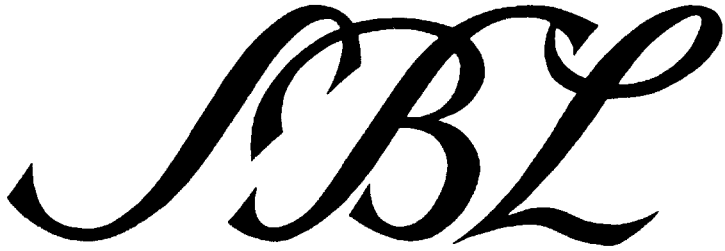

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EXODUS 31:12–17: THE SABBATH ACCORDING TO H, OR THE SABBATH ACCORDING TO P AND H?

SAUL M. OLYAN
Saul_Olyan@brown.edu
Brown University, Providence, RI 02912

Recent scholarship by Israel Knohl and Jacob Milgrom on the relationship of the Priestly Writing and the Holiness Source has transformed the parameters of the ongoing debate about priestly tradition in the Pentateuch. Before their publications, beginning with Knohl's article of 1983/84 on the Sabbath and festivals, the "Holiness Code" (Lev 17–26) was generally seen as a corpus originally separate from and anterior to the Priestly Writing, incorporated by P into P's larger work.[1] Though some scholars had noticed that there were Pentateuchal passages outside of the Holiness Code that seemed to resemble it rhetorically as well as ideologically, and though some had attempted to theorize

I am indebted to Baruch Schwartz and the journal's two anonymous readers for helpful, critical comments on an earlier draft of this article. All errors of fact and judgment, however, remain my responsibility alone.

[1] Israel Knohl, "The Priestly Torah Versus the Holiness School: Sabbath and the Festivals," *Shnaton* 7/8 (1983/84): 109–46, published in English in *HUCA* 58 (1987): 65–117; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991); Knohl, מקדש הדממה (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992), revised, expanded, and translated as *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3A; New York: Doubleday, 2000). The older view of the relationship of the "Holiness Code" to the Priestly Writing may be found in such works as Milgrom's article "Leviticus," *IDBSup,* 543. Several scholars who published before the contributions of Knohl and Milgrom also believed that H postdated P, though none came up with a theory as comprehensive as Knohl's and Milgrom's. Most important among them is Karl Elliger (*Leviticus* [HAT 4; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966], 14–20, esp. 16). A helpful survey of the history of scholarship up to the present on this issue is to be found in Andreas Ruwe, *"Heiligkeitsgesetz" und "Priesterschrift": Literaturgeschichtliche und rechtssystematische Untersuchungen zu Leviticus 17,1–26,2* (FAT 26; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 5–35, who integrates some of Knohl's and Milgrom's published work into his discussion. Knohl's own introduction is also quite useful, though less up-to-date (*Sanctuary of Silence*, 1–7).

a relationship between H and P, Knohl's and Milgrom's separate but similar formulations of the P–H relationship have exercised a more significant influence on the way scholars in general think about the problem. Knohl and Milgrom, rejecting the view that the Holiness Code antedated the larger Priestly work, have argued instead that it and related pentateuchal passages were component parts of an alternative work of priestly provenance—the Holiness Source—produced by what Knohl calls a Holiness school, much of whose activity postdated the work of Priestly tradents.[2] For both Knohl and Milgrom, members of the Holiness group were P's—and the Pentateuch's—editors. In both Knohl's and Milgrom's formulations of this thesis, the H material outside of the Holiness Code plays a crucial role. Each has observed that Holiness passages such as Lev 11:43–45 and Lev 16:29–34 appear as obvious additions to P or epic (JE) material, and each has concluded that this is indicative of redactional activity on the part of Holiness editors.[3] Milgrom puts the view succinctly: ". . . because these passages appear either at the end of a pericope or as links between pericopes, I had come to the conclusion that they constituted the final layers in the composition."[4]

Both Knohl and Milgrom identify the Sabbath pericope of Exod 31:12–17 as one such H passage,[5] and this identification becomes the basis for Knohl's argument that the Sabbath formulation in Exod 20:11 is also from H.[6] Knohl attributes the final form of v. 18, the editorial link that follows the Sabbath pericope, to H as well.[7] I would like to challenge the assumption that Exod 31:12–17 is a single unit of tradition, and to contest the attribution of all of Exod 31:12–17 to H. In contrast, I will argue that Exod 31:12–17 is a fusion of H material in vv. 12–15 and P material in vv. 16–17. I will also argue that the transitional 31:18 is attributed as easily to P as to H. This understanding of the nature of the Sabbath pericope and the transitional verse that follows it has significant ramifications. First, it enriches our knowledge of Priestly Sabbath

[2] Milgrom objects to Knohl's understanding of Holiness circles as a school, since he finds "no signs of continual literary activity that would justify using the term 'school'" (*Leviticus 17–22*, 1345). Milgrom uses the term "Holiness Source"; Knohl prefers to speak of the literature produced by the "Holiness School."

[3] Knohl, *Sanctuary*, 14–19, 27–28, 67–68, 69, 101–2, 105; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 13, 39–40, 696; *Leviticus 17–22*, 1340, 1343. Exodus 12:43–49 (Knohl) or 43–50 (Milgrom) is an H supplement to epic material (see Knohl, *Sanctuary*, 21; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1344).

[4] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 13. His discussion in *Leviticus 17–22*, 1439, is similar. See also Knohl, *Sanctuary,* 101–2, who cites the creation of transition passages by H as an indicator of H's editorial activity.

[5] Knohl, *Sanctuary,* 16, 67, 105; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 13, 696; *Leviticus 17–22*, 1338–39, 1343.

[6] See Knohl, *Sanctuary,* 67 for this point.

[7] Ibid., 66–67 and 67 n. 21, 105.

rhetoric and ideology because it provides the scholar with additional Priestly material on the Sabbath.[8] Second, it raises serious questions about the editorial process that resulted in the production of a fused P and H, since it can be argued that the P verses of the Sabbath passage as well as the transitional v. 18 are a supplement to the H material preceding them. Finally, the assignment of vv. 16–17 to P undermines Knohl's argument that Exod 20:11 is to be assigned to H on the basis of its similarity to Exod 31:17. If Exod 20:11 and 31:16–17 are from P rather than H, as appears to be the case, the validity of Knohl's further point that P nowhere "explicitly" proscribes Sabbath labor, in alleged contrast to H, is also called into question.

The idea that Exod 31:12–17 is a composite text is not new; though both Knohl and Milgrom chose not to address it, the notion is present in various formulations in both recent and older Continental scholarship. Though all of the scholars responsible for these formulations see the pericope as composite, no consensus has emerged regarding how it is to be divided.[9] One recent formula-

[8] On the Sabbath, see also Gen 2:2–3 and Num 28:9–10, which are generally attributed to P (for discussion, see Knohl, *Sanctuary,* 104, 106). Yairah Amit, however, building on Knohl's theory, has argued that Gen 2:1–3 is to be attributed to H rather than P. In this, she has been followed in part by Milgrom, who sees 2:2–3 as an H interpolation in the P narrative of creation (Amit, "Creation and the Calendar of Holiness," in *Tehillah le-Moshe*: *Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* [ed. Mordechai Cogan et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997], 13*–29*, esp. 25*; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1344). Among the criteria listed by Milgrom that allegedly point to H is the presence of Piel קדש, which Milgrom claims is "totally absent from P," the presence of the verbal root שבת used of the deity, and the employment of a rationale introduced by כי "a sure sign of H" in Milgrom's view. The assignment of this passage to H is difficult to accept, for Piel קדש is present in passages that both Milgrom and Knohl assign to P (e.g., Exod 29:27; for Milgrom's list of H passages, see *Leviticus 17–22*, 1344–45; for Knohl's list, see *Sanctuary,* 104–6), and the verbal root שבת used of YHWH occurs in Exod 31:17, a text I will argue is to be assigned to P for independent reasons. (Interestingly, the verbal root שבת used of YHWH, allegedly an H characteristic, occurs in no Holiness Code passage.) As for Milgrom's claim that the justification for Sabbath observance introduced by כי is a certain indicator of H, one need only cite Exod 29:22, 28; Lev 5:11; 10:7, 12, 13, 14, 17; 11:42 to show that this cannot be so. All are legal passages Milgrom himself attributes to P, and all contain comparable justifications formulated with כי. Aside from Gen 2:2–3 and Num 28:9–10, Exod 20:11 is also P material in my view, as I shall argue below. Milgrom seems to favor the same position with respect to Exod 20:11, though apparently with some reservations (the reason given for the proscription of labor in 20:11 "may" be from P; *Leviticus 1–16*, 21).

[9] A succinct synopsis of various opinions—older and recent—on the composite nature of the pericope is to be found in Klaus Grünwaldt, *Exil und Identität: Beschneidung, Passa, und Sabbat in der Priesterschrift* (BBB 85; Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1992), 171. Opinions to be noted include those of Gerhard von Rad, who saw vv. 12, 13b, and 14 as one unit, to be assigned to his P^a, and vv. 13a, 15–17 as a second unit, to be assigned to his P^b (*Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch literarisch untersucht und theologisch gewertet* [BWANT 65; Stuttgart/Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1934], 63); Kurt Galling, who modified von Rad, regarding vv. 12–14 as a unit that he attributed to P^a and vv. 15–17 as a unit that he assigned to P^b (in Georg Beer and Kurt Galling, *Exodus* [HAT 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1939], 151); and Martin Noth, who argued that vv. 15–17 are a secondary addition to an original vv. 12–14 (*Das zweite Buch Mose Exodus* [ATD 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

tion divides the pericope, correctly in my view, between v. 15 and v. 16, viewing vv. 12–15 as a unit, and vv. 16–17 as a second unit.[10] An argument for the composite nature of Exod 31:12–17 and its division between v. 15 and v. 16 can be supported on the basis of several observations. First, the contrast between the second masculine plural form of address in vv. 12–15 (e.g., "my Sabbaths you shall keep," "You shall keep the Sabbath") and the third person form of vv. 16–17 ("the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath") is an indicator both of the pericope's composite nature and, in my view, of the fact that it ought to be divided between v. 15 and v. 16.[11] The most significant indicator of the presence of a doublet, however, is the reason given for Sabbath observance. Though both units view the Sabbath as a "sign" (אות), in v. 13 it is a sign "that I Yhwh sanctify you [Israel]" (כי אני יהוה מקדשכם), whereas in v. 17 it is a sign forever that Yhwh made the heavens and earth in six days and rested and refreshed himself on the seventh (כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ וביום השביעי שבת וינפש). Both justifications are related to the Sabbath's status as a sign, and both are formulated with כי, but the reason for Sabbath observance is different.[12] As others, including Knohl and Milgrom, have pointed out, sanctification of Israel is a major theme in Holiness materials, in contrast to P, from which it is absent. The idiom used to describe Israel's sanctification in Exod 31:13 is identical to that of a number of texts from the "Holiness Code," indicating clearly that v. 13 ought to be assigned to H.[13] Verses 14–15, like v. 13, are characterized

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1959], 198). Knohl and Milgrom are by no means the only scholars to see Exod 31:12–17 as a single unit of tradition. See, e.g., Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 416; Ronald E. Clements, *Exodus* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 200.

[10] S. van den Eynde ("Keeping God's Sabbath: אות and ברית [Exod 31,12-17]," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction-Reception-Interpretation* [ed. Marc Vervenne; BETL 126; Leuven: Peeters, 1996], 501–11), the author of the formulation in question, has anticipated my argument for division of the passage into the two units of vv. 12–15 and vv. 16–17, though he does not relate these units to hypothetical sources, nor does he seem to be aware of either Knohl's or Milgrom's discussion.

[11] Grünwaldt, like others before him, notes the contrast in persons with respect to Israel as an indicator of the composite nature of the text (*Exil und Identität*, 170–71). See also van den Eynde, "Keeping God's Sabbath," 505.

[12] Cf. Grünwaldt, who identifies three equal reasons for Sabbath observance in the pericope: the Sabbath's status as a sign of Yhwh's sanctification of Israel in v. 13; its holiness in v. 14; and the connection of the Sabbath as sign to creation in v. 17 (*Exil und Identität,* 171, 179). Verse 14, where Grünwaldt found a third justification for the Sabbath's observance (its holiness), is best explained as an indicator of layering within the unit of vv. 12–15, pointing to H material in vv. 14–15 that may supplement the primary H statement in v. 13. After all, H phrases, concepts, and ideology characterize all of vv. 12–15. On this, see below and n. 14. Galling had previously pointed out that the Sabbath is grounded in creation according to v. 17, and in Yhwh's sanctification of Israel in v. 13 (*Exodus*, 151–52).

[13] On the sanctification of Israel in H, see Lev 20:8; 21:8, 13, 15; 22:9, 16, 32. See also

by distinct H idioms and ideas and therefore ought also to be seen as H material, possibly supplemental to v. 13.[14] Finally, the relation of the Sabbath to creation in vv. 16–17 is a P characteristic, evidenced in Gen 2:2–3.[15] In short, there are good reasons to understand Exod 31:12–17 as a composite text made up of an H unit in vv. 12–15 and a P unit in vv. 16–17. Though there are points of similarity between the two units (e.g., both use "sign" rhetoric), there are significant differences, including contrasting justifications for Sabbath observance.[16]

In light of the apparently composite nature of the Sabbath pericope in question, how do both Knohl and Milgrom justify their assignment of Exod 31:12–17 to H alone? Knohl and Milgrom provide similar argumentation for assigning the whole Sabbath pericope of Exod 31:12–17 to H. Knohl develops his position by pointing out characteristics of Exod 31:12–17 shared with established H passages, thereby indicating an H provenance. These characteristics include the use of the expression "I, Yhwh, sanctify you" (אני יהוה מקדשכם) in v. 13, and the passive formulation "six days, work shall be done, but on the seventh day there shall be a Sabbath of complete rest, holy to Yhwh" (ששת ימים יעשה מלאכה וביום השביעי שבת שבתון קדש ליהוה) in v. 15.[17] Milgrom's argument is similar. Exodus 31:12–17 is an H pericope because it possesses "quintessential H characteristics": the expressions "I Yhwh sanctify you," and שבת שבתון; the

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H-related Ezek 7:24; 20:12, 20; 37:28. Ezekiel 20:12, 20 speak of the Sabbath specifically, with the wording of 20:12 virtually identical to that of Exod 31:13. See further Baruch Yaacov Schwartz, תורת הקדושה: עיונים בחוקה הכוהנית שבתורה (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999), 260–63.

[14] Characteristic H idioms and ideas pervade Exod 31:14–15. See, e.g., the use of the expression שבת שבתון (as in Exod 35:2; Lev 23:3) and the central concern that the Sabbath, like other holy things, not be profaned (compare, e.g., Ezek 20:13, 16, 21, 24; 22:8; 23:38 on the Sabbath; Lev 19:8 on the holiness of YHWH; Lev 22:15 on holy sacrifices; and Lev 20:3 on YHWH's holy name). As in a number of other H passages, the כרת formula is connected to the issue of forbidden profanation in Exod 31:14 (see, e.g., Lev 19:8). Finally, the passive formulation of Exod 31:15 (. . . ששת ימים יעשה מלאכה וביום השביעי) is particular to H and comparable to formulations in the Sabbath legislation of other H passages such as Exod 35:2 and Lev 23:3. On the relationship of Exod 31:14–15 to Exod 35:2 and Lev 23:3, see Walter Gross, who points to the common passive formulation and argues that Exod 31:14–15 develops material in Exod 35:2 and Lev 23:3 ("'Rezeption' in Ex 31,12–17 und Lev 26,39–45: Sprachliche Form und theologisch-konzeptionelle Leistung," in *Rezeption und Auslegung im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld* [ed. Reinhard Gregor Kratz and Thomas Krüger; OBO 153; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg: Universitäts Verlag, 1997], 49).

[15] It is also evidenced in Exod 20:11, a P text with a close rhetorical and ideological relationship to both Gen 2:2–3 and Exod 31:16–17, though assigned by Knohl to H wholly on the basis of his understanding of 31:16–17 as H. On this, see my discussion below. On the assignment of Gen 2:2–3 to P, see n. 8.

[16] Van den Eynde does a nice job of pointing out continuities between the two sections ("Keeping God's Sabbath," 508).

[17] Knohl, *Sanctuary*, 15–16; he cites the relevant parallels for each example and mentions other indicators of an H provenance (e.g., presence of the verb חלל, "to profane" holiness, in 31:14).

word שבתת; and the use of direct address to Israel.[18] Every point made by Knohl and Milgrom in favor of assigning Exod 31:12–17 to H is correct in my view, for the idioms they discuss are all characteristic of H. The defect of their argument lies in the fact that these idioms occur *only* in vv. 13 and 15; they are not present in vv. 16–17, precisely the verses that I would assign to P, and therefore the presence of these idioms in vv. 13 and 15 can play no role in determining the provenance of vv. 16–17. Neither Knohl nor Milgrom presents evidence that would suggest that vv. 16–17 ought to be assigned to H.

Understanding Exod 31:16–17 as a P unit of tradition is important on a number of counts. First, it contributes to our knowledge of the range of Priestly ideas and rhetoric associated with the Sabbath. Though it says nothing about Yhwh's sanctification of the Sabbath, in contrast to Gen 2:2–3, which mentions this directly,[19] Exod 31:16–17 refers to the Sabbath itself as "an eternal covenant" (ברית עולם), a characteristic unmentioned in Gen 2:2–3. Exodus 31:16–17 is therefore the only Priestly Sabbath passage that refers to the Sabbath as a covenant, and the only one that does not mention the Sabbath's sanctification.[20] The rhetoric of "eternal covenant" used of the Sabbath recalls P's discourse in Gen 17:7, 13, 19 on the nature of YHWH's covenant with Israel. Yet the usages do not match in any exact way. The eternal covenant of Genesis 17 is the covenant between YHWH and Abraham and his descendants, while in Exod 31:16–17, the Sabbath itself is the eternal covenant. Nevertheless, the fact that "eternal covenant," used in Exod 31:16–17, recalls P's central covenantal passage is itself of significance and worthy of further exploration.[21]

The identification of Exod 31:16–17 as a Priestly passage has significance also because it raises serious questions about the process of redaction that resulted in a fusion of P and H material, for the P section of the Sabbath pericope appears as if it could be a supplement to the H section. As I have dis-

[18] Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1338–39. Milgrom, like Knohl, cites the relevant parallels in his discussion.

[19] And also in contrast to Exod 20:11.

[20] This is the case even if we include Exod 20:11 in the discussion.

[21] The Sabbath as a "sign" (אות), common both to P in Exod 31:17 and H in Exod 31:13, may be compared to circumcision as a sign of the covenant in Gen 17:11, a verse likely derived from H (on this, see the argument in Saul M. Olyan, *Rites and Rank: Hierarchy in Biblical Representations of Cult* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000], 154–55 n. 23). As with the rhetoric of eternal covenant in both Exod 31:16 and Gen 17:7, 13, 19, it is important to note that there is no exact match between the Sabbath as a sign of creation in Exod 31:17 and a sign of Israel's sanctification in Exod 31:13, on the one hand, and circumcision as a sign of the covenant in Gen 17:11, on the other. The rhetoric is similar, though it is used in different ways. Van den Eynde devotes several pages at the end of his article to the use of אות and ברית in Exod 31:12–17 and includes a trenchant critique of scholars who have attempted to harmonize the covenant discourse in Exod 31:12–17 with that of texts such as Genesis 17 ("Keeping God's Sabbath," 509–11). See Grünwaldt, who emphasizes continuities with Genesis 17 and other P texts (*Exil und Identität*, 182–84).

cussed, both Knohl and Milgrom base their argument for an earlier P redacted and supplemented by a later H on the identification of apparent H editorial additions to P material in passages such as Lev 11:43–45 and 16:29–34. Their understanding of Exod 31:12–17 as an H pericope is no impediment to their theory, but Exod 31:12–17 as a composite text, with P material in vv. 16–17, raises questions; for the P material looks as if *it* could be the editorial addition, following on the H material.

What are we to make of this? If Knohl and Milgrom are correct about H editing and supplementing P material in passages such as Lev 11:43–45, we must consider the possibility, on the basis of Exod 31:12–17, that a later P circle had a hand in editing and supplementing H material. One could argue that P sought to supplement H's Sabbath discourse by adding to it the concept of the Sabbath as an eternal covenant and shifting the focus of the justification for Sabbath observance away from Israel's sanctification—an H concept alien to P—to creation, as in P's Gen 2:2-3. In his discussion of Lev 11:1–47, Milgrom raises the possibility of P supplementing and editing H. After stating the thesis that H edited P and listing several examples of H supplements to P or JE material as evidence in support of it, Milgrom suggests that a later P hand might be discernible in Lev 11:39–40, though he takes no position on this question.[22] If there is evidence in Exod 31:12–17 of P editorial activity postdating the work of H, as seems possible, then we cannot simply accept Knohl's and Milgrom's view that Holiness editors were responsible for the final shape of P and the Pentateuch.[23] Rather, it would appear that a later P circle might have functioned as the final redactor, an argument that can be posited on the basis of the P material following the H section of Exod 31:12–17.

The argument is strengthened when v. 18, widely regarded as composite and transitional, is brought into consideration. Though Knohl was confident that H was responsible for the final form of this verse in which JE and P material is interweaved, and that it points to H redaction of JE and P, the verse in its final form is as easily attributed to P as to H.[24] There are no clear H markers to be found in v. 18, just as there are none in vv. 16–17. Furthermore, the expression לחות העדת, a combination of JE לחות and Priestly עדת, understood by Knohl to suggest H redaction of JE and P material, is as easily attributed to P redactors as to H redactors.[25] For עדת, a common Priestly term, attested in a

[22] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 696.

[23] Knohl posits H as responsible for the final form of Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers (*Sanctuary,* 101, 111–23). See also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 13, 696; and *Leviticus 17–22*, 1439. In Milgrom's more recent formulation, he speaks of an exilic H redactor responsible for the insertion of Exod 31:12–17 and for the final redaction of Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers.

[24] Knohl, *Sanctuary,* 67 and 67 n. 21. The same observation applies to the similarly transitional Exod 34:29 and 32:15.

[25] On the history of scholarship on Exod 31:18, see the citations listed by Knohl (*Sanctuary,*

number of P passages and often as part of the expression ארון העדת, occurs only once in a "Holiness Code" or undisputed H passage outside of the Holiness Code: Lev 24:3 (פרכת העדת).[26] Finally, one cannot argue that the modification of עדת with a preceding noun in construct (e.g., משכן העדת) is any more characteristic of H than of P, since it occurs in undisputed passages of both sources.[27] Thus, v. 18, which evidences editorial activity in its fusion of JE and P vocabulary, is in no way obviously or even evidently from the hand of H; it is as easily assigned to P circles, and it, along with vv. 16–17, could well be the work of Priestly redactors working subsequent to H editorial activity.

Any conclusions with regard to the process of redaction and supplementation that resulted in Exod 31:12-17 + 18 in its final form must, however, remain tentative. We can neither be certain of the provenance of v. 18, nor can we really be sure, based on the order of the material in the Sabbath pericope, that vv. 16–17 were added after vv. 12–15. Supplementation can occur in any number of ways, and our pericope consists of two relatively comparable sections in terms of length.[28] Thus, I am not ready to conclude with confidence that a later P circle supplemented earlier H material in Exod 31:12–17, though the possibility must be seriously considered. More important, the results of this investigation suggest that a thoroughgoing study of all passages where H might be editing and supplementing P *and vice versa* is in order before scholars can accept Knohl's and Milgrom's conclusions about the relation between P and H.

Finally, understanding Exod 31:16–17 as a P passage undermines Knohl's argument that Exod 20:11 is to be seen as the work of H because of its similarity to Exod 31:17, for if 31:17 is from P, as I argue, 20:11, which resembles it in significant ways, should be too.[29] Exodus 31:17; 20:11; and Gen 2:2–3 share a number of important characteristics. All three associate the Sabbath with cre-

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67 n. 21). On the expression לחות העדת, see Baruch Schwartz, "The Priestly Account of the Theophany and Lawgiving at Sinai," in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (ed. Michael V. Fox et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 126–27. Schwartz has pointed out to me that transitional verses such as Exod 31:18 are as easily assigned to a redactor who is neither H nor P as to H or P (oral communication).

[26] Though Knohl assigns to H other passages in which עדת occurs (e.g., Exod 38:21; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 20, 21; Num 1:50, 53; 7:89; 9:15; 17:19, 22, 23; 18:2), this attribution is not accepted by Milgrom for lack of distinguishing H characteristics (*Leviticus 17–22*, 1343–44). In fact, not one of the passages in Numbers that Milgrom would attribute to H contains עדת.

[27] In addition to P's ארון העדת and H's פרכת העדת, we find the expressions משכן העדת and אהל העדת in passages whose attribution is uncertain for Milgrom, though Knohl would attribute them to H (e.g., Num 9:15; 10:11). On these expressions, see Schwartz, "Priestly Account," 126 and n. 51.

[28] Supplementation of P material by H does not necessarily occur at or near the end of a pericope. Though it often occurs at or near the end (e.g., Lev 11:43–45; Lev 16:29–34), it can also occur near the beginning (Lev 23:3).

