aforementioned matters. The second half of the book changes tone, and, instead of addressing themes directly related to the rise of the Babylonian academy, Rubenstein deals with several themes and topics that are more loosely connected to the world of these late Babylonian sages. In a chapter on the importance of genealogical lineage, he analyzes three Babylonian aggadot about the patriarch and claims that these were rewritten in order to underscore the tension that existed in Babylonia. While in Palestine the Patriarchate was certainly inherited, the Patriarch was not the head of an academy, and hence lineage was not a factor in an academic hierarchy. Rubenstein posits that the leadership positions in the Stammaitic academies were, at least on occasion, passed down from father to son. What is remarkable here is that we do not know if such academies existed, nor do we know the names of its alleged sages. Although I am somewhat skeptical about making such an assertion, Rubenstein persuasively demonstrates the tension that surely existed between academic skill and lineage.

Chapter 6, which considers the conflict between marriage and Torah study, focuses on the famous cycle of stories concerning rabbis who leave their houses for extended periods of Torah study. These stories have been analyzed by Jonah Frankel, Daniel Boyarin, Shulamith Valler, and Aryeh Cohen, and Rubenstein does not add a lot in terms of analysis to the passage itself. Rubenstein's main contribution is to ascribe the editing of the stories to the Talmud's redactors and provide their world as its setting. The conflict between a family life and Torah study becomes an issue of burning importance to those in the Stammaitic academies. Indeed, he suggests that the Stammaim generally regarded their wives as obstacles to learning. Such conflicts were also posed to earlier rabbis, and, while earlier rabbinic literature does reflect these issues, their intense dramatization is a product of the Stammaim and a reflection of their world.

Chapter 7 deals with the sages' attitude toward the *ʿam hāʾāreṣ,* the unlearned Jew. While earlier rabbis also occasionally demonstrated disdain for the unlearned, the Baby-

lonian Talmud exhibits a degree of contempt that was unprecedented. Again, employing convincing literary criteria (based largely on previous analysis by Stephen Wald), Rubenstein locates this contempt in the Stammaitic strata of the Babylonian Talmud. It is isolated in the world of their academy, away from the very people portrayed and vilified in these stories, that sages allowed themselves the freedom to spew such venom.

The final chapter deals with the enduring legacy of the Stammaim, those editors who left us with what became the most influential and the most studied book in Jewish history—the Babylonian Talmud. The yeshiva dominates the Jewish religious landscape to this day. The dialectical method has become synonymous not just with rabbinic culture but perhaps with the nature of a Jew. Indeed some of these qualities of Jewish culture and learning are so pervasive that we take them for granted. They are almost inherent to Judaism itself. Rubenstein points out that the Jewish world owes this heritage to the Stammaim. He ends his book with a paean to the Babylonian Talmud, which is ultimately literary heritage of the Stammaim. Its subsequent triumph over all other Jewish books is not merely a result of the tireless promotional efforts of the Babylonian Geonim, nor is it an indirect result of the rise of the Islamic empire. Its success can be attributed to its very qualities as an engaging, complex, sophisticated text.

The methodology that Rubenstein typically employs is the presentation of a number of Babylonian passages that emphasize a certain theme. Usually the passages are aggadic in nature; occasionally they are embedded in halakic discourse. Rubenstein always compares the presence of the theme in the Babylonian Talmud with its presence in Palestinian literature, in order to prove that such a concern or behavior is not typical of all rabbis at all times, but is specifically Babylonian, and in his opinion, late Babylonian (and not Amoraic). Rubenstein is at his best when he brings parallel traditions from Palestine in Babylonia in parallel columns in order to highlight the literary changes imposed on the earlier sources by the later Palestinian editors. Consider the following example, which appears a couple of times in the book:

Ybik 1:8, 64d	*BBB 81a-b*
R. Eleazar said to him: "You ask about a matter which the sages of the assembly-house still need [to explain]."	He [R. Eleazar] said to him, "Do you ask me in the study-house about a matter which former scholars did not explain in order to shame me?"

The Babylonian Talmud changes "assembly-house" to "study-house" and adds the theme of shame; both of these changes are considered reflective of Stammaitic culture The book abounds in these types of comparisons, and they are very convincing and apparent when Rubenstein lines them up in parallel columns. The book is meticulously researched; the author brings impressive evidence for each of his claims. To prove his point Rubenstein usually brings a myriad of sources that all emphasize one theme, or that demonstrate a redactorial change from earlier literature. While one might disagree with any individual proof, their combination is almost always quite persuasive.

One methodological issue that must be raised is Rubenstein's claim that the revisions of earlier Palestinian aggadah should be ascribed strictly to the Stammaim. Consequently, the changes in Torah learning and especially its formalization (hierarchical academies, regular learning periods, etc.) are also ascribed to the Stammaitic period and not to the Amoraic period. Others might argue that these structural and literary changes

occurred more gradually, and that the process began already in the later Amoraic generations. Rubenstein is more confident of his ability to date the editorial changes than are many other scholars who also belong to the "historical/philological" school of talmudic scholarship. Part of the problem with dating these editorial changes is that we do not have aggadot which we can confidently ascribe to Babylonian Amoraim; any aggadah in the Babylonian Talmud is likely to have been redacted by the Stammaim. Hence, Rubenstein can effectively compare Palestinian and Babylonian aggadot, but has great difficulty in comparing earlier Amoraic aggadah with later Stammaitic aggadah. Nevertheless, even if Rubenstein may be slightly overly confident in his ability to date the aggadic changes strictly to fifth- to sixth-century editors and not to those who lived in the fourth to fifth generations, this does not negate the fact that he has overwhelmingly proven the main thrust of his argument; the qualities, attitudes, and issues which he describes are Babylonian. Babylonian editors rewrote these aggadot, imbuing them with their values and using them to convey messages important to the audience in Babylonian settings. Whether they existed in early stages of development already in the fourth century, when many sages from Palestine probably came to Babylonia, or later will probably never be determined. In my opinion, this potential hesitation does not diminish from the significant value of the book.

Rubenstein's style of writing is remarkably clear and deserves special recognition. This book, like his previous one, is written in straightforward, clear language and organized well. His familiarity with the aggadot he analyzes, his precise translations, and his clear analysis make the book a pleasure to read. His historical conjectures and reconstructions make it a must.

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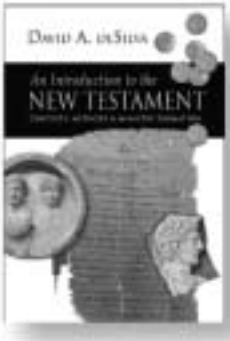

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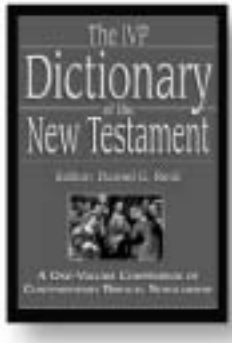

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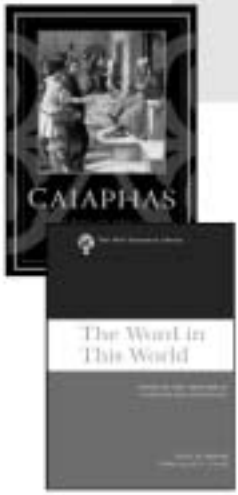

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