[29] See Knohl, *Sanctuary*, 67, for his argument that 20:11 is an H text.

ation, and 31:17 and 20:11 justify Israelite Sabbath observance by citing YHWH's rest on the seventh day as a model for human rest. They also formulate their justifications using a very similar style, which raises the possibility of intended allusion from one text to the other and even borrowing.[30] If both Exod 20:11 and 31:16–17 are from P rather than H, as appears to be the case, the validity of Knohl's claim that P nowhere "explicitly" prohibits labor on the Sabbath, in alleged contrast to H, is also called into question.[31] For Exod 31:16 calls on the children of Israel to "keep" the Sabbath (שמר) and "do" it (עשה), which can only mean refraining from labor, given the model of YHWH's resting and self-refreshment on the seventh day, mentioned as the justification in v. 17. The requirement of Sabbath rest is certainly explicit in this text, though it is positively formulated rather than cast as a proscription or buttressed with threats, as is typical of H passages on the Sabbath (e.g., Exod 31:14, 15; 35:3; Lev 23:3).

[30] Exodus 31:17, כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ, repeats verbatim material in Exod 20:11, as many have noted (e.g., Gross, "'Rezeption,'" 50). There is, however, a difference in the ending of each formulation, with 31:17 employing the verbs שבת and נפש for YHWH's rest where 20:11 uses נוח. Grünwaldt believes that Exod 31:17 cites 20:11 in this instance (*Exil und Identität*, 176–77). It would also seem that 20:11 alludes to Gen 2:3 with its statement that YHWH rested on the seventh day and blessed and sanctified it. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld argued that 20:11 had Gen 2:2–3, as well as Exod 23:12 and Deut 5:12–15, as *Vorlagen* (*Der Dekalog: Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen* [OBO 45; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982], 52–53).

[31] Knohl, *Sanctuary*, 18.

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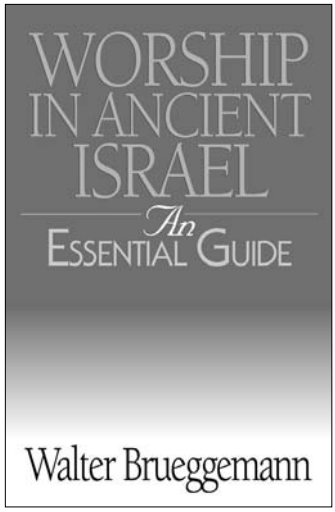

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Walter Brueggemann is William Marcellus McPheeters Professor Emeritus of Old Testament at Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Georgia.

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THE AMBIDEXTROUS ANGEL (DANIEL 12:7 AND DEUTERONOMY 32:40): INNER-BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM IN COUNTERPOINT

EUGENE P. McGARRY
mcgarry@fas.harvard.edu
50 Cherry St., #1, Somerville, MA 02144

Sometimes, a puzzling detail in an otherwise lucid biblical narrative proves to be the invention of an early exegete struggling to resolve a difficulty posed by some element of the nascent Hebrew Bible. The Chronicler reports that in the time of Josiah "they boiled the Passover lamb with fire, according to the ordinance" (ויבשלו הפסח באש כמשפט, 2 Chr 35:13).[1] No single "ordinance" prescribes such a culinary technique; rather, Deuteronomy indicates that the lamb should be boiled (ובשלת ואכלת, Deut 16:7), while Exodus insists that the lamb should not be boiled but "roasted with fire" (אל־תאכלו ממנו נא ובשל מבשל במים כי אם־צלי אש, Exod 12:9). Thus, the Chronicler introduced a formulation that would satisfy the requirements of both the Deuteronomic and the Priestly codes that he numbered among his sources.

Had we neither Exodus nor Deuteronomy but only the text of Chronicles, it is unlikely that we would be able to deduce the origins of the Chronicler's singular recipe. It is unsettling to imagine that some of the curious details that continue to puzzle readers may be exegetical responses to texts that are not preserved in the Hebrew Bible. It is possible, however, that the stimuli for some of these exegetical responses have been preserved outside of the Hebrew Bible proper—in the versions, for example. In the present essay, I shall demonstrate how an anomalous figure in the last vision of the book of Daniel—namely, the "ambidextrous" angel who raises both his left and right hands while swearing an oath—may be explained by recourse to the Greek text of the Song of Moses. At the same time, I shall be settling a question about the Greek text

[1] Translations of biblical texts are based on the NRSV.

of the Song of Moses by recourse to the anomalous figure in the last vision of the book of Daniel.

I

I begin where I shall also end, with a text from the book of Revelation that echoes both Daniel and the Song of Moses. During the lull between the sounding of the sixth and seventh trumpets, John beholds a "mighty angel" who descends from heaven, plants his right foot upon the sea and his left upon the land, and roars like a lion. The angel is answered by seven thunders, whose message the visionary intends to record, but a voice from heaven forbids him to write: "Seal up what the seven thunders have said, and do not write it down" (Rev 10:4).[2] The mighty angel now speaks:

> Then the angel whom I saw standing on the sea and the land raised his right hand to heaven, and swore by him who lives forever and ever [ἦρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοῦς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων], who created heaven and what is on it, the earth and what is in it, and the sea and what is in it: "There will be no more delay, but in the days when the seventh angel is to blow his trumpet, the mystery of God will be fulfilled, as he announced to his servants the prophets." (Rev 10:5–7)

John's account of his visions is riddled with the language and imagery of the Hebrew Scriptures, as mediated by their Greek translators. The oath of the mighty angel has its antecedent in the climactic vision of the Hebrew book of Daniel (chs. 10–12). A "man clothed in linen," whose marvelous appearance and powerful voice (Dan 10:5–6) anticipate those of John's mighty angel (Rev 10:1, 3), recites, in veiled language, what will happen to Daniel's people in the years to come; his recital outlines Palestinian history from the conquest of Alexander to the reign of Antiochus IV. At the end of his discourse, the angel adjures Daniel to "keep the words secret and the book sealed until the time of the end," and this command foreshadows the charge of the heavenly voice that will forbid John to record what the thunders said. Daniel then witnesses an exchange between the man clothed in linen and another figure, who asks, "How long shall it be until the end of these wonders?" Daniel reports:

[2] It should be noted that English Bibles often render the Hebrew phrase נשא יד, "to raise the hand," as "to swear"—see, e.g., Exod 6:8 NRSV. For the purpose of this essay I have chosen to render נשא יד in oath contexts in a literal, and admittedly stilted, fashion: "I will bring you to the land that I raised my hand to give it to Abraham. . . ."

> The man clothed in linen . . . raised his right hand and his left hand toward heaven [וירם ימינו ושמאלו אל־השמים]. And I heard him swear by the one who lives forever [וישבע בחי העולם] that it would be for a time, two times, and half a time. (Dan 12:7)

The oath reported by Daniel has in turn its antecedent in an oath sworn by YHWH himself. Before Moses dies, he teaches the Israelites a song that he has learned from YHWH, a song that will serve as a "witness" against the Israelites when they enter Canaan and abandon their god (Deut 31:19). In its present context, the Song of Moses predicts how the Israelites will serve other gods, and how YHWH will punish his people by arranging their military defeat. Then will YHWH taunt his people, advising them to seek the aid of those other gods they had served:

> Let them rise up and help you,
> let them be your protection.
> See now that I, even I, am he:
> there is no god besides me.
> I kill and I make alive,
> I wound and I heal,
> and no one can deliver from my hand.
> For I lift up my hand to heaven,
> and swear: "As I live forever (כי־אשא אל־שמים ידי ואמרתי חי אנכי לעלם),
> when I whet my flashing sword
> and my hand takes hold in judgment,
> I will take vengeance on my adversaries,
> and will repay those who hate me." (Deut 32:38–41)

These passages from Deuteronomy, Daniel, and Revelation attest three moments in the history of a custom—raising one's hand while swearing an oath—that has endured to the present. The age of the Song of Moses has been much debated, but the language, imagery, and present literary context of the poem suggest that it is a preexilic text that acquired new significance in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem.[3] The passage from Daniel must date to the period of the persecution by Antiochus IV (167–164 B.C.E.),[4] and Revela-

[3] For a review of opinions on the date of Deuteronomy 32, see Paul Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (OTS 37; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 6–57.

[4] If the duration of the persecution is calculated according to the dates given in 1 Maccabees for Antiochus's desecration of the Jerusalem temple (1:54) and its cleansing by Judas (4:52), then the persecution lasted "at the most, three years and eight days, or 1,103 days" (Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* [AB 23; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978], 215–16). The angel's figure of three and one-half "times," interpreted as three and one-half years, thus represents a liberal estimate of the length of the persecution and was most likely computed before the end of the troubles. The durations pro-

tion may be assigned to the close of the first century C.E. Nevertheless, over this span of time, several features persist. Each of these three passages associates the gesture of the raised hand with an oath formula that invokes "the one who lives forever." And in each case, the oath accompanies a recitation of events set in a more or less distant future. "In the days to come (באחרית הימים) troubles will befall you," warns Moses before reciting the song (Deut 31:29), and YHWH swears his oath in the context of those future troubles. The man clothed in linen tells Daniel "what is to happen to your people at the end of days (באחרית הימים)" (Dan 10:14), and his oath concerns the timing of those ultimate events; likewise, John's mighty angel swears to the time when "the mystery of God will be fulfilled."

The middle text in this series is exceptional, however, for it depicts the man clothed in linen raising *two* hands as he swears; both YHWH and the mighty angel swear while raising *one* hand. In the only other biblical passage to describe explicitly an oath accompanied by the raising of a hand, Abra(ha)m tells the king of Sodom, "I have raised my hand (הרימתי ידי) to YHWH, El Elyon, creator of heaven and earth, that I would not (אם) take a thread or a sandalthong or anything that is yours" (Gen 14:22–23).[5] Neither the narrator nor Abraham uses the verb שבע, "to swear," but Abraham's use of the particle אם signals that he is taking an oath.[6] Indeed, it appears that Abraham's invocation of YHWH as creator has been fused with the invocation of the ever-living deity in Deuteronomy and Daniel to form the oath sworn by John's mighty angel. If Abraham, YHWH, and the mighty angel raise a single hand when taking an oath, why should the man clothed in linen raise two?

Commentators who have addressed the problem would have done better to emulate the gesture of Daniel's angel and throw up their own hands in despair. Instead, most writers assert, without evidence, that the angel's doubling of YHWH's gesture underlines the binding nature of his own oath: "Here both hands are lifted up by the angel in confirmation of this solemn oath."[7]

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vided in the supplementary verses Dan 12:11 (1,290 days) and 12:12 (1,335 days) may reflect adjustments to that initial figure of 1,103 days.

[5] Åke Viberg notes a possible extrabiblical parallel to the gesture in an eighth-century B.C.E. Aramaic inscription of Pannamuwa I (*Symbols of Law: A Contextual Analysis of Legal Symbolic Acts in the Old Testament* [ConBOT 34; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992], 26), but the context is fragmentary and the readings uncertain. Viberg follows the reconstruction of J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1971–82), vol. 2, no. 13, lines 28–29; compare *KAI*, no. 214.

[6] For the vocabulary and syntax of oaths, see, e.g., *GKC* §149; and *IBHS* §40.2.2. Note that the NRSV simply renders הרימתי ידי as "I have sworn."

[7] R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 334.

"Lifting both hands is especially emphatic."[8] The angel lifts "*both* hands, as the more complete guarantee of the truth of what is about to be affirmed";[9] "the two hands give fullest asseveration."[10] Were this indeed the case, why would John's mighty angel, whose representation so closely depends on the text of Daniel, have raised only one hand? It is hard to imagine that the author of Revelation would have judged the mighty angel's oath to be less "solemn" or "true" than that of his precursor. Raising two hands is, rather, a gesture normally associated with prayer or entreaty.[11] One scholar, Johan Lust, has therefore suggested that Daniel describes two separate acts: "The angel probably prays to God and then takes an oath."[12] Lust's suggestion, however, is forced upon him by his own insistence that raising *one* hand is not itself a gesture associated with oaths; an exposition and rebuttal of his thesis, in particular as it relates to the

[8] John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ed. Frank Moore Cross; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 399.

[9] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 204.

[10] James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927), 475. This view is expressed as well by the following authors: Carl Freidrich Keil, *Biblischer commentar über den propheten Daniel* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1869), 406; G. Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt* (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1904), 126; Friedrich Horst, "Der Eid im Alten Testament," in *Gottes Recht: Gesammelte Studien zum Recht im Alten Testament* (Theologische Bücherei 12, Altes Testament; Munich: Kaiser, 1961), 292–314, here 308; Dieter Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel* (Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar, Altes Testament 22; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 216; and C. L. Seow, *Daniel* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 193.

[11] The significance of the gesture indicated by the phrases פרש כפים, "to spread the palms," and נשא ידים, "to raise the hands," and also by the phrases נשא כפים, "to lift the palms"; פרש ידים, "to spread the hands"; and נטח כפים, "to stretch out the palms," has been discussed by Mayer I. Gruber, *Aspects of Non-verbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (2 vols.; Studia Pohl 12.1–2; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 22–50. The Hiphil form of רום is not used with יד or כף to describe a gesture associated with prayer; when used with יד, the verb may indeed indicate an act of aggression (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:26–27; נשא יד has the same import in 2 Sam 18:28; 20:21). Raising both hands in prayer has good extrabiblical parallels in Northwest Semitic sources, as noted by 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 in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday* [ed. Astrid B. Beck et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 411–21, here 416). The usage of נשא יד in connection with oaths is not paralleled in other Semitic languages (ibid., 415–16).

[12] Johan Lust, "The Raised Hand of the Lord in Deut. 32:40 according to MT, 4QDeut^{q}, and LXX," *Textus* 18 (1995) 33–45, here 44. Viberg imagines that the angel's gesture combines the actions of oath taking and supplication: "Since this is a vision which describes an angelic being addressing God, the genre has transformed the description of the act into a hybrid form, where both hands are raised in order to accomplish an oath. Such a construction is possible since the act in Dan 12:7 does not occur in a realistic context as the act in Gen 14:22, but in a visionary context, where such conventions can be relaxed" (*Symbols of Law,* 25–26). Explaining the angel's action by appealing to its "visionary context" strikes me as another gesture of desperation.

interpretation of Deuteronomy 32, are offered below. The majority of commentators prefer to explain the doubling of the gesture as a manner of emphasis, assuming that the gesture itself is integral to the oath.

The majority opinion may be kindly described as a hoary conjecture—Calvin endorsed it in his lectures on Daniel[13]—that has, by dint of frequent handling, acquired the patina of truth. It has little more in its favor than the opinion, recorded eighteen centuries ago by Hippolytus of Rome, that the gesture augurs the outspread arms of the crucified Jesus.[14] I submit that a satisfactory explanation for the angel's posture may be obtained through an examination of the Greek witnesses to Deuteronomy 32, accompanied by some reflection on the process whereby Hebrew verse is transformed into prose. The Hebrew text of Deut 32:40 is frequently cited in discussions of Dan 12:7; those discussions, however, seem unaware of the text-critical problems associated with the verse that describes YHWH's oath. Pursued in isolation from each other, the problems posed by Dan 12:7 and by the Greek and Hebrew texts of Deut 32:40 resist solution. But if Daniel's account of the angel's oath is construed as an indirect witness to the text of Deut 32:40, then its testimony can solve a dispute over that verse; reciprocally, the direct witness to Deuteronomy 32 provided by the Greek tradition explains the unusual posture of Daniel's angel.

Let me review the evidence supporting the common assumption that the act of raising a single hand was an occasional, if not the most frequent, gestural complement to the pronouncement of an oath in ancient Israel, especially when the oath taker was YHWH. Abraham is the only mortal in the Hebrew Bible to raise a hand (הרים יד) while swearing, in an episode (Gen 14) that may very well constitute the most recent substantive narrative addition to the book of Genesis.[15] Elsewhere in Genesis another custom prevails: Abraham's servant

[13] "Those who consider this action a symbol of power are mistaken, for without doubt the Prophet intended to manifest the usual method of swearing. They usually raised the right hand, according to the testimony of numerous passages of Scripture . . . [Gen 14:22 is cited]. Here the angel raises both his hands, wishing by this action to express the importance of the subject. Thus to raise both hands, as if doubling the oath, is stronger than raising the right hand after the ordinary manner. We must consider then the use of both hands as intended to confirm the oath, as the subject was one of great importance" (Jean Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel* [trans. Thomas Myers; 2 vols.; 1852], 2:383; reprinted in vol. 13 of *Calvin's Commentaries* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981]).

[14] Hippolytus, *Comm. Dan.* 4.56.7: τὸ οὖν ἐκτεῖναι αὐτὸν τὰς δύο χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτου τὸ πάθος ἐπέδειξεν (*Kommentar zu Daniel* [ed. Georg Nathanael Bonwetsch; 2nd rev. ed. by Marcel Richard; GCS n.s. 7; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000]).

[15] Claus Westermann concludes that the chapter can date only to "a late, indeed postexilic period" (*Genesis 12–36* [trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985] 192). John Van Seters argues for a date between Ezra and the Maccabees, "at the close of the fourth century B.C., as the time when the biblical tradition of Abraham received its final chapter" (*Abraham in History and Tradition* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975] 308).

will place his hand under his master's thigh while swearing that he will secure for Isaac a non-Canaanite bride (24:2–3), and Israel will command Joseph to perform the same gesture and swear that he will return his father's bones to Canaan (47:29–30). With some frequency, however, YHWH states that he has raised or will raise his hand (נשא יד) in a context that suggests that he is pronouncing an oath.[16] Deuteronomy 32:40 associates the gesture with YHWH's statement, "As I live forever . . ."; but this is the sole example of a raised hand as a putative oath gesture in literature associated with the Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic writers, who habitually use the verb שבע to describe YHWH's oath taking. The remaining fourteen occurrences of נשא יד alleged to illustrate an oath of the deity are scattered among Priestly, or Priestly-influenced, sources, which, by contrast, avoid using שבע of YHWH.[17] The phrase נשא יד seems to have been a particular favorite of Ezekiel or his editors, occurring ten times in the book attributed to that prophet; seven of those occurrences are concentrated in Ezekiel 20.

In the Priestly literature proper, נשא יד twice appears in contexts where YHWH seems to be speaking of an oath that he has previously sworn. In the Priestly account of the revelation of the divine name to Moses, the god promises, "I will bring you to the land that I raised my hand to give to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (Exod 6:8). This promise finds a close parallel in Deuteronomy, as Moses recalls YHWH's command to the Israelites camped at Horeb: "Go in and take possession of the land that I[18] swore (שבע) to your ancestors, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give to them" (1:8). Indeed, a Qumran text including Exod 6:8 replaces נשא יד with שבע, indicating that the gesture itself is synonymous with, or a metonym for, the act of swearing.[19] Furthermore, in the Priestly account of the people's refusal to go up from Qadesh and conquer Canaan, YHWH promises that the rebellious generation will never enter Canaan, and that promise, though it omits the verb שבע, is laced with familiar oath formulas: חי אני and אם לא (Num 14:28), and אם (Num 14:30). YHWH avers, thus, that the rebels will not enter "the land where I raised my hand to settle you." When Moses recounts this episode in Deuteronomy, he replaces

[16] Seely has collected and analyzed the fifteen occurrences of נשא יד associated with divine oaths: Exod 6:8; Num 14:30; Deut 32:40; Ezek 20:5 (bis), 6, 15, 23, 28, 42; 36:7; 44:12; 47:14; Ps 106:26; and Neh 9:15 ("Raised Hand of God," 411). Seely notes the angel's posture in Dan 12:7, but remarks only that "it is difficult to tell whether an oath gesture or a prayer gesture is intended"; he does not refer to Lust's treatments of the gesture.

[17] Exceptional are the two occurrences of שבע in Num 32:10–11, but they are contained in a supplement to the original story of the negotiations between Moses and Reuben and Gad. In Ezekiel, the verb occurs only once (16:8).

[18] LXX; MT יהוה.

[19] 4Q Gen-Exod[a], published by James R. Davila in *Qumran Cave 4, VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 7–30, here 25: נשבעה[י.

both the נשא יד idiom and the oath formulas with שבע, relating that YHWH "was wrathful and swore: 'Not one of these—not one of this evil generation—shall see the good land that I swore to give to your ancestors'" (Deut 1:34–35). The historical recital in Nehemiah 9 blends Deuteronomic diction with the Priestly metonym: "you told them to go in to take possession of the land [compare Deut 1:8] which you raised your hand to give to them" (Neh 9:15). And in Psalm 106, the Priestly image is again used to express YHWH's oath that the rebels will *not* enter Canaan: "he raised his hand against them [NRSV: "he raised his hand and swore to them"], to fell them in the wilderness" (Ps 106:26). The parallels between the Priestly and Deuteronomic texts, coupled with the echoes of those texts in Nehemiah 9 and the psalm, as well as the Qumran witness to Exod 6:8, indicate that biblical authors and Second Temple scribes alike understood that, when used of YHWH, נשא יד was a circumlocution for שבע.

Like the Priestly literature, the book of Ezekiel also uses נשא יד to describe YHWH's oath to the ancestors, when YHWH describes how the Israelites shall reapportion the land "that I raised my hand to give to your ancestors" (47:14). Elsewhere in Ezekiel, YHWH raises his hand to swear, as the accompanying formula indicates, an oath against Israel's neighbors: "I have raised my hand that (אם לא) the nations that are all around you shall themselves suffer insults"(36:7). And YHWH's condemnation of the Levites, though it lacks either שבע or an oath formula, closely resembles this oath against the nations: "I have raised my hand concerning them, says my lord YHWH, that they shall bear their punishment . . . [and] they shall bear their shame" (44:12–13). Where the usages of נשא יד are clustered in Ezekiel 20, שבע and oath formuals are absent. But twice YHWH speaks, as in Exodus 6, of the land that "I raised my hand" to give to the ancestors (Ezek 20:28, 42). Recalling the day he chose Israel to be his people, YHWH describes how "I raised my hand to the offspring of the house of Jacob. . . . I raised my hand to them, saying, 'I am YHWH your god'; on that day, I raised my hand to them to bring them out of the land of Egypt" (vv. 5–6). Finally, in what seem to be further allusions to YHWH's handling of Israel's misbehavior at Kadesh, YHWH states that "I raised my hand to them in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land that I had given them" (v. 15), and that he instead "raised my hand to them in the wilderness to scatter them among the nations" (v. 23). Thus, in Ezekiel, as in other biblical literature, נשא יד is a synonym of שבע used to describe YHWH's oaths.

On two occasions, however, the raising of YHWH's hand is associated not with oath taking but with signaling or a more vigorous action. In Second Isaiah, YHWH says to Israel, "I will soon raise my hand (אשא . . . ידי) to the nations, / and lift up my signal to the peoples, / and they shall bring your sons in their bosom" (Isa 49:22). And a psalmist summons YHWH to action thus: "Rise up, YHWH; O God, raise your hand (נשא ידך); / do not forget the oppressed. . . . / Break the arm of the wicked and evildoers" (Ps 10:12, 15). It is the latter passage that led

Lust to reject the idea that נשא יד is but a circumlocution for שבע and to argue that whenever YHWH raises his hand or speaks of raising his hand, he is not introducing or alluding to an oath but rather describing a past, present, or future action.[20]

Lust first advanced this argument in the service of an eccentric reading of Ezekiel 20, which contains a cluster of attestations of נשא יד. It is commonly held that the résumé of early Israelite history contained in Ezek 20:4–26 expresses a view contrary to that found in the pentateuchal sources: namely, that even as Israel traversed the wilderness, YHWH had already determined their future exile on the basis of their behavior en route to Canaan (v. 23).[21] By raising his hand, YHWH thus swore an oath that he would ultimately scatter his people among the nations. Lust, however, noted that nowhere does Ezek 20:4–26 actually state that the people entered the promised land of milk and honey, and he concluded that Israel's entry into Canaan should not be equated with arrival in that promised land.[22] He claimed that, according to Ezekiel 20, Israel's residence in Canaan is really an extension of the sojourn in the wilderness. Thus, when YHWH proclaims, "I raised my hand to them in the wilderness to scatter them among the nations," he does not recount an oath sworn against the generation of the exodus or its heirs, but rather describes the action he took against those who were removed from the "wilderness" of Canaan to Babylonia. In Lust's opinion, the prophet claims that Israel's entry into the promised land is still unrealized in his day; Ezekiel believes that YHWH will yet introduce, and not restore, Israel to the promised land.[23]

This is an intriguing interpretation, and it bears a remarkable similarity to the construction placed on Psalm 95 by the author of the Letter to the Hebrews, who maintains that Joshua did not lead the people to the "rest" prophesied by the Holy Spirit in the psalm. Yet it is hard not to conclude that Lust's ingenious reading of Ezekiel 20 subverts the plain sense of the text by

[20] Johan Lust, "Ez., XX, 4–26 une parodie de l'histoire religieuse d'Israël," *ETL* 43 (1967): 488–527, esp. 516–26; idem, "For I Lift up my Hand to Heaven and Swear: Deut 32:40," in *Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martinez et al.; VTSup 53; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 155–64, here 161; and idem, "Raised Hand of the Lord," 43.

[21] This interpretation is shared, for example, by Walther Zimmerli (*Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* [2 vols.; ed. Frank Moore Cross et al.; trans. Ronald E. Clements; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979, 1983], 1:411) and Moshe Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 22; New York: Doubleday, 1983], 368). Greenberg remarks that this view is not peculiar to the book of Ezekiel, for it is expressed also in Ps 106:27.

[22] Entry into the land is described in Ezek 20:27–29, but Lust regarded those verses, in agreement with other scholars—e.g., Zimmerli—as a redactional addition to the chapter, along with vv. 30–31.

[23] Lust, "Ez., XX, 4–26," 517, 525–26.

assigning a meaning to נשא יד—namely, "to take action"—that is not suggested by its usage in Priestly literature, or indeed elsewhere in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel.[24]

Lust attempted to discover in Deut 32:39–40 this same meaning of נשא יד. I reproduce the MT of those verses:

39a ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא / ואין אלהים עמדי
39b אני אמית ואחיה / מחצתי ואני ארפא / ואין מידי מציל
40 כי־אשא אל־שמים ידי / ואמרתי חי אנכי לעלם

39a See now that I, even I, am he: / there is no god beside me.
39b I kill and I make alive, / I wound and I heal, / and no one can deliver from my hand.
40 For I raise my hand to heaven / and I say: "As I live forever . . ."

In the MT, the song that Moses taught the Israelites is composed almost exclusively in lines of paired cola. The exceptional tricola occur in v. 14, rounding out the list of foods with which YHWH nourished his people, and here in v. 39b.[25] On the face of it, there is no reason to challenge the integrity of this tricolon, which conveys the range of YHWH's ineluctable powers. Its sentiment is expressed in a bicolon in the song of Hannah: "YHWH kills and brings to life; / he brings down to Sheol and raises up" (יהוה ממית ומחיה מוריד שאול ויעל; 1 Sam 2:6). And a psalm uses similar terms to delimit human powers: "Who is the man who will live and not see death, or deliver his life from the reaches of Sheol?" (מי גבר יחיה ולא יראה־מות / ימלט נפשו מיד־שאול; Ps 89:49).

But Lust argues that the third colon of v. 39b should be paired instead with the first colon of v. 40, to create a bicolon: "And no one can deliver from my hand, / for I raise my hand to heaven."[26] This rearrangement accommodates Lust's interpretation of נשא יד, for YHWH now raises his hand in action, not to introduce an oath: "The lifting up of the hand to heaven is understood as an act making it impossible to be delivered out of that hand."[27] Lust cites as a parallel to the sense of the reconstructed bicolon the words of Amos:

[24] Lust notes that the LXX does not render the second and third occurrences of נשא יד in Ezekiel 20 literally; rather, the LXX has ἀντελαβόμην τῇ χειρί μου, apparently "I helped them with my hand" (vv. 5b, 6) ("Raised Hand of the Lord," 43–44). The first occurrence of נשא יד in the chapter is also rendered nonliterally as ἐγνωρίσθην, "I revealed myself" (v. 5a). This last rendering was probably influenced by the following phrase, ואודע להם / ἐγνώσθην αὐτοῖς, "I made myself known to them" (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:399). These puzzling deviations from a literal rendering of נשא יד, however, are scant evidence against the idiomatic meaning of the Hebrew phrase: "to swear."

[25] It has been suggested that the end of v. 14 suffered early in its career a textual mishap that partly truncated a final colon; see Sanders, *Provenance*, 176–78. If this is true, then v. 39b would be the unique tricolon in the MT.

[26] For Lust's reinterpretation of Deut 32:40, see "Ex., XX, 4–26," 523; idem, "For I Lift Up My Hand to Heaven"; and idem, "Raised Hand of the Lord."

[27] Lust, "For I Lift Up My Hand to Heaven," 157.

Though they dig into Sheol,
from there shall my hand take them;
though they climb up to heaven,
from there I will bring them down. (9:2)

He finds a more precise verbal parallel in Hos 5:14, where YHWH compares himself to a lion:

I myself will tear and go away;
I will carry off, and no one shall rescue.

אני אני אטרף ואלך
אשא ואין מציל[28]

This rearrangement, however, leaves a different colon dangling: "and I say, 'As I live forever . . . .'" Rather than graft that colon onto the bicolon that follows in the MT (". . . when I whet my flashing sword, / and my hand takes hold in judgment"), Lust introduces the Greek witnesses to Deut 32:39–40. I reproduce the text of the Vaticanus manuscript, numbered according to the Masoretic verses:

39a ἴδετε ἴδετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι / καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ·
39b ἐγὼ ἀποκτέννω καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω, πατάξω κἀγὼ ἰάσομαι / καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἐξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου
40a ὅτι ἀρῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὴν χεῖρά μου /
† καὶ ὀμοῦμαι τὴν δεξίαν μου /
40b καὶ ἐρῶ Ζῶ ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

39a See, see that I indeed am, / and there is no god but me.
39b I kill and I make alive, / I wound and I heal, / and no one can deliver from my hands,
40a for I raise my hand to heaven, /
† and I swear by my right hand, /
40b and I say: "As I live forever . . ."

One colon—"and I swear by my right hand"—lies under the obelus, for it is lacking in the MT of Deuteronomy 32, but almost universally present in the Greek manuscripts collated in the Cambridge Septuagint.[29] Lust accepts the plus. The Greek text permits the identification of three neat bicola, allowing Lust to dissociate the raising of the hand from the oath formula:

I kill and I make alive, / I wound and I heal.
And no one can deliver from my hands [MT: sg.], / for I lift up my hand to heaven.
And I swear by my right hand, / and I say: "As I live forever . . ."

[28] Lust, "Raised Hand of the Lord," 41.

[29] The exceptions are Codex Ambrosianus and the minuscule k. Some manuscripts read τῇ δεξιᾷ.

But the Greek text also permits the identification of two neat tricola, the second of which explicitly identifies the raised hand of YHWH as the guarantee of his oath:

> I kill and I make alive, / I wound and I heal, / and no one can deliver from my hands.
> For I raise my hand to heaven, / and I swear by my right hand, / and I say: "As I live forever . . ."

The difference between the MT and the text of Vaticanus prompts two questions: Is the extra colon "authentic"? And if so, should the six cola of vv. 39–40 be arranged as pairs, thus associating the raised hand with YHWH's power, or as triples, thus associating the raised hand with YHWH's oath?

The direct Hebrew and Greek witnesses to Deut 32:40 do not suffice to decide the colon's authenticity. Lust himself never clearly states whether the colon would have belonged to an "original" text of the Song of Moses.[30] A fragmentary Qumran text of Deut 32:37–43 leaves no room for the extra colon.[31] Other commentators flatly deny the possibility that the Greek plus reflects a colon that has not been preserved in Hebrew manuscript witnesses to Deut 32:40, claiming rather that the Greek translator has taken the liberty of inventing a colon to create a parallel to the preceding colon ("For I lift up my hand to heaven . . ."). [32] This conjecture presumes that the translator understood that when YHWH raised his hand, he was preparing to swear an oath, and fabricated an appropriate colon to serve as a poetic gloss on the action.[33] Indeed, the

[30] In 1967, Lust wrote regarding Deut 32:40, "La Septante possède un autre texte qui nour paraît meilleur. Elle conserve un hémistiche qui fait défaut dans le texte massorétique et qui paraît indispensable à la structure de la péricope" ("Ez., XX, 4–26," 523). In 1994, he noted that the extra colon "forms a good parallel with the oath in the following colon" ("For I Lift Up My Hand to Heaven," 157–58), but in the following year, while continuing to accept the colon, he cautioned that "not too much weight should be given to this purely formal aspect" of parallelism when evaluating the Greek plus ("Raised Hand of the Lord," 40–41). Viberg (*Symbols of Law*, 20) and, following him, Sanders (*Provenance*, 242 n. 809) note that Lust describes no mechanism whereby the colon might have been lost in the Hebrew scribal tradition.

[31] 4QDeut^{q}, published by Eugene Ulrich and Patrick W. Skehan in *Qumran Cave 4, IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 137–42, pl. 31. Lust cites the stichometric organization of the text ("Raised Hand of the Lord"), which preserves traces of ואין מידי מציל and כי־אשא אל־שמים ידי on the same line, as evidence for his division of vv. 39–40 into three bicola. But Ulrich and Skehan note that the manuscript's stichometry is irregular: some lines contain a single colon while others contain two (pp. 137–38): the two bicola of Deut 32:37–38a are written as single cola, on four manuscript lines, while the bicolon of v. 38b occupies a single manuscript line. Thus, the lineation of 4QDeut^{q} cannot be cited as evidence of the poetic structure of the verses it reproduces.

[32] *La Deutéronome* (ed. Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl; La Bible d'Alexandrie 5; Paris: Cerf, 1992), 339: "Le grec crée un parallélisme."

[33] J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars

essence of the Greek plus ("and I swear by my right hand") appears in the Hebrew text of Third Isaiah, which states,

> YHWH has sworn by his right hand (נשבע יהוה בימינו)
> and by his mighty arm:
> I will not (אם) again give your grain
> to be food for your enemies. (Isa 62:8)

Thus, the Hebrew poetic tradition certainly contains a precedent for the colon that surfaces in the Greek text of Deut 32:40. Moreover, although the Isaiah passage does not indicate that YHWH has raised the hand by which he swears, it does confirm the relationship between hand and oath, gesture and speech act, that is implicit in the Priestly usage of נשא יד. Whether the colon was original to a Hebrew text of the song or introduced by a Greek translator, perhaps on the analogy of Isa 62:8, that verse itself is good evidence that ancient readers of the MT of the song would have understood that YHWH was coordinating action and word when he raised his hand and swore an oath: the six cola, therefore, should be arranged as two tricola.

That a pre-Masoretic Hebrew text of the song did include the disputed colon is almost certainly proven by the unusual posture of Daniel's man clothed in linen. The writer who invented that pose was an ancient *mis*reader of the pre-Masoretic text's parallelistic account of YHWH's oath. The literary activity of such misreaders is familiar to students of both the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels. In the prose account of the murder of Sisera (Judg 4), Jael approaches the sleeping warrior and hammers a tent stake through his forehead and into the ground. The prose account depends on the poetic account of the incident given in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5), in which Jael subdues an erect Sisera, who collapses at her feet when she strikes him with a blunt object. Long ago, Julius Wellhausen observed that the author of the prose account had apparently misinterpreted the poetic account of Jael's act: "She put her hand (ידה) on a tool (יתד), / her right hand (ימינה) on a workmen's hammer (הלמות עמלים), / and hammered (הלמה) Sisera" (v. 26).[34] In the conventions of biblical parallelism, יד,

Press, 1995), 531–32: "The translator has . . . add[ed] a new line, a parallel to [the first colon of v. 40] . . . . [The new line] does serve a useful purpose . . . in defining what raising one's hand to heaven means—it is not in prayer, but indicates an asseveration." Compare Sanders, *Provenance*, 241–42: "The translators probably added the clause because the meaning of 40aA was no longer clear to the intended readers." Likewise Viberg (*Symbols of Law*, 27), rejecting Lust's interpretation of the plus, thinks that "the best explanation for the addition of the phrase 'And I swear with my right hand' in the LXX is that the translator has not properly understood the wider, legal function of the act in v. 40. Instead, he has attempted to clarify the description of the performance of the act."

[34] Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963), 217–18. On the ambigity of יתד, see James L. Kugel, *The*

"hand," and ימין, "right hand," are synonyms, like the "right hand" and "mighty arm" of Isa 62:8; they are not terms signifying "left hand" and "right hand." Likewise, יתד and הלמות עמלים are also synonymous, and each term designates an item with which one could fell a standing enemy with a single blow. The author of the prose account, however, seems to have taken יתד in its more specialized sense of "tent peg," while understanding הלמות as "hammer," and consequently interpreted יד as a reference to Jael's left hand, which she used to steady the peg as she lifted the hammer in her right hand. Because such an attack would be unlikely to surprise a standing and conscious opponent, the prose author specified that Jael assaulted Sisera after the warrior had fallen asleep. If the prose account does have its roots in a misinterpretation of the parallelistic recitation of Jael's deed, its author nevertheless succeeded in crafting a plausible reconstruction of Sisera's murder that has supplanted in the popular imagination the scene described by a "correct" reading of the poem.

In the Gospel of Matthew, however, a similar interpretive maneuver yields a slightly ridiculous image of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. According to Mark, Jesus sends two disciples to fetch a colt, upon which he is mounted when he enters the city (11:1–7). Mark relates that "they brought the colt to Jesus, and threw their garments upon it, and he sat upon it" (v. 7). But according to Matthew, Jesus sends two disciples to fetch two animals: a donkey and a colt (21:1–7). The narrator explains that Jesus is acting out a scene described in the book of Zechariah (9:9): "This took place to fulfill what had been spoken through the prophet, saying, 'Tell the daughter of Zion, / Look, your king is coming to you, / humble, and mounted on a donkey, / and on a colt, the foal of a donkey'" (Matt 21:4–5). When the animals were brought, "they put their garments upon them, and he sat on them" (v. 7)—uncomfortably, one suspects. The Gospel of John, by contrast, preserves the allusion to Zechariah but corrects the ungainly image by abbreviating the prophecy that Jesus fulfilled: "Do not be afraid, daughter of Zion. Look, your king is coming, sitting on a donkey's colt" (12:15). According to John, Jesus simply "found a young donkey and sat on it" (12:14). John correctly understands Zechariah's "donkey" and "colt" as references to the same beast.[35]

Great Poems of the Bible (New York: Free Press, 1999) 139: "It often means specifically a tent peg, but it can also mean some sort of digging stick (Deut. 23:13) and possibly other sorts of sticks as well."

[35] Ulrich Luz remarks that it is impossible to tell whether Matthew misunderstood the parallelism or deliberately created a fastidiously literal fulfillment of the Zechariah text (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* [4 vols.; EKKNT 1; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985–2002], 3:178–79). That the latter is the case is suggested by Matthew's incidental resolution of a text-critical problem in Zechariah. Matthew presents the death of Judas as the fulfillment of the word of "Jeremiah"—actually Zech 11:13. According to the MT of Zechariah, the

The writer who portrayed the man clothed in linen raising both hands as he swore most likely knew a version of the Song of Moses that read:

כי־אשא אל־שמים ידי / ונשבעתי בימיני / ואמרתי חי אנכי לעלם

> For I raise my hand to heaven, / and I swear by my right hand, / and I say: "As I live forever . . ."

The writer modeled the man's gesture on that of YHWH, construing יד and ימין not as poetic synonyms but as "left hand" and "right hand." Thus had the author of the prose story of Jael and Sisera interpreted the pair of words, dramatizing that interpretation in a vivid narrative. But the narrative embodiment of such an interpretation in the posture of the man clothed in linen produced a unique and awkward figure, comparable not to the stealthy heroine but rather to the Messiah who must straddle two mounts.

It is possible that the inventor of the ambidextrous angel was adhering to the text of another poem, now lost, that preserved the substance of the reconstructed tricolon. But other evidence indicates that the ending, at least, of the Song of Moses circulated in several versions that varied on the level of the colon, not merely on the level of word or letter. Compare the Masoretic, Qumran (4QDeut^{q}), and Greek (LXX^{B}) witnesses to the final verse of the Song (Deut 32:43) in the chart on the next page. The omission by the MT of those cola that call upon the "heavens" (#1), the "sons of God" (#2), and "all the angels of God" (#4) to praise YHWH seems to reflect the same program of theological correction that is generally acknowledged to have affected MT v. 8. The Greek text of v. 8 describes how Elyon (ὁ Ὕψιστος) "set the boundaries of the nations according to the sons of God" (ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν / κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ), and this reading is shared by a Qumran fragment (/... בני בהנח]ל אלוהים[ ).[36] But the MT reads, "according to the sons of Israel" (למספר בני ישראל). It is not unlikely that the alteration of v. 8 was undertaken in concert

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shepherd is instructed by YHWH to cast his thirty pieces of silver to the "potter" (יוצר), and the shepherd casts the money "to the house of YHWH, to the potter." The Peshitta and Targum, however, read "treasury" (אוצר) instead of "potter." Matthew clearly knows both variants, and he fashions an account of Judas's end that neatly integrates them (27:3–10). When Judas attempts to return his wages to the chief priests and elders, they refuse, and so Judas casts the money into the temple. But the chief priests and elders decide that it is improper to put the money in the temple treasury (εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν), and so they use it to purchase "the field of the potter (τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως)." Thus, Matthew routes the silver toward, but not into, the treasury, and onward into the hands of the potter who sold the field. See the discussion of Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers (*Zechariah 9–14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 25C; New York: Doubleday, 1993], 276–80).

[36] This fragment was assigned to 4QDeut^{q} by its preliminary editor, Patrick W. Skehan ("A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut. 32) from Qumran," *BASOR* 136 [1954]: 12–15, here 12), but Skehan later grouped the fragment with 4QDeut^{j} (Skehan and Ulrich, "4QDeut^{q}," 137).

	MT	4QDeut^{q}	LXX^{B}
1.		הרנינו שמים עמו	εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί ἅμα αὐτῷ
2.		והשתחוו לו כל אלהים	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ υἱοὶ θεοῦ
3.	הרנינו גוים עמו		εὐφράνητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ
4.			καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ παντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ
5.	כי דם־עבדיו יקום	כי דם בניו יקום	ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται
6.	ונקם ישיב לצריו	ונקם ישיב לצריו	καὶ ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
7.		ולמשנאיו ישלם	καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει
8.	וכפר אדמתו עמו	ויכפר אדמת עמו	καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ

with the elimination of allusions to heavenly beings besides YHWH elsewhere in the song, in accordance with the deity's statement in v. 39a: "See now that I, even I, am he; / there is no god besides me."[37] Thus, the MT of v. 43 invites only the "nations" to praise YHWH. The Greek preserves a bicolon that invites the "heavens" and the "sons of God" to praise YHWH (##1–2), as well as a bicolon that invites "nations" and the "angels of God" to praise YHWH (##3–4). The Qumran fragment, by contrast, witnesses only the bicolon that calls on the heavens and the sons of God (##1–2) and does not include the bicolon that pairs the nations of the earth with the angels of God. As the editors of the Qumran text remark, "The double rendering shows that 𝔊 knew two Hebrew forms of the text [of Deut 32:43]. The first agrees with 4QDeut^{q} and the first line of the second happens to agree with 𝔐."[38] It is likely that v. 40 also circulated both as a bicolon and as a tricolon; the colon that describes YHWH swearing by his right hand was probably not excised on theological grounds, as the surrounding

[37] עמדי here may also be translated "beside me," indicating that YHWH disdains the company of other gods (compare Deut 32:12: "YHWH alone guided him; / no foreign god was with him"). But the MT certainly understands this verse as synonymous with Second Isaiah's formulation (45:5): "I am YHWH, and there is no other; / besides me there is no god" (אני יהוה ואין עוד / זולתי אין אלהים). In the song, vv. 21 and 37–38 can support either monotheistic or polytheistic interpretations and do not require mending.

[38] Ulrich and Skehan, "4QDeut^{q}," 141. It is not my aim here to reconstruct the compositional and textual history of the verse; on this question, see P. M. Bogaert, "Les trois rédactions conservés et la forme originale de l'envoi du Cantique de Moïse (Dt 32, 43)," in *Das Deuteronium: Entstehung, Gestalt, und Botschaft* (ed. N. Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 329–40; and A. van der Kooij, "The Ending of the Song of Moses: On the Pre-Masoretic Version of Deut 32:43," in *Studies in Deuteronomy*, ed. García Martínez et al., 93–100.

cola describe YHWH doing just that—raising his hand to the heavens and saying, "As I live forever."

Thus, the key to the solution of the interlaced problems of Daniel 12 and Deuteronomy 32 is an appreciation of the fluidity of the Hebrew text of the Bible in the last centuries before the common era. The angel's anomalous gesture is an eye-catching reminder of the difference between the Masoretic Text and the older "Hebrew Bibles" of which it is an eclectic edition.

II

I close by returning to that reflex of Daniel's ambidextrous angel who addresses John. What can be said of Revelation's knowledge and comprehension of the Song of Moses and Daniel's angel?

The book of Revelation itself is clearly familiar with the Song of Moses. In fact, it includes a pastiche of Hebrew verse that it identifies as "the song of Moses, servant of God, and the song of the Lamb" (15:3–4). Commentators disagree on whether this "song of Moses" is meant to evoke the victory song that Moses and the Israelites sang at the Reed Sea (Exodus 15), or the Song of Moses preserved in Deuteronomy; the pastiche includes only one colon traceable to the Song of Moses and nothing that can be derived from the Song of the Sea.[39] On three other occasions, however, Revelation alludes to elements of Deut 32:43 that, as shown in the chart above, are variously attested by the Masoretic, Qumran, and Greek witnesses. The assertion that YHWH will avenge the blood of his faithful ones (#5) surfaces in Rev 6:10 ("How long will it be before you avenge our blood?") and 19:2 ("and he has avenged the blood of his servants"). The book of Revelation agrees with the Masoretic and Greek witnesses in naming these faithful ones "servants"; the Qumran witness reads "sons." More instructively, Rev 12:12 reproduces a bicolon very similar to

[39] δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου (Rev 15:3) summarizes Deut 32:4a (LXX^{B}: θέος, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ / καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσεις). Pierre Prigent (*Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John* [trans. Wendy Pradels; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001], 460) claims that "the mention of a song of Moses, sung by the conquerors [of the beast], not far from a sea, suffices to evoke Ex 15. The allusion to the theme of the Exodus is obvious." Prigent would compare the first line of the pastiche, μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου (Rev 15:3), to Exod 15:11 ("Who is like you, YHWH, among the gods?"), in order to cement the relationship between the Revelation text and Exodus 15 (ibid., 461). But better parallels that actually mention the "deeds" of YHWH are found elsewhere: Pss 91:6 LXX; and 110:2 LXX. J. Massyngberde Ford remarks, "Although their song is called the song of Moses, it is not one of triumph such as is found in Exod 15; it is more like Deut 32, also called Song of Moses"; Ford lists both verbal and thematic parallels between Deuteronomy 32 and the text in Revelation (*Revelation: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* [AB 38; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975], 257).

##1–2, which is preserved in the Qumran and Greek witnesses, but not in the MT: "Rejoice then, you heavens / and those who dwell in them" (διὰ τοῦτο εὐφραίνεσθε [οἱ] οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες). It is thus quite possible that the author of Revelation knew a non-Masoretic version of the Song that included the tricolonic version of v. 40 known to the inventor of the ambidextrous angel.

If the author of Revelation did know the tricolon and was also an astute student of the text of Daniel, why does the mighty angel raise only one hand while swearing his oath? It is possible that the apocalyptist was prevented from imitating Daniel perfectly by a narrative constraint. For the mighty angel who approaches John is drawn not only from Daniel's encounter with the man clothed in linen but also from Ezekiel's encounter with YHWH. Ezekiel sees "an outstretched hand" (יד שלוחה) among the cherubim, and he is commanded to take and eat the scroll it offers (Ezek 2:8–3:3). Likewise the mighty angel is "holding in his hand a small scroll" (ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον, Rev 10:2). It is reasonable to assume that the apocalyptist imagined the angel bearing the scroll in his *left* hand. That is why the text specifies that the angel raises his *right* hand to heaven when he swears (v. 6).

It is also possible, however, that the author of Revelation recognized that his precursor had fashioned, by mishap or design, an overly literal realization of the image expressed in Deut 32:40, and that the apocalyptist refrained from putting his own angel in the same awkward pose. In turn, however, he garlanded his angel with a string of images that were liable to be interpreted all too literally by anyone who would translate the figurative language into visual form. The famous woodcuts that Albrecht Dürer made to illustrate John's visions include a valiant effort to reproduce the scene of John's receipt of the little scroll from the mighty angel. The "little scroll" has become a sizable codex, and it seems to melt and pour into the mouth of the startled visionary. As for the angel, a floating torso that is formed of clouds, not merely wrapped in one (Rev 10:1), is surmounted by a head capped with a rainbow and bearded with sunbeams. Below, skewed columns extend to the sea and the land, and their tops blossom with flame: "legs like pillars of fire." But the angel's hands are human hands: the left extends the book, the right is borne aloft.

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ON THE DATING OF HEBREW SOUND CHANGES (**Ḫ* > *Ḥ AND *Ġ* > ʿ) AND GREEK TRANSLATIONS (2 ESDRAS AND JUDITH)

RICHARD C. STEINER
rsteiner@yu.edu
Yeshiva University, New York, NY 10033

Scholars have long recognized the importance of the Greek transcriptions of Hebrew made during the period extending from the Septuagint to the Hexapla.[1] Nevertheless, these transcriptions have yet to be fully exploited. In this article, I shall argue that they allow us to date both Hebrew sound changes (**ḫ* > *ḥ* and, to a lesser extent, **ġ* > ʿ) and Greek translations of Hebrew books (2 Esdras and, to a lesser extent, Judith). I do not deny that linguistic dating of ancient literary material can be a perilous endeavor, particularly when it involves phonological change. Indeed, the example of such dating that springs to my mind is more of a cautionary tale than a model to be followed.[2]

For Joshua Blau, on his eighty-fifth birthday. I am greatly indebted to W. Clarysse, L. H. Feldman, J. H. Johnson, and S. Z. Leiman for their consistently gracious replies to my queries. As for Joshua Blau, my debt to him is not easily described in a brief footnote. He has been an inspiration to me on both the scholarly and the personal levels. In this article, my indebtedness to his *On Polyphony in Biblical Hebrew* is obvious throughout. I take this opportunity to reveal the unofficial subtitle of that monograph, which is not widely known. When I told him many years ago that my monograph on the pronunciation of שׂ (*The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic*) was to bear the subtitle "a study of original *śin*," he replied that, by the same token, his monograph on the pronunciation of ח could be subtitled "a study of the *ḥet qadmon*."

[1] See, e.g., A. Sáenz-Badillos, "El hebreo del s. II d. C. a la luz de las transcripciones griegas de Aquila, Simmaco y Teodocion," *Sefarad* 35 (1975): 107–30 and the literature cited there.

[2] I refer to E. A. Knauf's discussion of יטור. In "Jetur," *ABD* 3:822, he notes that "in Safaitic, i.e., Arabic, the name of the tribe is spelled *yṯr*." From this he concludes: "Orthographically, the Hebrew spelling *ytwr* (instead of **yṯwr*) proves that this name entered the Hebrew tradition via (Official) Aramaic. The texts which refer to Jetur cannot, therefore, antedate the 7th century B.C." Knauf does not explain why he believes *yṯr* would have been spelled יצור in Hebrew were it not for Official Aramaic mediation. Is it because Safaitic *ṯ* corresponds to Hebrew צ in cognates? That is irrelevant in transcriptions, which are normally based on perceptions of phonetic similarity

I shall, therefore, proceed with extreme caution and a healthy dose of data.[3]

I. **Ḫet* and **Ġayin* before the First Millennium B.C.E.

It is generally agreed that Proto-Semitic had a voiceless uvular fricative (**ḫ*) contrasting with a voiceless pharyngeal fricative (**ḥ*). One minimal pair that may be plausibly reconstructed for Proto-West-Semitic (PWS) is **ḥālum,* "sand" ≠ **ḫālum,* "maternal uncle." In the second millennium B.C.E., loanwords in Egyptian show that the contrast was widely maintained in Northwest Semitic.[4] However, there was a dialect written with a reduced version of the Ugaritic alphabet—probably Phoenician—in which this distinction and others had already collapsed or were in the process of collapsing.[5] It was presumably

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(especially in the absence of bilingualism). Is it because he believes that Hebrew צ was polyphonic, representing both *ṣ* and a sound similar to Safaitic *ẓ*? There is no basis for such an assumption. Is it because he believes that Safaitic *ẓ* was an emphatic *z*? The traditional transliteration *ẓ* is not phonetically accurate even for classical Arabic, let alone ancient North Arabian (including Safaitic). In classical Arabic, the sound was *ḏ*. In ancient North Arabian, it may still have been voiceless (i.e., *ṯ*); see A. B. Dolgopolsky, "Emphatic Consonants in Semitic," *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 1–13. The use of Hebrew ט to render ancient North Arabian *ḏ* (or *ṯ*) is no different from the use of cuneiform *d/ṭ* to render that sound. According to Knauf himself (*Ismael* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989], 55 n. 267), Assyrian *Di-iḫ-ra-a-ni* (better: *Ṭi-iḫ-ra-a-ni*) is to be identified with the Arabian toponym *al-Ḏahrān*. We may also compare the use of Akkadian *t* to render ancient North Arabian *ṯ*, not to mention Old Aramaic *ṯ*, and Old Iranian Θ; see Knauf, *Ismael*, 6 n. 24; and R. C. Steiner, "Addenda to *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic*," in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau* (ed. A. S. Kaye; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 1506. By Knauf's reasoning, the Akkadian Tell Fekherye inscription, usually dated to the ninth century B.C.E., would have to be dated to the seventh century or later, since it transcribes the Aramaic name *Had(d)-yiṯʿ* (spelled הדיסעי) as *Adad-it-ʾi* instead of **Adad-iš-ʾi*; see A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A. R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), 18–19, 44, 80.

[3] The reader who finds the quantity of data presented here wearisome can perhaps find some tiny comfort in the knowledge that the present article is actually quite a bit shorter than it could have been. In a desperate attempt to ease the reader's burden, I have spun off parts of an earlier version into two additional articles!

[4] J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 411–12.

[5] J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 73–79, 124. It is generally assumed that **ḫ* was merged with *ḥ* in Phoenician; see, e.g., Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936), 16–17; and J. Friedrich, W. Röllig, M. G. A. Guzzo, and W. R. Mayer, *Phönizische-punische Grammatik* (3rd ed.; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1999), 11 §9. In support of this assumption, we may note that Phoenician uses כ to render Demotic *ḫ* and *ḫ* (cf. n. 153 below), while Egyptian Aramaic, which preserved **ḫ* (see below), uses ח for that purpose. (For the data, but a different interpretation, see Y. Muchiki, "Spirantization in Fifth-Century B.C. North-west Semitic," *JNES* 53 [1994]: 125–30; I am indebted

the speakers of this dialect who were responsible for reducing the old Northwest Semitic alphabet to twenty-two letters.[6]

The existence of a voiced uvular fricative (**ġ*) in Proto-Semitic, contrasting with the voiced pharyngeal fricative (**ʿ*), is widely assumed (with a few prominent exceptions) but by no means easy to demonstrate. The East Semitic evidence for such a phoneme is tenuous at best,[7] and even within West Semitic, *ġ* in one language often corresponds to *ʿ* in another.[8] Nevertheless, there are a few lexical items that exhibit *ġ* quite consistently in West Semitic, e.g., Arab. *ṣaġīr*, Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) *ṣġr*, Ug. *ṣġr*, Eg. Aram. **zġyr* < PWS **ṣ-ġ-r,* "be small," and Arab. *ġulām*, ESA *ġlm*, Ug. *ġlm*, Eg. Aram. **ġlm* < PWS **ġalmum,* "lad."[9] From the second of these we can reconstruct something close to a minimal pair: PWS **ġalmum,* "lad" ≠ **ʿālamum,* "eternity."

II. The Preservation of **Ḫet* and **Ġayin* in Hebrew and Aramaic

Greek Transcriptions of Hebrew and Demotic from Ptolemaic Egypt

Did **ḫ* and **ġ* survive in Hebrew? Hebrew does not have separate signs for those phonemes in its twenty-two-letter alphabet, but, ever since the nineteenth century, many scholars have argued that the letters ח and ע were polyphonic, each representing a uvular fricative as well as a pharyngeal one.[10] The

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to J. Huehnergard for this reference.) We may perhaps also cite Arab. *mallāḥun,* "sailor" < Akk. *malāḫum,* "sailor." Normally, Arabic has *ḥ* in Akkadian loanwords; see n. 156 below. Unless the word for "sailor" was borrowed later than the others or was contaminated by a folk etymology (based on Arab. *milḥ,* "salt"), it must have reached Arabic via a Semitic dialect that merged **ḫ* with *ḥ* relatively early. Given Phoenician domination of the sailing profession, Phoenician could well have played such a mediating role with this word. See also at n. 126 below.

[6] In so doing, they imposed the burdens of polyphony on others (Judeans, Arameans, etc.) who accepted their reduced version of the alphabet but not on themselves.

[7] For a full discussion, see L. Kogan, "*ġ* in Akkadian," *UF* 33 (2001): 263–98; and idem, "Additions and Corrections to '*ġ* in Akkadian' (UF 33)," *UF* 34 (2002): 315–17.

[8] Many of these irregular correspondences may be attributed to the proximity of *r*, which, like *ġ*, is a trill; see R. C. Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1977), 135 n. 3 and the literature cited there. The direction of the change is still unclear; if it is *ʿ* > *ġ*, we may speak of partial assimilation to *r*. Such a process could help to explain the substantial increase in the frequency of *ġ* in Arabic or even the genesis of *ġ* as a phoneme; see Kogan, "*ġ* in Akkadian," 292–93. That genesis could have occurred in Pre-Proto-Semitic, as Kogan believes, or in PWS.

[9] The reconstructed Egyptian Aramaic forms are from the Aramaic text in Demotic script (papyrus Amherst 63), where we find *s.ḫyr̄n,* "young (plur.)" (XIX/11, XXI/2), and *ḫrm.*[m], "lad" (XVI/3, 4, 10), respectively. See further below.

[10] See J. Blau, *On Polyphony in Biblical Hebrew* (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of

argument has been based on transcriptions of etymologically transparent names in the Septuagint (LXX), correlated with cognates in three other Semitic languages—Arabic at first, later ESA and Ugaritic.[11] The claim is that the LXX uses the Greek velar stops (normally χ and γ, rarely κ) to transcribe the Semitic uvular fricatives (*ḫ and *ġ) but zero, α, or ε for the Semitic pharyngeal fricatives (ḥ and ʿ).[12]

The part of the theory dealing with *ġ is more difficult to prove than the part dealing with *ḫ.[13] It is not surprising, then, that opponents of the theory (like R. Růžička) directed their fire at *ġ, while defenders (like J. W. Wevers) focused on *ḫ.[14] The difficulty with *ġ (relative to *ḫ) is not due solely to the comparative Semitic problem mentioned above. It is also due, according to the theory of J. Blau, to chronology: *ġ was lost earlier than *ḫ in Hebrew.[15] As we shall see below, the evidence of Josephus's transcriptions supports this aspect of Blau's theory.

In my view, Blau has succeeded in making a convincing case even for *ġ, and the entire theory must now be regarded as proven. Nevertheless, it may not be superfluous to add some corroborating evidence that has hitherto been

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Sciences and Humanities 6/2; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982) and the literature cited there.

[11] These and the Modern South Arabian languages have preserved both ġ ≠ ʿ and ḫ ≠ ḥ. Akkadian has preserved ḫ seemingly unmerged, but Akkadian ḫ corresponds to West Semitic *ḫ in a considerable number of cases; see now J. Huehnergard, "Akkadian ḫ and West Semitic *ḫ," in *Studia Semitica* (ed. L. Kogan; Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute 3 [Alexander Militarev volume]; Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, 2003), 102–19. Hence, Akkadian evidence for West Semitic *ḫ should be used cautiously, in conjunction with other evidence.

[12] Examples with α and ε: Αερμων = חרמון, Ισαακ = יצחק, Βαλααμ = בלעם, Γαλααδ = גלעד, Φαραω = פרעה, Γαβαων = גבעון, Γαβαα = (ה)גבע, Ελεαζαρ = אלעזר, Φινεες = פינחס, Γεδεων = גדעון, Βηρσαβεε = באר שבע, Αλαε = חלח. In a future article, I hope to present examples of pharyngeals perceived as [a] from other periods and languages. An example from a source close to the LXX in time and place is Ραφια = רפיח (Eg. *Rpḥ*, Akk. *Rapiḫu*) in the *Histories* of Polybius 5.80.3 and 5.86.2–8. Note that the final α cannot be a rendering of the Aramaic definite article, for the latter is not used with this toponym. In *Tg. Onqelos* (Deut 2:23), we find רפיח, and in *Pseudo-Jonathan* (Deut 2:23), כופרניא דרפיע. (The latter form exhibits the Galilean Aramaic shift ḫ > ʿ; see n. 69 below). Whether the final α can be the rendering of a furtive *pataḥ* instead of ח depends on whether furtive *pataḥ* existed in that time and place; in any event, since consonants are frequently distinguished acoustically through their effect on an adjacent vowel, the two interpretations of the final α are not as different as one might imagine.

[13] See Blau, *Polyphony*, 38.

[14] R. Růžička, "Ueber die Existenz des ġ im Hebräischen," *ZA* 31 (1908): 293–340; J. W. Wevers, "*Ḥeth* in Classical Hebrew," in *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World* (ed. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 101–12. Other opponents include Z. Harris and S. Moscati; other defenders include P. de Lagarde, C. Könnecke, Gesenius-Kautzsch, G. Bergsträsser, P. Joüon, and P. Kahle.

[15] Blau, *Polyphony*, 70.

overlooked. A pagan inscription on a limestone stele from Hermopolis Magna (78 B.C.E.) seems to make the same distinction as the LXX. It contains the name Χελκιας = חלקיה, with χ rendering **ḥ* (cf. Arab. *ḫalaqa,* "he measured"), and two occurrences of the name Αγγιων = (ה)חגי, with zero rendering **ḥ* (cf. Arab. *ḥajj,* "pilgrimage").[16] A similar contrast can be seen in the names of the two Jewish generals commissioned by Cleopatra III in Egypt at the end of the second century B.C.E.: Χελκιας vs. Ανανιας = חנניה (with zero rendering **ḥ*; cf. Ug. *ḥ-n-n,* "be kind").[17] The form Χελκιας stands in contrast to the form Ελκιας, found in Palestinian sources of the Roman period.[18]

More significant statistically are Greek transcriptions of *ḫ*, *ḥ*, and ʿ in Demotic Egyptian names of the Ptolemaic period.[19] In these transcriptions, Demotic *ḫ* is normally rendered with χ, while *ḥ* and ʿ are normally rendered with zero.[20] Most telling of all are the cases in which the renderings of *ḫ* and *ḥ*

[16] W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 249–50 no. 156. Αγγιων is compared there with חַגַּי, but it seems closer to חַגַּי and especially חַגָּיָה. Greek ω is used occasionally to render Hebrew *qameṣ*. The true equivalent of חַגַּי is Αγγαιος, attested in a different inscription (ibid., 249).

[17] These names are cited by Josephus (*Ant*. 13.10.4 §285) from Strabo of Cappadocia, who must have gotten them from an earlier source.

[18] See at n. 72 below.

[19] To avoid circularity, I have based this investigation almost entirely on names from bilingual inscriptions, where the Greek and the Demotic Egyptian appear together. They were collected for me by K. Rempel from E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980–2000), henceforth cited as *DN*.

[20] E.g., Εφωνυχος = *iwꜣf-ʿnḫ*, "Er lebt" (*DN*, 60); Απαθου (gen.) = *ʿꜣ-pḥṯ,* "Groß an Kraft" (*DN*, 95); Χαποχωνσιος (gen.) = *ḥꜣf-ḫnsw,* "Er lebt für Chons" (*DN*, 100); Πμενχης = *pꜣ-mnḫ,* "Der Vortreffliche" (*DN*, 188); Πεμψας = *pꜣ-msḥ,* "Das Krokodil" (*DN*, 191); Φατρεους (gen.) = *pꜣ-ḥtr,* "Der Zwilling" (*DN*, 206); Πχορχωνσις = *pꜣ-ḫr-ḫnsw,* "Der Diener des Chons" (*DN*, 210); Πετεαρπρης = *pꜣ-tj-ḥr-pꜣ-rʿ*, "Der, den Horus-Re gegeben hat" (*DN*, 326); Πετεαρποχρα(της) = *pꜣ-tj-ḥr-pꜣ-ḥrṯ,* "Der, den Harpokrates gegeben hat" (*DN*, 328); Πετεαρσεμθευς = *pꜣ-tj-ḥr-smꜣ-tꜣ.wj,* "Der, den Horus, der Vereiniger der beiden Länder, gegeben hat" (*DN*, 334); Πετεχων[σ]ιος = *pꜣ-tj-ḫnsw,* "Der, den Chons gegeben hat" (*DN*, 336); Πανεχατις = *pa-nꜣ-ḫṯ,* "Der der *ḫṯ*-Dämonen" (*DN*, 382); Παη[ς] = *pa-ḥꜣ.t,* "Der des Anfangs" (*DN*, 397); Παχοις = *pa-ḫj,* "Der des Hohen(?)" (*DN*, 404); Παχωνς = *pa-ḫnsw,* "Der zu Chons Gehörige" (*DN*, 406); Μαρεσισουχου (gen.) = *mꜣʿ-rʿ-sꜣ-sbk,* "Marres, Sohn des Sobek" (*DN*, 582); Μαιθωτις = *mꜣʿ-tḥwtj,* "Wahrhaft ist Thot" (*DN*, 583); Νεχθφαρους = *nꜣ-nḫṯf-r.rꜥw,* "Er ist stark gegen sie" (*DN*, 622); Νεβωνιχου (gen.) = *nb-ʿnḫ,* "Herr des Lebens" (*DN*, 636); Νεχθμωνθου (gen.) = *nḫṯ-mnṯ,* "Stark ist Month" (*DN*, 650); Ονεους (gen.) = *ḥwn,* "Jüngling" (*DN*, 778); Ωρος = *Ḥr,* "Horus" (*DN*, 786); Αρμιυσιος (gen.) = *ḥr-mꜣj-ḥs,* "Horus, grimmig blickender Löwe" (*DN*, 815); Αρσιησις = *ḥr-sꜣ-is.t,* "Horus, Sohn der Isis" (*DN*, 834); Ασιης = *ḥsj,* "Seliger" (*DN*, 846); Χαιωφις = *ḥʿf,* "Möge er erscheinen" (*DN*, 873); Κοβαεθησις = *qbḥ-ḥṯꜥs,* "Ihr (Sg.) Herz ist kühl" (*DN*, 976); Ταμενωτος (gen. of Ταμενως) = *ta-mnḫ*, "Die des (göttlichen) Jünglings" (*DN*, 1187); Τανεχατι[ος] (gen.) = *ta-nꜣ-ḫṯ.w,* "Die der *ḫṯ*-Dämonen" (*DN*, 1192); Θοτευς = *tḥwtj-iw,* "Thot ist gekommen" (*DN*, 1298); Θοτορτις = *tḥwtj-i.ir-tj-s,* "Thot ist es, der ihn gegeben hat" (*DN*, 1300); and Θοτομουτος (gen. of Θοτομους) = *tḥwtj-mꜣʿ*, "Thot ist wahrhaft" (*DN*, 1302).

contrast in a single name:[21] Αχοαπιος (gen.) = *ʿnḫ-ḥp,* "Es lebt der Apis,"[22] Αρμαχις = *ḥr-m-ḫj,* "Horus im Horizont,"[23] and Θοτορχης = *tḥwtj-ir-rḫ,* "Thot ist (all)wissend."[24] Alongside almost 140 occurrences of names that follow this pattern, there are three exceptions: once we find *ḫ* rendered with κ,[25] and twice we find apparent examples of *ḥ* rendered with χ.[26] Such renderings are found in the LXX as well.[27] Scholars who do not accept the LXX as evidence for **ḫ* have naturally adduced examples (or alleged examples) of χ for *ḥ* in the LXX as counterevidence,[28] and it is therefore significant that Greek transcriptions of Demotic also have such exceptions.

It appears, then, that Demotic *ḫ* and *ḥ* are distinguished quite consistently in Egyptian Greek.[29] Moreover, the means of distinguishing are very similar to the means that have been posited for Hebrew **ḫ* and *ḥ* in the LXX. In short, these transcriptions reinforce the Greek side of Blau's proof. We turn now to transcriptions that reinforce the Semitic side.

Demotic Transcriptions of Aramaic from Ptolemaic Egypt

Blau's conclusion concerning the Egyptian pronunciation of Hebrew in the Ptolemaic period fits perfectly with the contemporary evidence for Egyptian *Aramaic.* Until twenty years ago, the conventional wisdom was that **ḫ* and **ġ* did not survive in Aramaic. In 1969, R. Degen referred to this as the *communis opinio*.[30] In the third unrevised edition of his *Altaramäische Grammatik*,

[21] Cf. LXX Αχισααρ = אחישחר, cited by Blau, *Polyphony*, 41.

[22] *DN*, 103.

[23] *DN*, 813. This example is not from a bilingual; the matching is established by means of prosopographic considerations.

[24] *DN*, 1299.

[25] Νεκθνιβιος (alongside Νεχθενιβιος) = *nḫt-nbf,* "Stark ist sein Herr" (*DN*, 652). For κ rendering *ḫ*, see also Muchiki, "Spirantization," 126 n. 7.

[26] Αχμασι(ς) = *iʿḥ-ms,* "Der Mond ist geboren" (*DN*, 58, alongside Αμασις, Αμοσις, Αμωσις) and Πχορχωνσις = *ḥr-ḫnsw,* "Horus - Chons" (*DN*, 832, alongside Αρχωνς and Αρχωνσις). Πχορχωνσις = *ḥr-ḫnsw* is an anomaly that is easy to explain, based on the note in *DN*: "Lautlich is Πχορχωνσις die griechische Wiedergabe von *pȝ-ḫr-ḫnsw*." Indeed both Πχορχωνσις = *pȝ-ḫr-ḫnsw,* "Der Diener des Chons" (cited in n. 20 above) and Πχορχωνσις = *ḥr-ḫnsw,* "Horus - Chons" occur in a single papyrus (Berl P 3116).

[27] Blau (*Polyphony*, 49–51) lists a half-dozen apparent examples of *ḥ* rendered with χ.

[28] For evaluation of an alleged counterexample cited in a standard work, see J. Blau, "Review of S. Moscati et al., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*," *Lešonenu* 30 (1966): 141; and Steiner, *Fricative-Laterals,* 120 n. 28.

[29] Contrast the much later Greek transcriptions of Arabic *ḫ* and *ḥ* cited by Blau (*Polyphony*, 40-41).

[30] R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Mainz: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1969) 37: "Die Verschiebung der ursem. Velare /ḫ/ und /ġ/ zu den Pharyngalen hat das Aa. nach communis opinio mit dem Phön(-Hebr.) gemein. Nachweisen kann man sie für das Aa. jedoch nicht."

published in 1986, S. Segert still accepted this assumption.[31] The few dissenting voices were largely ignored.

Today we know, thanks to papyrus Amherst 63, that this assumption is incorrect—at least for *Egyptian* Aramaic.[32] It will be recalled that Amherst 63 is a long Aramaic text recorded in the Demotic Egyptian script instead of the normal Aramaic script.[33] The Demotic script has an abundance of signs for back fricatives, and so it was only natural for Semitists working on Amherst 63 to address the issue of **ḫ* and **ġ*. R. A. Bowman did so in his article on the text, published in 1944, writing: "[The parallel passages] also have aided us in determining that there is apparently no finer distinction between laryngeals in the papyrus than there is otherwise in Aramaic, despite the fact that there are several variant forms for some of the letters."[34] This statement is not easy to understand, for *ḫ* and *ġ* are not laryngeals, and there is no way for the reader to guess that the "variant forms for some of the letters" are actually distinct Egyptian phonemes rather than allographs.[35] Accordingly, one may forgive T. H. Gaster for asking, in an unpublished letter to Bowman about the article: "Similarly, is there a distinction between ח and ח̱ phonetically? In other words, is original ח distinguished from ח̇?"[36] Bowman's point had been formulated more clearly in the presidential paper that he read before the Midwest branch of the AOS on April 6, 1943: "There is apparently no fine differention [*sic*] between the laryngeals *ayin* and *ghayin*, or *ḥa* and *ḫa*."[37]

This initial impression has not stood the test of time. Indeed, one of the important linguistic contributions of the Aramaic text in Demotic script is its furnishing of conclusive evidence that the uvular fricatives—**ġ* and **ḫ*—survived in Egyptian Aramaic for a long time.[38] I pointed this out to various col-

[31] S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1986), 88: "Das für die älteste Phase des AA ermittelte System weist bereits eine Einschränkung des Konsonantenbestandes, besonders der Postvelaren und der Alveolaren auf. . . . Die alten Postvelare *ḫ* und *ǵ* sind zu den Pharyngalen *ḥ* und ʿ geworden." He has since changed his mind; see n. 46 below.

[32] However, it is probably not incorrect for the Aramaic spoken in Assyria; see R. C. Steiner, "*Ḥ* > *Ḥ*: On the Diffusion of an Assyro-Aramaic Sound Change to Babylonia, Iran, and Cilicia" (forthcoming).

[33] See R. C. Steiner, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," in *The Context of Scripture* (ed. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:309–27 and the literature cited there.

[34] R. A. Bowman, "An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 3 (1944): 226.

[35] Bowman may have been misled by Nims's use of numeral superscripts in transliterating the Demotic signs (into Hebrew). The signs that Nims transliterated ב̱ and ש̱ proved to be mere allographs of ב and ש, respectively, but the sign that Nims transliterated ח̱ represents a sound phonemically distinct from ח in both Demotic and Aramaic.

[36] Letter from T. H. Gaster to R. A. Bowman, Nov. 19, 1944.

[37] I am indebted to J. A. Larson, Museum Archivist of the Oriental Institute, for providing me with photocopies of the handwritten lecture and the letter cited in the previous footnote.

[38] On the *Egyptian* side, it establishes a *terminus post quem* for the loss of ʿ, *ḥ*, and *ḫ* that is

leagues at the University of Chicago a few weeks after I began work on the text there early in 1981,[39] and I have noted it briefly in print on a number of occasions, as has J. W. Wesselius.[40]

Unlike the Greek alphabet and the cuneiform syllabary, upon which previous attempts to demonstrate the polyphony of ח and ע in the Hellenistic period were based, the Egyptian script is reasonably well suited to the task of differentiating uvulars from pharyngeals. This is at least as true of the Demotic script in Amherst 63 as it is of the New Kingdom scripts used for Canaanite in the second millennium B.C.E. They all have contrasting signs for *ʿ*, *ḥ*, and *ḫ*, not to mention *h*. In fact, in addition to *ḫ*, Demotic has a phonetically similar fricative transliterated *ḫ*. The absence of a sign for *ġ* is a drawback, but not a serious one. In Amherst 63, *ḥ* and *ḫ* are used to render **ġ* (as well as **ḫ*); in New Kingdom texts, Egyptian *q* and *g* are the substitutes.[41] Thus, there is never a need to appeal to transcriptions with zero, as there is in dealing with Greek and cuneiform evidence.

In Amherst 63, Aramaic **ġ* and **ḫ* are consistently distinguished from *ʿ and **ḥ*, respectively, in dozens of examples. True minimal pairs are difficult to find, but one can come close: $\overline{ʿr}$ = *ʿl,* "on" ≠ *ḫ.r* = *ġl,* "enter!" (cf. Arab. *ʿalā*, "on," *ġalla,* "he caused to enter, he entered"); *ʿ.rM̄n* = *ʿlmn,* "eternity" ≠ *ḫrm.*^{m} = *ġlm,* "lad" (cf. Ug. *ʿlm,* "eternity," *ġlm,* "lad"); *ḥ*⌜*m*⌝.^{m} = *ḥm(ḥ),* "venom" ≠ *ḫ.mr*^{m} = *ḫmr,* "wine" (cf. Ug. *ḥmt,* "venom," *ḫmr,* "wine"). Examples of uvulars and pharyngeals occurring in close proximity are: *ekrẇ r***ḫ***m*⌜*h*^{m}⌝ [...] *eš*⌜*t*⌝.m ***ḫ****mr.*^{m} [...] = *ʾklw lḥmh* [...] *ʾšt(y) ḫmr(h)* [...], "eat its bread [...] drink its wine [...]" (XVII/15–16); ***ḫ****.rrk.*^{m} ***ḫ****rm.*^{m} *e.n***ḫ***.n.n*^{m} *er***ḫ***.k.*^{m} = *ġl-lk ġlm(ʾ) ʾnḥn(h) nʾrḥk,* "enter, lad; we will give you lodging" (XVI/4–5); $\overline{ir\text{-}ḫmtỹ}$ ***ḫ****.r.k* = *rḥmty ġl-(l)k,* "my beloved, enter" (XVI/12). Many additional examples could be

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far later than the ones supplied or hinted at by J. Vergote ("Egyptian," in *Current Trends in Linguistics* [ed. T. A. Sebeok; The Hague: Mouton, 1963–], 6:535–36), J. P. Allen ("Languages [Egyptian]," *ABD* 4:191), and A. Loprieno ("Ancient Egyptian and Other Afroasiatic Languages," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* [ed. J. M. Sasson; New York: Scribner, 1995], 2142).

[39] I still have in my possession a small piece of note paper on which I jotted examples in 1981 and which I used to explain the discovery to Egyptologists and others.

[40] See already C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Ps 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 263: "the Proto-Semitic contrast of *ḥ* with *ḫ* is perfectly preserved"; and R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims, "You Can't Offer Your Sacrifice and Eat It Too: A Polemical Poem from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 43 (1984): 93: "like the scribe, we distinguish velar *ġ* from pharyngeal *ʿ*."

[41] E.g., *gḏt/qḏ t* = *ġzt,* "Gaza," *mgrt* = *mġrt,* "cave," *qrnt* = *ġrlt,* "foreskin"; see Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 412–13. Egyptian g is used to render Anatolian *ġ* as well; see F. Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990) 142 n. 442a, 144 n. 449, 145 at n. 457. Thus, in New Kingdom texts, transcriptions of *ġ* ignore manner of articulation, whereas in Amherst 63, they ignore the state of the glottis.

adduced.[42] Moreover, the same distinction is maintained in Demotic transcriptions of Northwest Semitic names. Thus, the Hebrew name יִשְׂחָק (cf. Ug. *ṣ-ḥ-q*, etc.) appears as *ʒyšḥg* in an ostracon dated 153/152 B.C.E.,[43] while the Aramaic name אחיקר (cf. Ug. *aḥ*, etc.) appears as *ʒḫykl* and *ʒḫygl* in Demotic fragments of the Aḥiqar story from the first century C.E.;[44] cf. also Αχι(α)χαρος in the Greek version of Tobit.[45] All of this proves beyond a reasonable doubt that Egyptian Aramaic—like Ugaritic, Arabic, and South Arabian—preserved the uvular fricatives unmerged. Recent works on Aramaic have accepted this as a fact.[46]

Minimal Pairs, Homonyms, and Polysemes

It follows that Aramaic $_1$על, "on," vs. $_2$על, "he entered," and $_1$שלח, "he sent," vs. $_2$שלח, "he doffed," were still minimal pairs—not homonyms—in Achaemenid Egypt: *ʿal*, "on" ≠ **ġal*, "he entered," and *šlaḥ*, "he sent" ≠ **šlaḥ*, "he doffed."[47] Similarly, it is now clear that, throughout the biblical period, Hebrew $_1$חרים, "Horites (LXX Χορραῖος)" (Deut 2:12), and $_2$חרים, "holes" (1 Sam 14:11), were pronounced with initial *ḫ*—in contrast to $_3$חרים, "nobles" (1 Kgs 21:8), which was pronounced with initial *ḥ*. One should accordingly view

[42] See R. C. Steiner and A. Mosak Moshavi, "A Selective Glossary of Northwest Semitic Texts in Egyptian Script," in *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (ed. J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1249–66 passim.

[43] *DN*, 3; W. Clarysse, "A Jewish Family in Ptolemaic Thebes," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 32 (2002): 7–9. The name is identified there with יצחק, but it is closer to יִשְׂחָק, a variant that occurs four times in the Bible (twice in Amos). The postbiblical Jewish pronunciation of the name, which passed into Palmyrene Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, was אסחק; see Steiner, *Fricative-Laterals*, 117; H. Ingholt, "Two Unpublished Tombs from the Southwest Necropolis of Palmyra, Syria," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (ed. D. K. Kouymjian; Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), 50, 53 (שמעון ומזבנא ואסחק בני יעקוב). Demotic *š* for Northwest Semitic **ś* would seem to reflect, in this case, a Northern Israelite or Samaritan pronunciation; see Steiner, *Fricative-Laterals*, 43.

[44] *DN*, 38; K. T. Zauzich, "Demotische Fragmente zum Ahikar-Roman," in *Folia Rara: Wolfgang Voigt LXV. diem natalem celebranti . . . dedicata* (ed. H. Francke et al.; Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 180–85. Demotic *l* for Semitic *r* reflects the Fayyumic dialect. The same rendering occurs consistently in a text from Tebtunis; see R. C. Steiner, "Semitic Names for Utensils in the Demotic Word-List from Tebtunis," *JNES* 59 (2000): 191–94.

[45] J. A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 37 n. 117, 122, etc.

[46] K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984–94), 1:101–2; V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v. Chr.* (Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient 4; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1993), 51; S. Segert, "Old Aramaic Phonology," in *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (ed. A. S. Kaye; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 1:118–19; T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 10 nn. 36–37.

[47] For other ramifications, see Steiner, "Addenda," 1499–1501.

with suspicion the claim that the name of the Horites "could be explained by Heb. *ḥor*, Arab. *ḥurr,* 'free, noble.'"[48]

In the postbiblical period, **ḫ* merged with *ḥ*, and the minimal pair ₂חרים < **ḫurrīm,* "holes" ≠ ₃חרים < **ḥurrīm,* "nobles, freemen," turned into a pair of homonyms. But what of the other minimal pair, ₁חרים < **ḫurrīm,* "Horites" ≠ ₃חרים < **ḥurrīm,* "nobles, freemen"? Did this too turn into a pair of homonyms? Not according to Jerome; in his commentary on Obad 1, he interprets the outcome as a single polysemous lexeme:[49] "and [Edom] possessed that region, which is now called Gebalena,[50] and in the boundaries [of which] is Ελευθερόπολις, "Freetown," where formerly the Horraei lived (which is translated 'free men'), from which also the very city later got its name."[51] The idea that the name of the Horites is derived from the word for "free men" must have been irresistible to anyone who knew that the Horites were the aboriginal inhabitants of Seir = Edom (Gen 14:6 and Deut 2:12, 22) and that an important city of Idumea = Edom was called "Freetown."[52]

[48] E. A. Knauf, "Horites," *ABD* 3:288.

[49] For this type of reinterpretation, see L. Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: H. Holt, 1933), 436; and S. Ullmann, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1962), 104–5, 164–65. If we define "polysemy" and "homonymy" in synchronic terms (as I believe we should), then we may state simply that, when minimal pairs are neutralized, the outcome is sometimes polysemy rather than homonymy.

[50] For the identification of Gebal(ena) with Seir in ancient sources (Genesis Apocryphon, Palestinian targumim, Josephus), see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I* (3rd ed.; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 2004), 222, 237, and add טורא דגבלא = שעיר in M. L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 1:115 (Deut 33:2).

[51] *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars I, 6; *Commentarii in Prophetas Minores* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1969), 354. A similar idea is found in Genesis Rabbah §41 (מדרש בראשית רבא [ed. J. Theodor and C. Albeck; Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965], 412) to Gen 14:6: ואת החרי — אליותריפוליס ולמה קורא אותה אליותריפוליס שבררו אותה ויצאת להם לחירות בדור הפלגה, "And the Horites—Ελευθερόπολις 'Freetown'. And why is it called Ελευθερόπολις 'Freetown'? Because they chose it, and it gained its freedom for them in the generation of the separation." However, this is midrash, not etymology. It is noteworthy that Jerome did not derive *Horraei* from the Hebrew word for "holes," despite the fact that he knew that word and, like Philo, even used it in interpreting a well-known toponym: "Charran foramina . . ."; see *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars I, 1; *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1959), 64; and L. L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 218. (I am indebted to J. L. Kugel for telling me of Philo's etymology.) The point is that, by Jerome's time, there was no longer any reason to prefer this etymology. Jerome had no inkling that the LXX distinguished two realizations of ח, using Greek χ for only one of them (see below).

[52] In actual fact, the town of Bet Guvrin got this name in ca. 200 C.E., long after the disappearance of the Horites, when Septimus Severus conferred on it the privileges of a Roman city. Moreover, the home of the biblical Horites was east of the Jordan, while Eleutheropolos was west of it.

III. The Loss of **Ḥet* and **Ġayin* in Hebrew and Aramaic

Dating the Loss in Egypt

When did the uvular fricatives (**ḫ* and **ġ*) merge with the pharyngeal ones (*ḥ* and ʿ)? For Egyptian Aramaic, Amherst 63 provides a *terminus post quem*. The text was probably reduced to writing (through dictation to a scribe trained in the fourth century B.C.E.) at the beginning of the third century B.C.E.[53] If so, the mergers of **ḫ* and **ġ* in Egyptian Aramaic, if they occurred at all, must have occurred after that time. For Hebrew, we may rely on the LXX, which (leaving 2 Esdras and the apocryphal books aside for the moment) appears to have been completed by the end of the second century B.C.E.[54] If so, the loss of **ḫ* in Hebrew must have occurred after that time.

The inscription from Hermopolis Magna cited above—a pagan inscription not likely to have been influenced by the Septuagint—gives a slightly later and seemingly more precise *terminus post quem*: 78 B.C.E. The Demotic fragments of the Aḥiqar story cited above are even later; they come from the first century C.E. Unfortunately, we cannot deduce from the form *ʒḫykl* that **ḫ* was still unmerged in the first century C.E., unless we make the unlikely assumption that the Aḥiqar story was not translated from Aramaic into Demotic until that time. Nor can we rule out the possibility that the form Χελκιας in the inscription from Hermopolis Magna is also phonetically anachronistic, as it appears to be in other, later inscriptions from Egypt. Χελκιας is attested in papyri dated 13 B.C.E. (Alexandria) and 59 C.E. (Babylon in the Heliopolite district) and in an ostracon dated 106 C.E. (Edfu).[55] The last attestation is later than Ελκιας in Josephus's *Antiquities*, not to mention הלקי at Masada.[56] Are we to conclude from this that **ḫ* survived longer in Egypt than in Palestine? Judging from Philo, Egyptian Jews knew very little Hebrew in the first century C.E. It is therefore unlikely that the form Χελκιας tells us anything about the pronunciation of Hebrew in Egypt in that century. What it tells us about the pronunciation of Hebrew in Egypt in the previous century must remain an open question.

According to Blau, the loss of **ġ* was earlier than the loss of **ḫ*: "It was only

[53] Contra Nims and Steiner, "Paganized Version," 261: "our papyrus is from the late second century B.C.E." We thought at the time that it had been buried together with dated documents from that period in a single jar, but that seems much less likely today. I am at a loss to explain the origin of the first century B.C.E. dating that some writers have mistakenly attributed to us.

[54] E. Tov, "The Septuagint," in *Mikra* (ed. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), 162.

[55] V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957–64), 3:195.

[56] See below.

at the time of the translation of the Pentateuch that *ġ* was alive in Hebrew. Later, *ġ* disappeared from the spoken language, yet was still, it seems, retained in literary solemn language, as in the public reading of the Bible in synagogues."[57]

Dating the Loss in Palestine: Reading versus Speaking

The distinction made by Blau between reading and speaking—a distinction of "style" or "register"[58]—is crucial for making sense of the new data presented below. Reading is, by nature, more formal and conservative than speaking, even when the text being read is not a sacred one. In his studies of phonological variation, W. Labov found "a marked shift from the most formal elicitation [of careful speech] to the least formal reading."[59] The pronunciation used for the public reading of the Bible was undoubtedly at the most formal end of the spectrum, for it was governed by tradition. Indeed, one may wonder whether to speak of a "reading style" (à la Labov) or a "reading tradition."[60] The latter term is certainly correct for later periods, when Hebrew was no longer a spoken language; for the sake of simplicity, we shall use it for earlier periods as well. We shall deal with the spoken language separately, in a later section.

Blau's distinction is particularly useful in dealing with Josephus, who, it appears, had **ḫ* in reading but not in speaking (assuming, with many Hebraists, that Hebrew was still spoken in his time). He seems to allude to such a difference in explaining his decision to add Greek case endings to his transcriptions of biblical names in *Ant*. 1.6.1 §129:

> With a view to euphony and my readers' pleasure these names have been Hellenized. The form in which they here appear is not that used in our country, where their structure and termination remain always the same; thus Νωχος in Hebrew is Νωε, and the name retains this form in all the cases.[61]

It is striking that, according to most manuscripts, Josephus does not contrast Νωχος with *Νωχ, or *Νωεος with Νωε. There are *two* differences between Νωχος and Νωε: (1) the former has a case ending, while the latter does not; (2) the former has a χ, while the latter does not. The relevance of (1) is clear,

[57] Blau, *Polyphony*, 39–40.

[58] See also Blau, *Polyphony*, 7. For the distinction in sociolinguistic theory, see *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation* (ed. P. Eckert and J. R. Rickford; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and the literature cited there.

[59] W. Labov, "The Study of Language in Its Social Context," *Studium Generale* 23 (1970): 49.

[60] For the biblical reading tradition(s), see R. C. Steiner, "*Ketiv-Ḳere* or Polyphony: The שׂ-שׁ Distinction according to the Masoretes, the Rabbis, Jerome, Qirqisānī, and Hai Gaon," in *Studies in Hebrew and Jewish Languages Presented to Shelomo Morag* (ed. M. Bar-Asher; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1996), *153 n. 5, *175 and the literature cited there.

[61] *Josephus* (trans. H. St. J. Thackery et al.; London: W. Heinemann, 1926–), 4:63.

but not the relevance of (2). É. Nodet solves this problem by simply emending Νωε to *Νωχ, against all of the manuscripts (both Greek and Latin) and previous scholars.[62] However, the emendation may not be necessary. The second difference can be explained as reflecting the gap between the spoken language and the conservative reading tradition.[63] The meaning of Josephus's statement would then be: "Νωχος in Hebrew *speech* is Νωε."[64]

The disparity between Josephus's reading tradition and his speech may perhaps also be seen in his transcription of three names borrowed from Akkadian. For biblical סנחריב < *Sin-aḫḫē-erība* and אסר חדן < *Aššur-aḥ-iddina*, he has Σεν(ν)αχει/ηριμ/βος (*Ant*. 10.1.1–5 §§1–23) and Ασαραχοδδας (*Ant*. 10.1.5 §23) respectively, with Greek χ rendering ח < Akk. *ḥ*. His transcription of extrabiblical מרחשון < *Araḫšamnu*,[65] on the other hand, is Μαρ(ε)σουανης (*Ant*. 1.3.3 §80).[66] In this month name from spoken Hebrew or Aramaic, ח < Akk. *ḫ* is rendered by zero.

The tension between Josephus's reading tradition and his speech may also explain the variation in his transcription of ח in the toponym בית ח(ו)ר(ו)ן. In his account of Solomon (*Ant*. 8.6.1 §152), he calls it Βητχωρα,[67] but elsewhere in his works (nine occurrences in *Antiquities* and *War*, eight of them postbiblical and hence from the spoken language), he writes Βη/ε/αιθωρα/ω or the like, without χ.[68] It appears that Josephus intended the form Βητχωρα to be the tra-

[62] É. Nodet, *Les Antiquités juives* (Paris: Cerf, 1990–), 1B.32 n. 8: "Les mss donnent Νωε, forme provenant de la LXX, mais il faut rétablir Νωχ pour que l'explication ait un sens." Alternatively, one could emend Νωχος to Νωεος. The latter is the reading of two manuscripts everywhere Noah is mentioned and is viewed as original by E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897–1906), 3:121.

[63] Blau's conclusion that **ḫ* "disappeared from both spoken and literary Hebrew at the same time" (*Polyphony*, 70) does not take into account the evidence of Josephus and the inscriptions.

[64] According to this explanation, Josephus's use of the form Νωε has no connection with the LXX's use of that same form. The latter, unlike the former, is quite puzzling, since, as Blau notes, "its root seems to be √nwx" (*Polyphony*, 49). The root is attested with the meaning "rest" in Ugaritic and Modern South Arabian; see G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 629; and T. M. Johnstone, *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 99. Note also the noun *mnḥt*^{m} = *mnḥt*(ʾ), "rest," in Amherst 63 (XVIII/2) and Μαναχαθ = מנחת, Ιανωχ = ינוח in the LXX itself, and cf. Πμενχης = *pȝ-mnḥ*, "Der Vortreffliche," in n. 20 above. If so, the correct form in the time of the LXX would have been Νωχ. The same goes for Μανωε, the LXX's transcription of מנוח, for which Josephus has Μανωχης. Does Josephus's transcription of סיחון (Σηχων vs. LXX Σηων) also belong here?

[65] See S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 114–15.

[66] The Greek manuscripts have Μαρσουανης, but A. Schalit (*Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* [Leiden: Brill, 1968], 82) reconstructs Μαρεσουανης based on Latin *Maresuan*. F. Blatt (*The Latin Josephus I* [Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958–], 133) gives the form as *Marehaseuan*. He lists many variant readings, only one of which is significant for our purposes: *Marechaseuan*.

[67] The χ is attested in all witnesses.

[68] See further below. There are no variant readings with χ for any of the nine occurrences.

ditional counterpart of Βηθωρα. However, the LXX (including 1 Maccabees and Judith) has Βαιθωρων and the like, agreeing with *Bi-t Ḥ-w-ru-n* in Egyptian (Shishak List) and the divine name *Ḥrn*, "Horon" (also *bt Ḥrn*, "temple of Horon"), in Ugaritic.[69] Clearly, the transcription with χ has no etymological basis, and yet it is attested in all witnesses to *Ant*. 8.6.1 §152. It appears to be a hypercorrection, reflecting the struggle to preserve **ḫ* in the reading tradition after it was lost in speech.[70]

The same solution may be considered for Ραχαβ in Matt 1:5, usually identified with רחב in Josh 2:1.[71] The expected form, Ρααβ (cf. Ug. *rḥb*, "wide," etc.), is used elsewhere in the NT (Heb 11:31 and Jas 2:25), not to mention the LXX. The witnesses to Josephus (*Ant*. 5.1.2–7 §§8–30) are divided: four manuscripts read Ραχαβη, while three manuscripts have Ρααβη, agreeing with *Raab* in the Latin version.

If Βητχωρα and Ραχαβη reflect hypercorrect pronunciations of biblical names, we must also consider the possibility that χ in non-hypercorrect Josephan forms is occasionally the product of deliberate archaizing. This is particularly important in evaluating Josephus's transcriptions of the names of people who lived in the first and second centuries B.C.E. for use in dating the loss of **ḫ*. Take, for example, Josephus's transcriptions of אב(י)אח and חלקיה. He mentions several postbiblical figures bearing the latter name. The one he consistently calls Χελκιας (four times) is from the end of the second century B.C.E.; the ones he usually calls Ελκιας (four times; Χελκιας once) are from the first century C.E.[72] Similarly, Josephus mentions a cousin of Herod named Αχιαβος

[69] Blau, *Polyphony*, 53; A. Dolgopolsky, *From Proto-Semitic to Hebrew* (Milan: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici, 1999), 67; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (2d ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 239; Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Dictionary*, 368. Helck transliterates *Bí-ta Ḥ-wa-rú-n*, but this is misleading; see R. C. Steiner, "Northwest Semitic Incantations in an Egyptian Medical Papyrus of the Fourteenth Century B.C.E.," *JNES* 51 (1992): 192. The modern Arabic form of the toponym is *Bēt ʿŪr* according to I. Press, ארץ ישראל: אנציקלופדיה טופוגרפית-היסטורית (Jerusalem: R. Mass, 1951–55), 84. The shift *ḥ* > ʿ took place in Galilean Aramaic before the Arab conquest; see n. 12 above and E. Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (trans. M. Sokoloff; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1976), 70–78 and passim (and add *Bēt ʿŪr* to the list of toponyms on p. 86 entitled "original *ḥ* = ʿ today"). Incidentally, the second half of the toponym is often cited with a short vowel (*ʿUr*), following F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris: Gabalda, 1938), 2:55; however, the macron may have been omitted there by accident. Press cites the toponym both in Arabic script and in Hebrew transliteration with a long vowel, which certainly makes more sense.

[70] See below. For the possibility of hypercorrection involving **ġ* in the LXX, see Blau, *Polyphony*, 40. See also idem, *On Pseudo-corrections in Some Semitic Languages* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970).

[71] For a different solution, see Blau, *Polyphony*, 56 n. 92.

[72] B. Niese gives no variant readings for any of these nine occurrences. We have already discussed the occurrence of Χελκιας in Egyptian documents of the first century B.C.E. and later; see at nn. 16 and 55 above.

(seven times) = אח(י)אב in connection with events that took place in ca. 28 B.C.E. and 4 B.C.E.[73] It appears that, in rendering *ḫ in the names of postbiblical figures, Josephus normally used zero for contemporaries but χ for people who lived before his time. How is this to be explained? Did Josephus copy the form Αχιαβος from a Greek source of the Herodian period? Or did he know the name אח(י)אב from a Hebrew or Aramaic source, written or oral, and transcribe it himself, using a deliberately archaic (and possibly anachronistic) rendering of χ? Until this question is answered, we cannot consider Αχιαβος as reliable evidence for the pronunciation of the Herodian period.

Dating the Loss in Palestine: Biblical Reading Traditions

In dating the loss of *ḫ and *ġ in the biblical reading tradition(s), the obvious place to begin is the Masorah. The masoretic pointing systems (Tiberian, Palestinian, and Babylonian) and treatises provide a *terminus ante quem* for the loss, since they know nothing of a double realization for ח and ע—unlike ש and בגד כפרת.[74] The Masoretes did not add any distinguishing points, presumably because *ḫ and *ġ were lost long before their time, and because each happened to merge with its polyphony partner, *ḥ* and ʿ respectively—unlike *ś*, which merged with *s* instead of its polyphony partner, *š*.[75] Had they merged, say, with *k* and *g* respectively, we would have had a "left-pointed ח" (חי״ת שׂמאליות) realized [k] and [k̲][76] alongside a "right-pointed ח" realized [ḥ], and likewise a "left-pointed ע" realized [g] and [ḡ] alongside a "right-pointed ע" realized [ʿ]—just as we have a "left-pointed ש" (i.e., שׂ) realized [s] alongside a "right-pointed ש" realized [š].[77]

It is also certain that the mergers occurred well before Jerome settled in Palestine (385–389 C.E.). Jerome interprets the use of γ to render ע in terms of ʿ, not *ġ:

[73] For six of the seven occurrences, Niese gives no variant readings. In *Ant*. 15.10.5 §250, one witness out of seven has Αιαβος.

[74] For the double realization of ר, see G. Khan, "The Pronunciation of the *reš* in the Tiberian Tradition of Biblical Hebrew," *HUCA* 66 (1995): 67–80 and the literature cited there. It is known only from literary sources (*Sefer Yeṣirah* and its commentaries as well as masoretico-grammatical treatises). With ר (unlike בגד כפת), no distinguishing points were needed to guide the reader, because the distribution of the two realizations was completely predictable.

[75] I am coining the term "polyphony partners" to refer to phonemes that are represented by the same grapheme, e.g., English /θ/ (*t̲*) and /ð/ (*d̲*), both represented by the digraph *th*, as in *ether* and *either*. If there is an existing term for this concept, I have been unable to find it.

[76] For the multiple realizations of ו in Samaritan Hebrew after *w* merged with *b*, see Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, עברית וארמית נוסח שומרון (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1957–77), 5:22 = *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 33–34.

[77] For the last pair, see Steiner, "*Ketiv-Ḳere*."

> *Gaza*: strength; however, it should be known that, with the Hebrews, it does not have a consonant letter at the beginning but begins with the vowel *ain* and is pronounced *Aza*.[78]

Similarly, he interprets the use of χ to render ח in terms of *ḥ* rather than **ḫ*:

> The Septuagint translators, who were unable to render into the Greek language the letter *heth* which has the sound of a double aspirate, often added the Greek letter *chi* to instruct us that we ought to make an aspiration in words of this sort. So in this verse they translate *Cham* for what is actually *Ham*. . . .[79]

> [T]he Septuagint translators, by whom the divine Law was translated into the Greek language, added certain letters to represent especially the letter *heth*, and *ain* and others of the kind, because they were unable to give a Greek rendering of the double aspirate. So it came about that for *Rahel*[80] they said *Rachel*, for *Jeriho Jericho*, for *Hebron Chebron*, for *Seor Segor*.[81]

Jerome even calls attention to the fact that the revisers of the LXX sometimes revise the rendering of ח in transcribed words. Thus, the word חרסית (derived from חרשׂ, "earthenware," according to Jerome) in Jer 19:2 is transcribed χαρσιθ in LXX but αρσιθ by "the three":

> For "gate of earthenware," Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion put the same Hebrew word *Harsith*, to which the Septuagint (translators), in accordance with their practice, add Greek *chi* for the aspiration of the letter *heth*, so that they say *Charsith* for *Harsith*, and so too for *Hebron Chebron*, and for *Jeriho Jericho*.[82]

It is clear that Jerome views *Harsith*, *Hebron, Jeriho,* and *Aza* as being more faithful renderings because these names were pronounced with pharyngeals, rather than uvulars, in his time. Sutcliffe concludes, correctly in my opinion, that these remarks show that Jerome was unaware that, in the time of the LXX, ח and ע each had two values.[83]

[78] *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, 87; see also pp. 66–67 (Gomorra), 72 (Segor).

[79] *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (ed. C. T. R. Hayward; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 38 (with slight modifications).

[80] Cf. Ραηλ in M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* (Jerusalem: Massada, 1973–), 2:94 no. 121. The majority of the catacombs at Beth She'arim come from the third century and the first half of the fourth century C.E., but see now H. Lapin, "Palestinian Inscriptions and Jewish Ethnicity in Late Antiquity," in *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures* (ed. E. M. Meyers; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 240 and the literature cited there.

[81] Jerome's commentary on Titus 3:9 in *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri commentariorum in Epistolam ad Titum, PL* 26:630. The translation is from E. F. Sutcliffe, "St. Jerome's pronunciation of Hebrew," *Bib* 29 (1948): 120.

[82] *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars I, 3; *In Hieremiam* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1960), 182. I am indebted to D. Berger for his assistance in translating this passage.

[83] Sutcliffe, "Jerome's pronunciation," 118 and 121. So too A. Sperber, "Hebrew Based on

Finally, it is certain that the mergers occurred before Origen prepared his Hexapla (mid-third century C.E.). The Greek transcription of Psalms in the second column of the Hexapla normally has zero for ח and ע,[84] irrespective of their origin. Examples with original **ḥ* and **ġ* include: ατταειμ = חטאים (1:1), εμοσημ = אמחצם (18:39), θαρες = תחרש (35:22), λαηριμ = לאחרים (49:11), χι αρη [*sic*, for χιαρη] = כירח (89:38), χαα = כאח (35:14), and αλουμαυ = עלומיו (89:46). A possible exception is ελισουμοχ = אל ישמחו (35:19), if it is to be read ελισμοχου, as some have suggested.[85] This could be an isolated relic of the use of χ to render **ḥ*, since the Ugaritic cognate is *šmḥ*, "be glad, rejoice."[86] However, other scholars reject this emendation in favor of various emendations without χ.[87]

Pushing the *terminus ante quem* back beyond this point is no easy matter. Transcriptions of biblical names, etc., are available for the first and second centuries C.E. However, they are not as easy to interpret as the later transcriptions. They are inconsistent and, at times, even contradictory.

Our strategy will be to compare the transcriptions of Aquila and Josephus with those of the LXX—treating Ezra-Nehemiah = 2 Esdras separately, as recommended by Blau.[88] It is true that the LXX is today believed to reflect the Hebrew reading tradition of Alexandrian Jews, who could, in theory, have preserved an archaic pronunciation that had disappeared in their former homeland.[89] However, we have no reason to believe that this was the case in practice. Moreover, some of the Alexandrian translators may have been recent immi-

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Greek and Latin Transliterations," *HUCA* 12–13 (1937–38): 110–11. Contrast J. Barr, "St Jerome and the Sounds of Hebrew," *JSS* 12 (1967): 21–22.

[84] E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus auf Grundlage der mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1943), 39, 413–14.

[85] O. Pretzl *apud* Brønno, *Studien*, 39; Sáenz-Badillos, "El hebreo," 125.

[86] Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Dictionary*, 825.

[87] Brønno, *Studien*, 39–41.

[88] The transcriptions are collected in a number of works: Wevers, "*Ḥeth*"; Blau, *Polyphony*; Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, 3:1–162, 219–72; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch*; J. Reider, *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew,* completed and revised by N. Turner (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 319–23; A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting: A Comparative Survey of Non-Masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1986–90), 1:29–341; and R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 2. Esrabuches* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 340–41. Wherever possible, I have checked these against the standard editions of Josephus (B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1955]; Nodet, *Antiquités*; Blatt, *Latin Josephus*); Aquila (F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum* [Hildesheim: Olms, 1964]); and 2 Esdras (R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993]).

[89] See, e.g., R. C. Steiner, "*Bittĕ-Yâ*, Daughter of Pharaoh (1 Chr 4,18), and *Bint(i)-ʿAnat*, Daughter of Ramesses II," *Bib* 79 (1998): 399–402. The Hebrew reading tradition of Babylonian Jewry exhibited a number of archaic features. Claims of this type have also been made for English and Swedish in America.

grants,[90] much like the grandson of Ben-Sira, a Palestinian Jew who migrated to Egypt and translated the book of Ben-Sira there.

The comparison of Aquila and Josephus with the LXX presupposes uniformity not only through space but also, to a limited extent, through time. Our working assumption will be that, for the most part, χ and γ continued to be used in the Roman period the way they had been in the Hellenistic period, viz., to render uvular fricatives (to the extent that they survived) but not pharyngeal ones. This assumption seems plausible and, as we shall see, it yields coherent results.

We begin with names that have ע transcribed with γ in the LXX. For these names, the later sources exhibit dramatic change:

TABLE 1

	Hebrew	*LXX*	*Josephus*	*Aquila*	*II Esdras*
1.	יעלם	Ιεγλο/ωμ	Ιολαμος[91]	—	—
2.	כדרלעמר	Χοδολλογομορ	Χοδο/ωλαμορος[92]	—	—
3.	עזה	Γαζα	Γαζα	Αζα	—
4.	עותי	Γωθι	—	—	Ουθ(α)ι
5.	עי	Γαι	Αια, Γαι(α)	—	Αια
6.	עיבל	Γαιβαλ	Ηβη/ιλος, Γηβηλος	Ηβαλ	—
7.	עיפה	Γαιφα(ρ)	Ηφας	Γαιφα	—
8.	עמרה	Γομορρα	—	Αμορα[93]	—
9.	עפרה	Γοφερα	Εφραν/μ	Εφρα	—
10.	עציון גבר	Γα/εσιωνγαβερ	Γασιων Γαβελος	Ασεων Γαβερ	—
11.	עתליה	Γοθολια	Οθλια, Γοθολια	—	Αθελια
12.	צער	Ζογορα, Σηγωρ	Ζο/ωωρ[94]	—	—
13.	צבעין	Σεβεγων	Ευσεβεων	Σεβεγων	—
14.	רעו	Ραγαυ	Ρεους, Ραγαυ(ο)ς	—	—
15.	רעואל	Ραγουηλ	Ραουηλος, Ραγουηλος	—	—
16.	רעמה	Ρε/αγμα	Ραμος, Ρεγμος	—	—
17.	תדעל[95]	Θαργαλ[96]	Θαδαλος[97]	—	—

[90] See B. S. J. Isserlin, "The Names of the 72 Translators of the LXX (Aristeas, 47–50)," *JANES* 5 (1973): 191–97 and the literature cited there.

[91] One MS (L) has Ιεγλωμος.

[92] One MS (L) has Χοδολλογομορος.

[93] F. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1925–33), 1:139 (see below). I have been unable to find any other reference to this form.

[94] *Ant.* 1.11.4 §204: "It is still called Ζοωρ, that being the Hebrew word for 'little.'"

[95] Equivalent to *Tudḫaliya*, a name borne by several Hittite kings. In Ugaritic, the name appears as *tdġl* and *ttġl*; see F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1967), 296; and Starke, *Untersuchung,* 145 n. 455.

Of the seven forms ascribed to Aquila in table 1, we find zero for ע in five. The other two have been adopted from the LXX; they are unchanged in every detail—not merely in the rendering of ע. In the case of Γαιφα, it is immediately obvious that it does not reflect the phonological reality of the reading tradition known to Aquila, since it retains the diphthong **ay* in an unstressed syllable (contrast Ηβαλ, etc., etc.). As for Josephus, in the overwhelming majority of cases, he uses zero to render ע where the LXX used γ. Manuscript readings with γ are usually suspect on two grounds: (1) they occur alongside readings with zero, and (2) they are similar to LXX forms. Γαζα is no doubt authentic, but it has little significance, since it was the standard *Greek* name of the city, used also by Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.16.6) and Byzantine writers.[98] We cannot rule out the possibility that a few of the other readings with γ are also authentic, perhaps reflecting the latest stage in the gradual disappearance of **ġ* from the reading tradition(s).[99] In short, the evidence shows that **ġ* was already largely or completely gone by the first century C.E.

The evidence for **ḥ* is far less consistent:

[96] See M. C. Astour, "Tidal," *ABD* 6:551: "The original form of the name can be reconstructed as **tadġal*, with the voiced pharyngeal [*sic*] *ġ* which had not yet merged with ʿ in the pronunciation of Hebrew at the time of the LXX translation (*r* instead of *d* in LXX and Syr is due to the virtual identity of the two letters in the Aramaic square script . . .)." Is it possible that the substitution of *r* for *d* in LXX Θαργαλ and Peshitta תרעיל has a phonetic basis rather than a graphic one? According to H. C. Melchert, "Indo-European Languages of Anatolia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Sasson, 2155, "one difference between Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian is that the latter shows frequent 'rhotacism'; that is, it replaces *d* (and often *l*) with *r*." Was the rhotacized pronunciation of this Anatolian name somehow preserved by tradition together with the uvular realization of ע?

[97] One MS (L) has Θαργαλος.

[98] L. Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions from Palestine from the Roman and Byzantine Periods" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1997), 527, 694, 700, 709, 869. Josephus's use of Γαζα = עזה is no different from his use of other older forms familiar to his Greek readers, such as Βαβυλων(ια) = בבל, Ελυμος = עילם, Τανις = צען, Εκδιππα = אכזיב, Ιταβυριον = תבור, etc.

[99] Blau concludes that "it seems that in literary Hebrew *ġ* subsisted for a considerable time, although becoming less and less frequent" (*Polyphony*, 70). On the other hand, he points to the far-reaching disappearance of **ġ* in the Greek translation of Chronicles (*Polyphony*, 70), which is dated to the second century B.C.E. (see below).

TABLE 2

	Hebrew	*LXX*	*Josephus*	*Aquila*	*II Esdras*
1a.	אחאב	Αχααβ	Αχαβος	Ααβ, Αχααβ	—
b.	אחאב/אחב	Αχιαβ	—	Αιαβ	—
2.	אחז	Αχαζ	Αχαζο/ης	Ααζ, Αχαζ	—
3.	אחזיה	Οχοζ(ε)ι(ας)	Οχοζιας	Ααζια, Οχοζειας	—
4.	אחיטוב	Αχ(ε)ιτωβ	Αχιτω/οβος	—	Αιτωβ; Αχιτωβ
5.	אחיה	Αχ(ε)ια(ς)	Α/Εχιας	Αχεια	Αια
6.	אחימעץ	Αχ(ε)ιμαας	Αχιμας	—	—
7.	אחינעם	Αχ(ε)ιναμ	Α/Εχινα	—	—
8.	אחיסמך	Αχισαμαχ/κ	Ισαμαχος	—	—
9.	אחיקם	Αχ(ε)ικαμ	Ικαμος[100]	Αχεικαμ	—
10.	אחיתפל	Αχ(ε)ιτοφελ	Αχιτοφελος	—	—
11.	אסר חדן	Ασορ(αδ)δαν[101]	Ασαραχοδδας	—	Ασαραδ(δ)ω/αν
12a.	חבר	Χοβο/ερ	Αβαρος[102]	—	—
b.	חבר	Χαβερ	—	Χαβερ	—
13.	חובה	Χωβα(λ)	Ωβα	—	—
14.	חושי	Χουσ(ε)ι	Χουσις	—	—
15.	חיר(ו)ם	Χ(ε)ιραμ	Ειρωμος; Χειρω/αμος[103]	Χιραμ	—
16.	חלדי	Χολδαι	—	Ολδαι[104]	—
17.	חלן[105]	Χαιλων	—	Αιλων	—
18.	חלקיה(ו)	Χελκ(ε)ιας	Ελ(ια)κιας[106]	Ελκιαου, Χελκιας	Ελκια, Χελκιας
19.	חם	Χαμ	Χαμας	Χαμ	—
20.	חרם	Χαρημ/β	—	—	Η/Ερε/αμ[107]

[100] So in five manuscripts; a sixth has Αχικαμος. The form *Αικαμος is an emendation.

[101] For the absence of χ in this form, see Steiner, "*Ḥ* > *Ḥ*." The Greek version (short and long recensions) of Tobit 1:21 has Σαχερδονος. The apheresis exhibited by this transcription agrees with Old Aramaic סרחדן (but not 4QTob אסרחדון!); see A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* (Geneva: Droz, 2001) 26, 31; and Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 122. See also the examples of apheresis cited by S. Parpola, "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18, no. 2 (2004): 16–17 and add the transcriptions of *Aššur-bān-aplu* as *Srbnbl* (Amherst 63 XVII/6, XVIII/3) and Σαρδαναπαλλος.

[102] So all witnesses except for one, which has Χωβαρος.

[103] Josephus appears to have used these variants to distinguish two individuals (see below). However, some manuscripts blur the distinction, using Χειραμος at times instead of Ειρωμος.

[104] So Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 320. Field (*Origenis Hexaplorum*, 2.1021; Zech 6:10) has Ολδα.

[105] Jer 48:21.

[106] One manuscript has Χελκιας. For the postbiblical use of these names, see below.

[107] One witness has Χαριμ.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

	Hebrew	*LXX*	*Josephus*	*Aquila*	*II Esdras*
21.	חרן	Χαρραν	Χ/Καρ(ρ)α	—	—
22.	חרסית	χαρσιθ	—	αρσιθ[108]	—
23.	חתי	Χετταιος	Χετταιος	Χετταιος	Εθ(θ)(ε)ι; Χετταιος
24.	טבח	Ταβεκ	Ταβαιος[109]	—	—
25.	יואחז	Ιωαχαζ/ζ	Ιωαζος, Ιω(α)χαζος	—	—
26.	ירחו	Ιερ(ε)ιχω	Ιεριχους	Ιερειχω	Ιερ(ε)ια; Ιερ(ε)ιχω
27.	מנוח	Μανωε	Μανωχης[110]	—	—
28.	נח	Νωε	Νωχος[111]	Νωε	—
29.	נחור	Ναχωρ	Ναχωρης[112]	Ναχωρ	—
30.	סיחון	Σηων	Ση/ιχων(ος), Ση/ιων(ος)	—[113]	—
31.	סנחריב	Σενναχειρ(ε)ιμ	Σεν(ν)αχη/ειρ(ε)ιμ/β(ος)	Σενηριβ	—
32.	פסח	Φασεκ/χ[114]	—[115]	Φα/εσε/α, Φασεκ[116]	—[117]
33.	פשחור	Πασχωρ[118]	—	Πασχωρ	Πασ(σ)(ε)ουρ
34.	צפנת פענח	Ψονθομφανηχ	Ψονθο/ων/μ φανη/ιχος	Σα(φα)μφανη	—
35.	רחל	Ραχηλ[119]	Ραχηλα	—	—
36.	תחש	Τοχας	Ταυος	—	—

[108] See above.

[109] Presumably from *Ταβαε.

[110] All witnesses have χ/*ch* except for one Latin manuscript (S), which has *Manue*. See further below.

[111] See below.

[112] One Latin manuscript (S) has *Naor*.

[113] Field (*Origenis Hexaplorum*, 1.315) gives Σηων for Aquila, but the Syrohexaplaric basis for this reconstruction is not reliable for our question.

[114] These forms occur only in Chronicles and (once) in Jeremiah. Elsewhere, we find Πασχα, the rendering of an Aramaic form.

[115] Only Π/Φασχα.

[116] Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 322 (Josh 5:10 Φασε; 2 Kgs 23:21–23 Φεσα); Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, 1.296 (Deut 16:1 Φεσε) and 1.345 (Josh 5:10 Φασεκ).

[117] Only Πασχα.

[118] It is usually assumed that this name is Egyptian and that the last syllable represents *Ḥr*, "Horus," but the Greek transcription with χ casts doubt on at least the second part of this assumption. See also n. 26 above.

[119] Cf. Ραχηλις in Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, 82–83 no. 96 (Leontopolis, mid-second century B.C.E.–early second century C.E.). See also n. 80 above.

In the Josephus column of table 2, we find readings with zero (alongside χ or not) for ח in 33 percent of the names (10 out of 30). By contrast, in the Josephus column of table 1, we find readings with zero (alongside γ or not) for ע in 87 percent of the names (13 out of 15). Thus, the evidence of Josephus's transcriptions appears to corroborate Blau's conclusion that the loss of *ġ was earlier than the loss of *ḫ.[120] This chronological asymmetry goes hand in hand with distributional asymmetries. The voiced fricative ġ is found in fewer of the world's languages than ḫ, and it occurred less often than ḫ in Hebrew. We may also compare Akkadian, where *ġ was apparently lost[121] but *ḫ preserved. So too in many later Hebrew reading traditions, ḡ (the spirantized realization of ג) was lost, but k̲ (the spirantized realization of כ) was preserved.[122]

In the Aquila column of table 2, we find readings with zero (alongside χ or not) for ח in 57 percent of the names (12 out of 21), almost twice as often as Josephus. This figure hardly tells the whole story. Many forms with χ in the Aquila column have clearly been adopted from the LXX; they are unchanged in every detail—not merely in the rendering of ח. When we subtract those forms, we are left with the ones that presumably reflect the phonological reality of the reading tradition known to Aquila. They show that *ḫ had already disappeared from that tradition by Aquila's time (ca. 125 C.E.).

The difference between Josephus's transcriptions and those of Aquila is well summarized by Franz Wutz:

> Fl. Josephus kennt beide Stadien: sowohl die völlige Preisgabe des Gutturalunterschiedes wie die doppelte Wiedergabe von laryngalem ח. Ακ' bekämpft geflissentlich die alte Schreibung, die er doch sehr gut kennt und fordert für das alte Γομορρα—Αμορα (!), Οχοζιας— Ααζια usw.[123]

But what are we to conclude from this difference? Does it accurately reflect the progress of the change in the reading tradition(s)? It is normally perilous to use written records to date sound changes, because conservative scribal traditions—historical spelling and the like—can cause orthographic change to lag far behind phonological change.[124] Here, however, we are dealing with transcriptions. The latter provide more reliable information than the standard

[120] Blau, *Polyphony*, 70. According to Blau's table 3, the gap in time is more dramatic "in living language," but it is also discernible "in literary language."

[121] See n. 7 above.

[122] See S. Morag, "Pronunciations of Hebrew," *EncJud* 13:1139.

[123] Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, 1:139.

[124] See R. C. Steiner, "Papyrus Amherst 63: A New Source for the Language, Literature, Religion, and History of the Arameans," in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (ed. M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and M. P. Weitzman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 200–203.

orthography, because they are usually much less bound by tradition.[125] Furthermore, Josephus's transcriptions of ע provide an excellent control, eliminating most other explanations. Put differently, many theories that seem adequate to explain the contrast between 33 percent and 57 percent are not capable of explaining the contrast between 33 percent and 87 percent.

Even in isolation, Josephus's transcriptions seem to exhibit change in progress. Sometimes the same name may appear in different forms, as in the case of Βητχωρα versus Βη/ε/αιθωρα/ω. We suggested above that Βητχωρα may be a hypercorrection, reflecting the struggle to preserve *ḫ in the reading tradition after it was lost in speech.

We even find Josephus using different transcriptions for a single name borne by different individuals. Thus, in *Ant*. 8.3.4 §76, he distinguishes two biblical figures named חיר(ו)ם: "And Solomon summoned from Tyre, from the court of Ειρωμος, a craftsman named Χειρω/αμος, who was of Naphthalite descent on his mother's side . . . and whose father was Urias, an Israelite by birth." Here Josephus deftly creates clarity out of confusion, assigning a different referent to each variant. In choosing the form Ειρωμος for the Tyrian king, he was no doubt influenced by Dius and Menander of Ephesus, the historians of Phoenicia whom he quotes in *Against Apion* (1.17 §§112–25). They call the king Ειρωμος rather than Χειρωμος because, by their time, *ḫ had long since merged with *ḥ* in Phoenician.[126]

The change in the reading traditions may have been accelerated, if not initiated, by the death and destruction that resulted from the rebellion against the Romans (66–74 C.E.). Born in 37 C.E., Josephus must have received his education well before the rebellion, even though he did not complete his *Antiquities* until 93 C.E.[127]

My conclusion, then, is that *ḫ did not complete its gradual disappearance from the biblical reading tradition(s) until the second century C.E. As for the beginning of the process, we must note that evidence from the LXX and the Qumran scrolls turns out, upon closer examination, to be questionable. Take, for example, Wutz's assumption that the change is already exhibited by Ναλιηλ = נחליאל (Num 21:19) alongside Ναχαλιγαιας = נחלי געש (2 Sam 23:30).[128] Based on this assumption, he dates the beginning of the change to the second century B.C.E.:

[125] Ibid., 202–3.

[126] See n. 5 above.

[127] In an e-mail communication dated October 26, 2003, L. H. Feldman writes: "Josephus, *Ant*. 20.267, at the very end of the Antiquities, says that the 'present day' belongs to the 13th year of the reign of Domitian and the 56th of his life. This would be 93/94."

[128] Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, 1:139.

> Vermutlich gehen die Anfänge dieses Wandels in der Auffassung der Gutturalen bis ins 2. Jahrh. v. Chr. zurück; denn . . . ist die völlige Nichtbeachtung aller Gutturalen in der Umschrift bereits im 1. Jahrh. v. Chr. im Prinzip durchgeführt.[129]

However, as Blau notes, נחליאל is of uncertain etymology, since it may derive (or may have been taken by the translators to derive) from *n-ḥ-l,* "inherit," rather than *nḫl,* "stream(-bed)."[130] In Blau's view, the merger makes its first appearance in the canonical Greek version of Ezra-Nehemiah, also known as 2 Esdras or Esdras B (in contrast to the apocryphal 1 Esdras or Esdras A).[131]

In the Qumran scrolls, misspellings involving ח[132] do not suffice to settle the matter one way or the other. Of the dozen examples of ח replaced by ה or א in 1QIsa^{a} (125–100 B.C.E.) and 1QS (100–75 B.C.E.),[133] none involves *ḫ.[134] That fact might perhaps be viewed as hinting at the preservation of *ḫ. On the other hand, in 4QJer^{a} XI 7 (225–175 B.C.E.) the word למחתה, "terror, ruin" (Jer 17:17), seems to have been miswritten as [ל]מ[תה], with the omitted ח < *ḫ (cf. Ug. *ḫ-t-t,* "be overcome") inserted between the lines.[135] E. Tov assumes that "the *prima manu* text probably represents a phonetic omission."[136] If so, the omission could be viewed as evidence for the merger of *ḫ with *ḥ*, since there is no reason to believe that a uvular *ḫ would have been elided.[137] However, apart from this fragmentary and uncertain example, there are no examples of misspelling involving ח or ע in the text. This seems significant in view of what Tov writes about scribal corrections in the scroll: "The number of corrections in this text is exceedingly great. . . . No other Qumran text has as many corrections relative to the length of the document. . . ."[138] In my judgment, we cannot rely on 4QJer^{a} in dating the loss of *ḫ. Were it otherwise, the early date of the text

[129] Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, 1:139.

[130] Blau, *Polyphony*, 58. In their interpretation of this name, the translators may have been influenced by personal names such as צוריאל, פלטיאל, אוריאל, עזיאל, עזריאל, etc.

[131] Blau, *Polyphony*, 43, 49, 65–67. For the date of 2 Esdras, see below.

[132] The examples have been collected by E. Qimron for his forthcoming grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I am greatly indebted to him for providing me with a photocopy of the relevant pages and for further clarifications.

[133] These dates, assigned by F. M. Cross more than forty years ago, are still accepted by recent writers; see D. N. Freedman and K. A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)* (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985), 56; and C. Martone, *La "Regola della Communità": Edizione critica* (Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1995), 14.

[134] 1QS VI 7 על יפות for חליפות does involve uvular *ḫ, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the ע represents uvular *ġ.

[135] E. Tov, "4QJer^{a}," in *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 150, 153, 163 and pl. XXVII.

[136] Ibid., 153.

[137] The loss of the pharyngeals in Hebrew is normally ascribed to the fact that Greek did not have pharyngeals. Greek did have consonants that were close in pronunciation to the uvulars.

[138] Ibid., 151.

would force us to conclude that *ḫ was lost in Palestine long before it was lost in Egypt.

Similarly, in 11QPaleoLev IV 6 (ca. 100 B.C.E.), the word אחזתם, "their holding" (Lev 25:32), is miswritten as אזתם, with omission of ח < *ḫ (cf. Arab. ʾiḫāḏah, "land which a man takes for himself").[139] Here again the omission could be viewed as evidence for the merger of *ḫ with ḥ. However, this misspelling needs to be evaluated in the light of the other misspellings in the same text: לי[ע] for עליו, ב[משפחו] for במשפחתו, and כנחה for כנחשה.[140] These omissions do not seem to have a phonological basis, and there are no other examples of misspelling involving ח or ע in 11QPaleoLev. As a result, we cannot put too much weight on 11QPaleoLev in dating the loss of *ḫ, even though a date after 100 B.C.E. would be quite compatible with the evidence presented below.

Dating the Loss in Palestine: Spoken Hebrew and Aramaic

Evidence from four sites—Jaffa, Masada, Jerusalem (Kidron Valley), and Gaza—can help us to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the loss of *ḫ in spoken Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic.[141]

From the necropolis at Jaffa (first centuries C.E.), we have the name Αα, believed to be a transcription of אחא.[142] The name אחא is well known from rabbinic literature; it is found also on an ossuary from Mt. Scopus (before 70 C.E.) and in inscriptions from the time of the monarchy.[143] Αα = אחא is reminiscent of Ααζ = אחז in Aquila and Αια = אחיה in 2 Esdras.[144]

From Masada (66–73 C.E.), we have two examples of ה written for ח among the 791 inscriptions found there: הלקי for חלקי (= חלקיה) and הנהתמ for הנחתמ, "the baker."[145] By a fortunate coincidence, both of these examples involve *ḫ.[146] These spellings presuppose a sequence of two mergers; in all probability, we are dealing with *ḫ > ḥ followed by ḥ > h, not with *ḫ > h.[147]

[139] Freedman and Mathews, *Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus*, 44.

[140] Freedman and Mathews, *Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus*, 12.

[141] We assume that the loss of *ḫ occurred in spoken Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic at the same time. This assumption is plausible, since most speakers of Hebrew in the Hasmonean and Roman periods spoke Aramaic as well. See Beyer, *Aramäischen Texte*, 1:102.

[142] J. B. Frey, *CII* 2:119, 125 no. 902.

[143] L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994), 167 no. 396; T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002–), 1:61–62.

[144] See table 2 above.

[145] *Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations, 1963-1965: Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989–), 1:24 no. 420 and 1:28 no. 429.

[146] Aramaic נחתם, a borrowing of Akk. *nuḫatimmu*, "baker," appears as *nḫ.t*^{m} *m.k.*^{m}, "your baker" in Amherst 63 (V/5).

[147] See n. 137 above.

From Jerusalem, we have the word כוך, "sepulchral chamber," attested in the Kidron Valley dipinto (first half of the first century C.E.).[148] E. Y. Kutscher argued that this word, also attested in Mishnaic Hebrew, derives ultimately from Akkadian *kimaḫḫu*, "grave."[149] S. A. Kaufman took Kutscher's theory a step further, claiming that the Jews borrowed this Akkadian word from the Nabateans.[150] If so, the final ך of כוך renders the ח (**ḥ*) of Nabatean גוח, "sepulchral chamber."[151] This conjecture is plausible in view of Kutscher's demonstration that the Nabateans preserved **ḥ* longer than the Jews,[152] and that, after the Jews lost **ḥ*, they used כ to render Nabatean **ḥ*.[153] Kutscher pointed to *y. Nazir* 1.1, 51a, לשון ניוותי הוא דאינון קריי לחספא כספא, "it is a Nabatean expression, for they call חספא (pottery) כספא." This statement appears to contrast Nabatean Aramaic with Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. According to Kutscher, it means that the Nabateans pronounce the word for "pottery" as *ḫaspā* (written כספא) instead of *ḥaspā* (written חספא).[154] His assumption that the Aramaic

[148] See J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (BibOr 34; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 168–69, 221 no. 67 and the literature cited there.

[149] E. Y. Kutscher, (ובני משפחתה) כוך, *ErIsr* 8 (1967): 273–79, reprinted in *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977), 431–43 (Hebrew section).

[150] Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 64 and 142–43.

[151] The initial כ of כוך renders the ג of גוח, either because the latter is a historical spelling for *kūḫ* (Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 64 n. 160) or because *גוך would have been impossible, since ג is phonotactically incompatible with כ in Hebrew roots (K. Koskinen, "Kompatibilität in den dreikonsonantigen hebräischen Wurzeln," *ZDMG* 114 [1964]: 33). Kaufman's explanation is difficult to reconcile with J. Cantineau's comparison (*Le nabatéen* [Paris: Leroux, 1930–32], 2.77) of Nabatean גוח with Arabic *jūḫ*, "fosse, fossé."

[152] Kutscher (כוך, 276 = *Studies*, 436–37 [Hebrew section]); contrast Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, 1:44.

[153] Cf. Judeo-Arabic and Karshuni (Arabic in Syriac script), which use כ as the sign for Arabic *ḫ*. See already the papyri (*terminus ante quem* ca. 900 C.E.) published in J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "Judaeo-Arabic Papyri—Collected, Edited, Translated, and Analysed," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 87–160, reprinted in J. Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 401–74. Indeed, the Judeo-Arabic orthographic practice may well have pre-Islamic roots, going back to Jewish contacts with the Nabateans. Cf. also the Phoenician use of כ to transcribe Demotic *ḫ* noted in n. 5 above.

[154] Kutscher, כוך, 276 = *Studies*, 436–37 (Hebrew section). So already H. L. Fleischer, cited in J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1876–83), 2:453. The explanation is accepted by O. Cohen and D. Talshir, חִסְפִּין–תולדות היישוב ופשר שמו, *Al-Atar* 4–5 (1999): 145. It is unlikely that the Galilean author of the statement (R. Zeira or, according to *y. Ned.* 1.2, 37a, R. Simeon b. Laqish) was referring to the Nabateans of the Negev. According to B. S. J. Isserlin, Greek transcriptions of Nabatean/Arabian names from the Negev have zero for **ḫ* before the Muslim conquest ("The Nessana Papyri: The Greek Transcriptions of Arabic," *ALUOS* 7 [1969–73]: 23). Thus, **ḫ* was lost there not only in Nabatean Aramaic but even in Nabatean Arabic! (The latter appears to have been influenced by the former in other respects as well, exhibiting *p* instead of *f*, *g* instead of g^y, *e* instead of *i*, *o* instead of *u*, etc.; see Isserlin, "Nessana Papyri," passim.) As evidence that the zero-rendering of **ḫ* in the Negev goes back to the time of R. Zeira (ca. 300 C.E.) and R. Simeon b. Laqish (third century C.E.),

word originally was **ḫaspā* with a uvular **ḫ* is based on Arab. *ḫazaf* "(unbaked) pottery",[155] the latter is probably derived from Aramaic חסְפָּא or the like, which in turn comes from Akkadian *ḫaṣbu*, "clay, sherd, pot."[156] In short, the use of כ, rather than ח, to render **ḫ* in the Kidron Valley dipinto is evidence that the Jews had lost uvular **ḫ* by the middle of the first century C.E.[157]

Finally, we have the name Αλφιος on a lead weight bearing the date "year 86."[158] If the weight is from Gaza, as generally assumed, "year 86" corresponds to 26 C.E.[159] Αλφιος cannot be separated from the NT name Αλφαιος. T. Nöldeke noted that the latter is rendered חלפי in the Peshitta, and he conjectured that the literal meaning of the name was "my replacement" (spoken by the mother).[160] Subsequent scholars have followed his lead in equating the

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we may note the Nabatean/Arabian name Αλολεφα = *al-ḫulaifa* on a pre-Christian tombstone from Elusa (A. Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der ʿAraba* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1921], 27 no. 51), dated to 200–350 C.E. by A. Negev ("Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm," *Qedem* 32 [1991]: 130). On the other hand, in the Ḥawrān region of Syria (Roman Auranitis), we find χ for **ḫ* in the Nabatean/Arabian names Χαλιπος = חלפי and Χαμρατη = חמרת; see M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1902–15), 1:219 no. 41 and Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, 1:44 and 2:97. Thus, R. Zeira or R. Simeon b. Laqish may have been referring to the Nabateans of that region.

[155] Kutscher, כוך, 276 = *Studies*, 436 (Hebrew section).

[156] S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden: Brill, 1886), 169; Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 54. This is not the only Akkadian word connected with pottery that came into Arabic, via Aramaic, with a uvular *ḫ*. We also find Akk. *paḫāru,* "potter" > Arab. *faḫḫār,* "(baked) pottery," and Akk. *ḫabû,* "earthenware jug" > Arab. *ḫābiya,* "a large jar."

[157] Given the evidence of *y. Nazir* cited above, it is not necessary for the purposes of this article to decide whether or not כ already had a postvocalic fricative realization in Palestinian Aramaic, that is, whether or not spirantization of *k* had already occurred.

[158] Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 542–43.

[159] B. Lifshitz, "Bleigewichte aus Palästina und Syrien," *ZDPV* 91 (1975): 170; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 543. The attribution to Gaza is perhaps strengthened by the appearance of the name in the vicinity of Gaza in later centuries. Eusebius (*Mart. Pal.* 1.5) writes of an Αλφειος/Αλφιος (d. 303 C.E.) whose "family was of the most illustrious of the city Eleutheropolis"; see GCS 9:908 line 25 and *History of the Martyrs in Palestine* (ed. W. Cureton; London: Williams & Norgate, 1861), 5. The name is attested also in the Byzantine period at Birsame (Αλφιος), Ruḥēbe (Αλφιος), Oboda (Αλφιος), Nessana (Αλφειος), etc.; see V. Tzaferis, "Greek Inscriptions from the Ancient Church at Ḥorvat Beʾer-Shemaʿ," *ErIsr* 25 (1996): 77*–78* no. 3, 83*; Alt, *Griechischen Inschriften*, 35 no. 103; A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981), 40–41 no. 39; and C. J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 3:67–68 no. 21, lines 36, 39.

[160] T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1904), 98. So too M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1988), 165. Contrast Ilan, *Lexicon*, 1:24 §2.4.1.3 and 1:382. Nöldeke's discussion has apparently been overlooked by NT scholars. F. E. Wheeler writes: "Identifying Alphaeus with Clopas/Cleopas is based on the claim that they are variations of a common Aramaic original. . . . Since the form of the original has not been established, such an argument offers little support for identifying Alphaeus with Clopas" ("Alphaeus," *ABD* 1:162).

more usual form, Αλφιος, with חלפי.[161] The latter appears at Masada (66–73 C.E.)[162] and in the synagogue at Engedi.[163] The last letter of חלפי represents a suffixed pronoun (rather than, say, the *nisba* ending), like the last letter of the name חלפן, "our replacement/successor," common in Aramaic ostraca from Idumea (fourth century B.C.E.);[164] cf. Jewish personal names such as אבי, "my father," and (א)אבונ, "our father."[165] The initial consonant of the name is *ḫ, as in Arab. *ḫalf*, "successors," the Safaitic and Sabaic name *Ḫlfn*, the Ugaritic name *Ḫlpn*, etc.[166]

By another fortunate coincidence, the name חלפי also provides us with a *terminus post quem*, for it appears as Χαλφι in the Greek version of 1 Maccabees (11:70). In that work, the opposition between *ḫ and ḥ is still perfectly preserved. Some of the names may have been borrowed from the earlier LXX tradition, e.g., Χεβρων and Ιεριχω vs. Ανανιας, Ασωρ, Αδασα, Αμαθ-, Βαιθωρων, Ιωαννης, and Φινεες. Other transcriptions are not found in the LXX and hence are less likely to be phonetically anachronistic, e.g., Χαλφι vs. Ασιδαῖοι[167] and Ονιας.[168] Now, the Greek version of 1 Maccabees cannot be much earlier than 100 B.C.E.[169] Thus, the shift in the transcription of חלפי from

[161] H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1930) 18, 141; Negev, "Personal Names," 132, cf. 29–30; Tzaferis, "Greek Inscriptions," 83*, 85* n. 10; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 915. This Syro-Palestinian name is not to be confused with the Roman gentilicium *Alfius*, for which see H. Cancik and H. Schneider, *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 504.

[162] Ilan, *Lexicon*, 1:381–82; *Masada*, 1:27 no. 427.

[163] J. Naveh, על פסיפס ואבן: הכתובות הארמיות והעבריות מבתי־הכנסת העתיקים (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1978), 107 no. 70 (3x). According to Frey (*CII* 2:168 no. 982), the name also appears in a synagogue inscription from Capernaum, but Naveh (על פסיפס ואבן, 38–39 no. 18) reads חלפו.

[164] See the indexes in I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996) and A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël* (Paris: Gabalda, 1996).

[165] *Masada*, 1:20 no. 389.

[166] Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 100; Maraqten, *Semitischen Personennamen*, 165.

[167] Derived from חסיד, which appears as *ḥ.syt*^{m} in Amherst 63 (XI/18). See Nims and Steiner, "Paganized Version," 269.

[168] Other possible examples of zero for *ḥ* are Αυαραν (1 Macc 2:5, rendered חורן in Peshitta; cf. Arab. *ḥawar*, "whiteness"), Απφους (1 Macc 2:5, rendered חפוס in Peshitta), Αβουβος (1 Macc 16:11, rendered חבוב in Peshitta; cf. Arab. *ḥabīb*, "beloved").

[169] Most scholars believe that the Hebrew original was composed toward the end of the second century B.C.E.; see T. Fischer, "Maccabees, Books of," *ABD* 4:441, and the literature cited there. As for the translation into Greek, "the usual view is that the Greek of 1 Macc was done by/for the Hasmoneans themselves, presumably not long after 1 Macc itself was written" (e-mail communication from S. J. D. Cohen dated August 24, 2004). Cf. F. Bechtel, "Machabees, The Books of," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Appleton, 1907–12), 9:496: "The Greek translation was probably made soon after the book was written."

Χαλφι to Αλφιος took place in the first century B.C.E. or the early first century C.E.

We have narrowed down the period in which *ḥ was lost to ca. 100 B.C.E.–26 C.E. It must be stressed that this dating is valid only for *ḥ in spoken Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic. It is not valid for *ḥ in biblical reading tradition(s) or in Mesopotamian Aramaic.[170] Nor is it valid for *ġ. Evidence for dating the loss of the latter in the spoken language is very difficult to find. We may note the name Ζαηρα = זערא found on an ossuary and thus dated to before 70 C.E.[171] A. Dolgopolsky cites μάγαρον/μέγαρον, "ritual crypt/pit" = מערה (cf. Arab. *maġārah,* "cave") in Greek texts of the fourth century B.C.E. and later, but É. Masson (Dolgopolsky's source) finds serious problems with this identification.[172] Blau argues that *ġ was lost in the spoken language not long after Genesis was translated into Greek.[173]

Our conclusion concerning the loss of *ḥ differs in important respects from two recent suggestions for dating the change. Concerning Hebrew *ḥ ≠ ḥ, Dolgopolsky argues that "the transcription found in the LXX (as well as in Josephus Flavius's writings and the NT) was based on a tradition of Gk. transcription current among Jews of those times and based on pronunciation which had existed several centuries before the LXX."[174] K. Beyer believes that, in all dialects of Aramaic, "wurden um 200 v. Chr. ḥ > ḥ und ġ > ʿ."[175]

In my opinion, Dolgopolsky's theory is seriously flawed. He argues that his "hypothesis is confirmed by cases of transcription contradicting the etymology."[176] However, most of the cases he cites are from 2 Esdras, even though he twice alludes to Blau's view that 2 Esdras is later than the rest of the LXX.[177] Moreover, his claim that the transcriptions of the LXX (and Josephus) are anachronistic has little to recommend it. How is it possible for "a tradition of Gk. transcription current among Jews" of the third century B.C.E. (when the Pentateuch was translated into Greek) to be "based on pronunciation which

[170] See n. 32 above.

[171] Ilan, *Lexicon*, 1:75. Note also Αβους Ζηρας, "Abun, the younger," on a tombstone from Khushniyye in the Golan Heights (R. C. Gregg and D. Urman, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights: Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras* [South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 140; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996], 184–85 no. 151). Gregg and Urman fail to note that Αβους Ζηρας bears the same name as ר׳ אבונא זעירא in *y. Šeb.* 4.2, 35a.

[172] Dolgopolsky, *Proto-Semitic to Hebrew*, 66; É. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1967), 88.

[173] Blau, *Polyphony*, 39 n. 69, 70.

[174] Dolgopolsky, *Proto-Semitic to Hebrew*, 67.

[175] Beyer, *Aramäischen Texte*, 1:102.

[176] Dolgopolsky, *Proto-Semitic to Hebrew*, 67.

[177] Ibid., 69 and 154 n. 16. See at n. 199 below.

had existed several centuries" earlier, that is, before the Jews began to use Greek?[178]

Both Dolgopolsky and Beyer accept the widespread assumption that these mergers must precede spirantization, there being no trace of confusion between spirantized *ḵ* and **ḥ* or between spirantized *ḡ* and **ġ*.[179] Since Beyer dates the beginning of spirantization to the first century B.C.E.,[180] it is legitimate to ask why there must be a gap of a century or more between the two developments. The question becomes more acute when we examine Beyer's evidence for dating spirantization. His earliest signs of spirantization come from Qumran scrolls "der Zeit um Christi Geburt," that is, two centuries after his date for the mergers.[181] There is no need for such a large gap.[182] If it is legitimate to assume that spirantization of כ began in the late first century B.C.E. (and I stress the word "if"),[183] there is no reason why the loss of **ḥ* could not have begun in the early first century B.C.E.

A second assumption shared by Dolgopolsky and Beyer (although never stated explicitly) is that the entire *bgdkpt* class—not just *k* and *g*—resisted postvocalic spirantization until the old uvular fricatives **ḥ* and **ġ* were lost. It is this assumption that makes it possible for Beyer to use *b* ~ *w* alternations to date the spirantization of *k* and *g*.[184] However, the assumption is undermined by evidence from the Samaritan reading tradition. In describing that tradition, early Samaritan grammarians speak of the double realization of *bpdwt* rather than *bgdkpt*.[185] According to Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *k* and *g* never developed spirantized allophones in Samaritan Hebrew.[186] If that is the case, the reason must be

[178] For the originality of Josephus's transcriptions, apparent in tables 1–2 above, see Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting*, 1:29–30.

[179] Dolgopolsky, *Proto-Semitic to Hebrew* 67, 74; Beyer, *Aramäischen Texte*, 1:102. So G. Bergsträsser (*Hebräische Grammatik* [Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1918], 40) and many other scholars. For critiques of this assumption, see Blau, *Polyphony*, 74–75; and R. C. Steiner, "Simplifying Assumptions and the History of Spirantization in Aramaic and Hebrew," to appear in Festschrift Moshe Bar-Asher.

[180] Beyer, *Aramäischen Texte*, 1:102, 126.

[181] Ibid., 1:128.

[182] For the assumption that the two changes were causally related, as a chain shift, see E. A. Speiser, "Concatenated Sound-shift in Canaanite," *JBL* 58 (1939): vi–vii. If this was a "push-chain" (with **ḥ* "pushed" out of the way by the newly spirantized *k*) rather than a "pull-chain" (with spirantization of *k* blocked until **ḥ* got out of the way), there was no gap at all. In the push-chain scenario, we have an example of הנס מקול הפחד יפל אל הפחת (Isa 24:18), for in fleeing from one sound (*ḵ*), **ḥ* collides with another (*ḥ*).

[183] See Steiner, "Simplifying Assumptions."

[184] Beyer, *Aramäischen Texte*, 1:127–28; cf. Dolgopolsky, *Proto-Semitic to Hebrew*, 73. My discussion of Samaritan Hebrew in the remainder of this paragraph is from my forthcoming "Simplifying Assumptions."

[185] Ben-Ḥayyim, עברית וארמית, 5:21–22 = *Grammar*, 34.

[186] Ben-Ḥayyim, עברית וארמית, 5:22–23 = *Grammar*, 34.

that the spirantization of the velar stops was blocked by the preservation of **ḥ* and **ġ*. Put differently, Samaritan speakers opted to forgo "ease of articulation" when pronouncing *k* and *g* after vowels, in order to avoid a conditioned merger with **ḫ* and **ġ*.[187] Thus, they were careful to enunciate the final consonant of *pak,* "flask," as a stop, in order to prevent confusion with *paḫ,* "bird-trap, snare" (cf. Arab. *faḫḫ,* "snare," and Egyptian *pḥȝ,* "bird-trap").[188] The uvulars were eventually lost in Samaritan Hebrew, but by that time, it seems, spirantization was no longer productive.[189]

Diffusion from Phoenicia and the Hasmonean Conquest of the Galilee

In merging the uvular fricatives with the pharyngeal fricatives, Hebrew was following in the footsteps of its northern neighbor, Phoenician. Were the Hebrew mergers carried out independently, or were they the result of diffusion from Phoenicia? The latter alternative seems attractive in the case of **ḫ* > *ḥ*. Our discussion of the date of this merger suggests the possibility that it may have had something to do with the Hasmonean conquest of the Galilee at the end of the second century B.C.E. Phoenician influence was strong there, especially in the northern part, Upper Galilee.[190] There were probably many speakers of Aramaic and Hebrew there[191] who had merged **ḫ* with *ḥ* under the influence of Phoenician.[192] Some of these were Itureans from the Lebanon region (Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.18 §755) who had infiltrated into Upper Galilee; we learn from Josephus that Judah Aristobolus "made war on the

[187] The merger of *b* with *w* in Samaritan Hebrew is not entirely comparable. It is an unconditional merger, perhaps due to Greek influence.

[188] For the Egyptian, see Y. Muchiki, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic* (SBLDS 173; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 253.

[189] Cf. the absence of spirantization after epenthetic vowels in verbs in the Tiberian Hebrew reading tradition (שָׁמַעְתָּ, וַיַּחַד, etc.). Presumably, epenthesis in verbs was later; see R. C. Steiner, "On the Origin of the *ḥéðer* ~ *ḥăðár* Alternation in Hebrew," *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 3 (1976): 9–10.

[190] See R. S. Hanson, *Tyrian Influence in the Upper Galilee* (Meiron Excavation Project 2; Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1980); S. C. Herbert, *Tel Anafa I: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel* (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 10; Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1994), 1:5–7; R. Frankel, "Galilee (Prehellenistic)," *ABD* 2:894. Note also the alliance between the non-Jewish Galileans and the men from Ptolemais and Tyre and Sidon against the Jews of the Galilee in the time of Judah the Maccabee (1 Macc 5:15).

[191] See Hanson, *Tyrian Influence,* 67: "Linguistically, the Jewish population used Aramaic predominately and Hebrew considerably. There was much less use of Greek there than in the Galilee district immediately to the south."

[192] See n. 5 and at n. 126 above. See also the statement in b. *ʿErub*. 53b that the Galileans "are not precise in (their use of) language" (לא דייקי לישנא), since they fail to distinguish חֲמַר, "wine"; חֲמָר, "donkey"; עֲמַר, "wool"; and אִימַּר, "lamb." Does this contain an echo of an earlier era when only חֲמַר (**ḫ*) and חֲמָר (**ḥ*) were homonyms?

Ituraeans . . . and compelled [them], if they wished to remain in their country, to be circumcised and to live in accordance with the laws of the Jews" (*Ant.* 13.11.3 §319). Others were Jews from Jerusalem who received estates in the Galilee in the wake of the Hasmonean conquest.[193] The children of these Jerusalemite Galileans may have spread the Phoenician innovation to their cousins in Jerusalem.

The most prominent of these children was Alexander Jannaeus, whom John Hyrcanus had "brought up in Galilee from his birth" (*Ant.* 13.12.1 §322). It would be natural for Jannaeus to have acquired a Galilean "accent" during his childhood, and for his pronunciation to have been widely imitated once he became king. Jannaeus's reign (103–76 B.C.E.) would therefore have been the perfect time for the loss of **ḫ* to become widespread in Jerusalem.

This theory receives support from Pesher Habakkuk, a work that was probably composed during Jannaeus's reign (or slightly later) and may even allude to him.[194] In 1QpHab XI 6, we find a Hebrew form אבית (= בבית), also known from Mur 42:4 (Bar-Kokhba) and (alongside אבבית) rabbinic literature. I have argued elsewhere that אבית ~ אבבית, which has frequently been compared to Phoenician-Punic אבבת (not to mention אבמקדש, אבחי, אבצדן ים, and אבמצבת), is an example of Phoenician influence on Hebrew,[195] because the development of a prothetic vowel with the preposition -ב but not the prepositions -ל and -כ makes good phonetic sense in Phoenician but not Hebrew.[196]

[193] S. Freyne, "Galileans," *ABD* 2:877.

[194] Pesher Habakkuk appears to come from the period 84–63 B.C.E. (B. Nitzan, מגילת פשר חבקוק [Jerusalem: Bialik, 1986], 132), and our copy (1QpHab) probably comes from the second half of the first century B.C.E. (M. P. Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations,* vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], 157). Nitzan argues that the wicked priest in Pesher Habakkuk is Jannaeus (מגילת פשר חבקוק, 132–35).

[195] See R. C. Steiner, "*Albounout* 'Frankincense' and *Alsounalph* 'Oxtongue': Phoenician-Punic Botanical Terms from an Egyptian Papyrus and a Byzantine Codex," *Or* 70 (2001): 102 esp. n. 42. For other examples of Phoenician influence on Hebrew at various times and places, see ibid., 101 n. 37; and W. R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 233.

[196] The argument (Steiner, "*Albounout*," 102) may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) in Phoenician-Punic, prothetic vowels appear before initial consonants vocalized (before deletion) with **i* rather than **a* and (2) in Phoenician-Punic, -ב, unlike -כ and -ל, was vocalized (before deletion) with **i* rather than **a*, while in Hebrew all three prepositions were vocalized with **a*. For *ba-* rather than *bi-*, see the names *Kul-ba-iá-di-il*, *Ba-a-a-di-il*, etc. attested in various Neo-Assyrian texts. These Northwest Semitic names, related to Akk. *Gabbu-ina-qāt-ili* and *Ina-qāt-ili* (Old Babylonian), appear in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Ammonite in alphabetic script (כלבידאל and בידאל); see K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors: Reprografische Nachdruck, 1914), 78, 100, F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bib* 50 (1969): 361; M. Ohana and M. Heltzer, מסורת השמות העבריים החוץ־מקראיים (Haifa: University of Haifa Press, 1978), 37; Maraqten, *Semitischen Perso-*

The geographical diffusion of phonological innovations, even across language frontiers, has been much discussed in historical linguistics and dialectology since the nineteenth century, when the so-called wave theory of language change was proposed. It has also been pointed out that, thanks to its ports, Phoenicia was an important center of linguistic innovation, exercising "linguistic control over southern Syria-Palestine."[197] What is noteworthy here, if our conjecture is correct, is the glacial pace of the diffusion, with the merger taking more than a millennium to reach Jerusalem.[198]

What of *ġ > ʿ? That merger appears to have occurred well before the Hasmonean conquest of the Galilee. Is it also due to Phoenician influence, or did it occur independently in Hebrew? That question will have to remain for future research.

IV. The Date of 2 Esdras

An interesting by-product of Blau's investigation of *ġ and *ḫ was the discovery of evidence for a relative dating of 2 Esdras: "It is quite certain that, among those books of the Bible containing a sufficient number of proper nouns to be representative, the last books to be translated into G[reek] were E/N; this is quite clearly proven by the absence of γ and χ transcribing ġ and ḥ [*sic*, for ḫ] respectively in their genuine transcriptions. . . ."[199] Table 2 shows this conclusion to be an understatement. In the 2 Esdras column, we find zero for ח in eight out of nine cases—around 89 percent of the time, as compared with Aquila's 57 percent and Josephus's 33 percent.[200] Thus, the translator of Ezra-Nehemiah outdoes not only the rest of the LXX but also Josephus and even Aquila in transcribing *ḫ with zero.[201] It behooves us, therefore, to explore the

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nennamen, 71–72, 136–37; F. M. Fales, "West-Semitic Names in the Šēḫ Ḥamad Texts," *SAAB* 7 (1993): 146–47; and S. Parpola et al., *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–), 2:635–36. In the modern Samaritan Hebrew reading tradition, the prothetic vowel of ב־ (e.g., *abyom* = בְּיוֹם) has spread to ל־ (e.g., *alyom* = לְיוֹם) but not to כ־; Ben-Ḥayyim, עברית וארמית, 5:239–40 = *Grammar*, 316. This development is probably connected with the Samaritan pronunciation of the preposition אל as *al*.

[197] Garr, *Dialect Geography*, 235.

[198] Assuming that the Northwest Semitic dialect written with the reduced version of the Ugaritic alphabet was Phoenician; see at n. 5 above. For a case of diffusion in Dravidian spanning two millennia, see A. M. S. McMahon, *Understanding Language Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 51–52.

[199] Blau, *Polyphony*, 71; cf. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 340–41.

[200] It is also instructive to compare 2 Esdras with Josephus in lines 4, 5, 11, 18, 23, 26, and 32 of table 2, and 2 Esdras with Aquila in lines 5, 18, 23, 26, and 33.

[201] Wutz goes even further: "Einzelne Formen von II. Esr. scheinen sogar über die Zeit der 2. Kol. hinauszuführen" (*Transkriptionen*, 1:138).

possibility that the canonical Greek translation of Ezra-Nehemiah is later than Aquila.

This is not the first time that such a late date has been suggested for that work. Over the past three centuries, 2 Esdras has been attributed to Theodotion by many scholars,[202] most notably C. C. Torrey.[203] According to Torrey, "Theodotion's translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was not made until (at least) the middle of the second century A.D.,"[204] somewhat later than Aquila's translations. This is not the place to give a full account of the controversy surrounding this theory.[205] Nevertheless, some aspects of the debate must be mentioned.

One bone of contention is the account of the history of David and Solomon given by the Hellenistic Jewish historian Eupolemus in the middle of the second century B.C.E. Torrey and G. Gerleman agree that this account came from a Greek version of Chronicles, but they differ on the identity of that version. Torrey believes that it came from an early Greek translation of Chronicles only two chapters of which have been preserved, at the beginning of 1 Esdras.[206] Gerleman, on the other hand, argues that Eupolemus's source was Paralipomena, our canonical Greek translation of Chronicles.[207]

Gerleman's argument, if correct, might appear to undermine Torrey's dating of 2 Esdras, since Torrey believes that 2 Esdras and Paralipomena form a single work, produced by the same translator(s). However, Gerleman also argues, following B. Walde, that Paralipomena and 2 Esdras are separate works.[208] This latter view is further supported by the transcription of ח and ע in these books. According to Wutz:

> Im grossen und ganzen hat sich diese Scheidung in der Eigennamenschreibung erhalten bis zur Chronik, erst die Bücher Ezra-Neh. haben sie definitiv aufgegeben z. B. Αθλει - Γοθλει (Par.) עתלי Αϊτωβ - Αχειτωβ sonst.[209]

Blau adduced many more examples of this contrast between Paralipomena and 2 Esdras.[210] We may add that it is not only the *names* in Paralipomena that

[202] See, e.g., the literature cited by C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910), 66; G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, II, *Chronicles* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946–), 5 n. 1; and L. C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 1:6–11, 12.

[203] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 66–82.

[204] Ibid., 91.

[205] For an excellent *Forschungsgeschichte*, see Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, 1:6–17. See also E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament," *Textus* 8 (1973): 79 n. 5 and the literature cited there.

[206] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 82–83.

[207] Gerleman, *Studies*, 9–13; cf. Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, 1:15–16.

[208] B. Walde, *Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta* (Freiburg: Herder, 1913), 29–37; Gerleman, *Studies*, 6–7.

[209] Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, 1:139.

[210] Blau, *Polyphony*, 37, 65–67.

exhibit χ for **ḥ*. The same transcription is found in common nouns and verbs (or, at least, words understood as such by the translator): 1 Chr 18:8 μεταβηχας= מטבחת (cf. Ug. *ṭ-b-ḥ*, "sacrifice, butcher," etc.),[211] 21:20 μεθαχαβιν = מתחבאים, "hiding" (cf. Arab. *taḫabbaʾa,* "hide"), 2 Chr 25:18 αχουχ = החוח, "the thistle" (cf. Akk. *ḫaḫi(n)nu,* "a thorny plant").[212] The form αφφουσωθ = החפשות (*ketib*) in 2 Chr 26:21 may be an exception (cf. Ug. *bt ḫpṯt*),[213] but if so, it is an exception found also in LXX 2 Kgs 15:5.

It seems clear, therefore, that Paralipomena is separate from, and earlier than, 2 Esdras. Hence, a finding that Paralipomena existed already in the middle of the second century B.C.E. tells us nothing about the date of 2 Esdras. Torrey could still be right about the latter, for, in the words of L. C. Allen, "Par must be evaluated independently of II Esdr."[214]

A century of research has undermined Torrey's theory in another key area. Torrey's Theodotion—a man who flourished in the middle of the second century C.E. and whose "chief characteristic [was] his tendency to *transliterate* the difficult or doubtful words of his Hebrew text"[215]—no longer exists as a historical figure. Thanks to D. Barthélemy, much of the work previously ascribed to the post-Aquila Theodotion—including the transcriptions of difficult words—is now commonly dated within the period 50 B.C.E.–50 C.E.[216] This revised dating has left 2 Esdras in limbo. Barthélemy was unable to reach any firm conclusion concerning 2 Esdras, and the book, together with Torrey's theory, has been ignored by most of Barthélemy's successors.[217] One of the few recent studies of 2 Esdras known to me concludes only that "the translation of 2E was contemporary with or later than the work of the καίγε group."[218]

[211] Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Dictionary*, 887.

[212] As pointed out in n. 11 above, Akkadian evidence for West Semitic *ḥ* needs to be corroborated by other evidence. As corroborating evidence, we may note that, according to *AHw* 308, Akkadian has both a *ḫaḫḫu* III "Dorn(strauch), Haken?" and a *ḫaḫḫu* II "Pflaume(n-baum)." If these two lexemes have a common origin, they are both cognates of Syrian Arabic *ḫauḫ,* "plum."

[213] Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Dictionary*, 402.

[214] Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, 1:16.

[215] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 69.

[216] Tov, "Septuagint," 182–83; P. J. Gentry, "The Place of Theodotion-Job in the Textual History of the Septuagint," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments* (ed. A. Salvesen; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 229. There is no simple answer to the question asked by T. McLay in a recent article ("It's a Question of Influence: The Theodotion and Old Greek Texts of Daniel," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, 231): "Who is Theodotion and what is the extent and nature of his work?" Fortunately, the question is not crucial for our study.

[217] T. Janz, "The Second Book of Ezra and the Καίγε Group," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 153.

[218] Ibid., 168. The question of dating is not even mentioned in Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*.

In the absence of any new consensus about the date of 2 Esdras, we must return to the wreckage of Torrey's theory to see what can be salvaged. Two observations made by Torrey seem to have stood the test of time: (1) Josephus uses 1 Esdras, but not 2 Esdras, as a source for his *Antiquities*,[219] and (2) there are no Hexaplaric readings ascribed to any of "the three" for 2 Esdras (in contrast to Paralipomena).[220] To these two, we add: (3) "a large number of Hebrew-Greek equivalences typical of Aquila are consistently employed by 2 Ezra,"[221] and (4) the translator responsible for 2 Esdras transcribes *ḥ with zero more often than Josephus and even Aquila.[222] Taken individually, each of these facts can be explained away,[223] but taken together they suggest that 2 Esdras was produced in the middle or end of the second century C.E.

V. The Date of the Greek Version of Judith

When was Judith translated into Greek? According to C. A. Moore, "the translation was made no later than the 1st century A.D., since Clement of Rome (30?–?99) alluded to Judith in 1 Clem 55:4–5."[224] Transcriptions of *ḥ can help us push back this *terminus ante quem*.

The translator of Judith normally uses χ for *ḥ, e.g., Χελους = חלון (1:9), Χωβα = חובה (?) (4:4, 15:5), Ιεριχω = ירחו (4:4), Αχιωρ = אחיאור (5:5, etc.). The only apparent exception is in the list of Judith's ancestors (8:1), where we find an Ελκια = חלקיה as well as a Χελκιας = חלקיה; however, a few Greek manuscripts (supported by the Syriac version) read Ελκανα for the former.

Let us examine two of the above transcriptions more closely, comparing them with Greek transcriptions of the same names in literary sources of the first century C.E. Χελους[225] (Jdt 1:9) renders the Hebrew name[226] of Elusa, a prominent Nabatean town in the Negev. The town's Arabic name appears (with

[219] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 81; R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 23; idem, *Esdrae liber II*, 21. This was noted already by William Whiston in 1722, according to Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, 1:6.

[220] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 66.

[221] Janz, "Second Book of Ezra," 153. The reference is to translation (lexical) equivalences, not transcription (phonetic) equivalences.

[222] See above.

[223] See, e.g., S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 294: "The 'LXX' might well have been in existence, but rejected by Josephus in favour of the Greek Esdras, which he preferred on account both of its superior style and of its less complicated 'literary sequence.'"

[224] C. A. Moore, "Judith, Book of," *ABD* 3:1124.

[225] Cf. Χελλης, the LXX's transcription of the personal name חלץ.

[226] Contrast Ελουσα below, with final α reflecting the Aramaic definite article.

a definite article) as *al-Ḥalūṣ* in the Nessana papyri and in R. Saadia Gaon's translation of the Torah, where it is identified with Gerar.[227] Its Aramaic name appears (also with a definite article) as חלוצא/חלוצה in the Palestinian targumim (*Targum Neofiti* to Gen 16:7, 14, Exod 15:22; *Fragment Targums* to Exod 15:22; *Pseudo-Jonathan* to Gen 16:14, Exod 15:22) and *Genesis Rabbah* (to Gen 16:7); in these sources, it is identified with Shur and Bered.[228] Josephus's transcription of the name is Αλουσα (*Ant*. 14.1.4 §18),[229] reflecting the merger of *ḫ* with *ḥ* in Palestinian Aramaic (Jewish and Nabatean).[230] Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.16.10) has Ελουσα, as do the Byzantine sources.[231]

Χωβα (Jdt 4:4 and 15:5; cf. Χωβαι in 15:4) is another toponym that may be relevant to our discussion, assuming that it does not come from the LXX. If Χωβα represents חובה (as it does in LXX Gen 14:15)[232] rather than *כובה, the chances are good that we are dealing with *ḫ*. Regardless of the true etymology of the toponym חובה, it would have been difficult for the translators to resist connecting it with Aramaic חובה/חוב, "debt, sin," which appears with *ḫ* in Amherst 63 (X/13), in the expression *mrḫ.b*^{m} = מרי חובא, "the creditor." If Χωβα is to be identified with el-Meḫubbi, between Tubass and Besan,[233] it is even more likely that we are dealing with *ḫ*. For the חובה of Gen 14:15, Josephus (*Ant*. 1.10.1 §178) has a form that reflects the loss of *ḫ* in his reading tradition: Ωβα.

The evidence considered above makes it likely that the Greek version of Judith is earlier than Josephus's works. If Ελκανα (rather than Ελκιας) is the original reading in 8:1, we may say that the translator was completely consistent in transcribing *ḫ* with χ, as was the translator of 1 Maccabees. Now, Moore argues that the Hebrew original of Judith was a Hasmonean work from the end of the second century B.C.E.,[234] around the time that the Hebrew original of 1 Maccabees is believed to have been composed.[235] Although there are many uncertainties, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the Greek translation of

[227] Cohen and Talshir, חִסְפִין, 145. For the later Arabic name of the town, *al-Ḥalaṣah*, see Press, ארץ ישראל, 259.

[228] *The Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch: Codex Vatican (Neofiti 1)* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1970), 28, 29, 143; *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch* (ed. M. L. Klein; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 1:80, 172; *Pseudo-Jonathan* (ed. M. Ginsburger; Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903), 27, 126; מדרש בראשית רבא (ed. J. Theodor and C. Albeck) 454 line 7 (3 MSS).

[229] Some manuscripts have Λουσ(σ)α.

[230] For the loss of Nabatean Aramaic *ḫ* in the Negev and specifically at Elusa, see n. 154 above.

[231] Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 708, 869, 871. The same form appears on the Madeba map.

[232] Moore, *Judith*, 149.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Moore, "Judith, Book of," *ABD* 3.1123.

[235] See n. 169 above.

Judith, like that of 1 Maccabees, was also a product of the Hasmonean period. The use of the form Χελους (= Hebrew חלוץ) instead of *Χελουσα or Ελουσα (= Aramaic חלוצא) may hint that the translator shared the affinity of the Hasmoneans for the national language.

VI. Conclusions

The old uvular fricatives, *ḥ and *ġ, survived in Hebrew and Western Aramaic throughout the biblical period, but they disappeared at different times. The merger of *ḥ with ḥ is later than the merger of *ġ with ʿ. The earliest evidence for *ḥ > ḥ in spoken Hebrew and Western Aramaic comes from the Masada inscriptions (66–73 C.E.), the Kidron Valley dipinto (first half of the first century C.E.), and a lead weight from Gaza (26 C.E.). However, the merger may have taken place well before the first century C.E. Evidence for the retention of *ḥ in the spoken languages seems to peter out in ca. 100 B.C.E.

The latter date suggests the possibility that the loss of *ḥ had something to do with the Hasmonean conquest of the Upper Galilee at the end of the second century B.C.E. Phoenician influence was very strong in that region; there were probably many speakers of Hebrew and Aramaic there who had merged *ḥ with ḥ in imitation of Phoenician. Once these speakers came under Hasmonean rule, the way was open for the innovation to spread gradually to Judea over the course of the following century. Another Phoenician innovation that appears to have made its way south in this period is the form אביח [abbe:t] = בביח; it is attested in Pesher Habakkuk, whose composition has been dated to the period 84–63 B.C.E.

The biblical reading tradition(s) was/were more conservative than the spoken languages. The transcriptions of Josephus and Aquila show that *ḥ did not disappear from that/those tradition(s) until the second century C.E., although signs of its decline are already apparent in the first century C.E. The preservation of *ḥ, without support from spoken Hebrew and Aramaic, is an impressive achievement of the proto-Masoretes. The successful transmission of the double realization of ח from one generation of readers to the next must have required long periods of training. Readers had to learn the correct values of ח by rote, verse by verse.[236] Such training was clearly impossible during the war with

[236] Contrast שׂ, whose realization as [s] was supported, in many words, by spoken Hebrew and Aramaic, and פ, whose emphatic pronunciation was restricted to a single word; see Steiner, "*Ketiv-Qere*"; and idem, "Emphatic פ in the Masoretic Pronunciation of אַפַּדְנוֹ (Dan 11:45)" (in Hebrew), in *Hebrew and Arabic Studies in Honour of Joshua Blau* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1993), 551–61.

Rome. It appears that when the last readers trained before the war died, the tradition died with them.

Our study of Greek transcriptions of **ḥ* provides a tool for dating Greek translations of Hebrew books. The transcriptions in 2 Esdras, the canonical Greek translation of Ezra-Nehemiah, belong to the the second century C.E., while the transcriptions in the Greek version of Judith appear to be earlier than the first century C.E.

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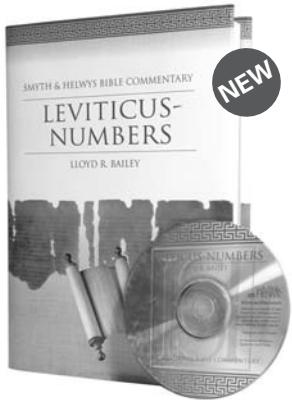

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DEFENDING THE "WESTERN NON-INTERPOLATIONS": THE CASE FOR AN ANTI-SEPARATIONIST *TENDENZ* IN THE LONGER ALEXANDRIAN READINGS

MICHAEL WADE MARTIN
Michael.Martin@lcu.edu
Lubbock Christian University, Lubbock, TX 79407

In the last century or so, two principal views have emerged regarding the authenticity and character of the so-called Western non-interpolations.[1] Whereas B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort on the basis of internal evidence had relegated to double brackets nine verses or partial verses judged to be rare "Neutral" interpolations lacking in the Western text (Matt 27:49b; Luke 22:19b–20; 24:3b, 6a, 12, 36b, 40, 51b, and 52a), a majority of scholars now view most of the longer readings as authentic (Matt 27:49b usually excepted) and most of the shorter Western readings as "omissions" rather than "non-interpolations."[2] This change in opinion has resulted largely from the publication of papyrus text $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, a text unknown to Westcott and Hort, which showed

[1] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort identified nine instances in which, in the opinion of the editors, some early Western witnesses are correct in their attestation of a shorter text than that found in the so-called Neutral witnesses (*The New Testament in the Original Greek* [2 vols.; Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881; vol. 2 repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003], 2:294). They assigned to the shorter Western readings the cumbersome name "Western non-interpolations," probably because, as Bruce M. Metzger explains, "they could not bring themselves to refer directly to 'Neutral interpolations'—which is exactly what, on their own reconstruction, is involved in their readings" (*The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* [3rd ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992], 134).

[2] The view of the majority of the UBS committee, according to Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1994), 191–93; so also Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 145–59; Kurt Aland, "New neutestamentliche Papryi II," *NTS* 12 (1965–66): 193–210; K. Snodgrass, "Western Non-Interpolations," *JBL* 91 (1972): 369–79; and Arie W. Zwiep, "The Text of the Ascension Narratives," *NTS* 42 (1996): 228–34.

that the longer "Neutral" readings in Luke are datable to the second century.[3] The dominance of this opinion is evidenced today in the UBS 4th edition, which does not bracket the Lukan readings and, moreover, assigns them a "B" (= "almost certain") rating.[4]

In opposition to the majority view, Mikeal Parsons and, more recently, Bart D. Ehrman have revived the Westcott-Hort thesis on somewhat new grounds, arguing in favor of the Western non-interpolations and against what we will refer to hereinafter as "the longer Alexandrian readings" (= the verses listed above) on the basis of a perceived christological *Tendenz* common to the latter.[5] These scholars rightly observe that Westcott and Hort anticipated the discovery of a document like $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, for they believed that behind Vaticanus and Sinaiticus stood a very early Neutral ancestor and, moreover, that the stream of textual tradition feeding the later Western witnesses was already in the second century divided from the Neutral stream. Thus, too much has been made, in Parsons's and Ehrman's opinion, of the "new" evidence provided by $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$.[6]

Though Parsons's and Ehrman's theses have much in common, there are some important differences between the two worth noting. Parsons argues that

[3] See Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, December 28–30, 1964* (ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965), 335. Also driving the change in perspective has been the perception that Westcott and Hort's focus on these nine Western readings to the exclusion of other readings with similar documentary support was "arbitrary"; so Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (2nd ed.; trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 15; but cf. the defense of Westcott and Hort on this count in Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 223–24.

[4] Although the UBS 3rd edition also did not bracket the longer Lukan readings, it did assign them a "D" (= "a very high degree of doubt") rating (the one exception being Luke 22:19b-20, which was assigned a "C" rating). On the problematic "textual optimism" of the UBS[4] seen in both the redefined letter ratings and the new ratings assigned to readings, see Kent D. Clarke and K. Bales, "The Construction of Biblical Certainty: Textual Optimism in the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*," in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts* (ed. D. G. K. Taylor; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 86–93; Kent D. Clarke, "Textual Certainty in the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*," *NovT* 44 (2002): 105–33; and idem, "A Rebuttal to William L. Petersen's Review of *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts*," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 8 (2003), http://purl.org/TC.

[5] Mikeal Parsons, "A Christological Tendency in $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$," *JBL* 105 (1986): 463–79; idem, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke-Acts: The Ascension Narratives in Context* (JSNTSup 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 29–52; and Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 194–95, 198–209, 212–32; see also the view of the minority of the UBS committee according to Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 193; for a critique of the tendency theory of Parsons, see Zwiep, "Text," 230–34.

[6] Parsons, "Christological Tendency," 468–89; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 224–25.

the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, or perhaps the scribe of a predecessor, is responsible for the interpolations, which in Parsons's judgment betray an anti-Gnostic *Tendenz*.[7] Ehrman, by contrast, reasonably questions whether $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ happens to be the "smoking gun" that introduced the corruption.[8] He notes as well the problem of the lack of uniformity in Gnostic thought and argues instead for an "anti-docetic" *Tendenz* evident in the longer Alexandrian readings.[9] Whereas Parsons treats the interpolations en masse, Ehrman does not see the interpolations as the work of a single scribe and therefore, like Hort, is opposed to treating them "as if they all stand or fall together."[10] (In this regard, Ehrman agrees with the majority position, which also is generally opposed to treating the Western non-interpolations en masse.) Parsons does, however, agree with Ehrman in another regard. Though Parsons treats the longer Alexandrian readings en masse, his thesis does not distinguish them as a group from "other changes" made by the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (changes seen in the manuscript's singular and subsingular readings). Hence, Parsons would agree with Ehrman (and those of the majority opinion, as well) that the Western non-interpolations are indeed "a cluster of variants that scholars . . . have artificially created."[11] To my knowledge, no one has argued, *contra* the majority view, that the longer Alexandrian readings are a distinct group of "orthodox corruptions" produced together as a group and in connection with no other variants.[12]

In this study, I make this very claim, arguing that a confluence of unique characteristics too remarkable to be coincidental distinguishes at least seven of the longer Alexandrian readings (those in Luke 24), and perhaps eight or all nine, as just such a group. This confluence of unique characteristics commends not only (1) the view that shorter Western readings are authentic; but also (2) the view that at least the seven interpolations, and perhaps all nine, arose from the hand of a single scribe (though not the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ or a near predecessor)—meaning that the readings ought to be treated en masse; (3) the view that no other variants displaying the same confluence of characteristics are detectable from the hand of this scribe—hence the interpolations ought to be distinguished as a group from any larger set of variants to which they may

[7] Parsons, "Christological Tendency," 463–79; idem, *Departure of Jesus*, 29–52. In the former, Parsons argues that the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ is responsible for the interpolations; in the latter, Parsons allows that they may belong to the hand of predecessor. In either case, Parsons argues that the same hand that produced the interpolations is responsible for the singular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, a position I challenge in this study.

[8] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 255–56 n. 145.

[9] Ibid., 194–95, 198–209, 212–32.

[10] See the comments of Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 217, 223.

[11] Ibid., 223.

[12] In this study, I follow Ehrman in his cautious and qualified use of the term "orthodoxy" in the sense of "incipient orthodoxy" (*Orthodoxy Corruption*, 12–15).

belong; and (4) the view that the seven readings, and perhaps all nine, are of the same general "anti-separationist"[13] character as other variants found throughout the manuscript tradition.

An initial sketch of the distinctive characteristics shared by the readings and to which I appeal in making my argument will be helpful:

1. The nine longer readings are among a rare group of longer readings not found in the earliest Western manuscripts (i.e., D and a handful of Latin versions), but attested virtually everywhere in the Alexandrian tradition, the twenty-seven readings Westcott and Hort identified as candidates for "non-interpolation" (as opposed to "omission") by the Western text.[14]
2. Hence, whether Western omissions or Alexandrian interpolations, the variant readings must derive from a very early and narrow window of time in the manuscript tradition. They are no later than the early to mid second century, given that the longer readings are found in virtually the entire Alexandrian tradition, including $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (a late-second-/ early-third-century manuscript).[15] On the other hand, given the consistent absence of the longer readings from D (generally believed to have second-century ancestry) and a few other early Western manuscripts, the variants must derive from a time after the Western and Alexandrian textual traditions began to divide.
3. Among that rare group, the nine longer readings are the only ones whose authenticity has traditionally been called into question by internal and especially transcriptional evidence—the reason Westcott and Hort singled them out as inauthentic. For advocates of the minority view, at least, this distinguishes the nine from the others.
4. Whether omitted or interpolated, the nine readings betray a shared and extremely rare scribal proclivity. They must be either rare interpolations of considerable length by an early Alexandrian scribe, or rare omissions of considerable length by an early Western scribe.[16]

[13] In using this term, I am following the helpful distinction drawn by Ehrman (*Orthodox Corruption*, 119–26) between "separationist" and "docetic" christologies. In essence, docetic christologies deny the real bodily existence of Jesus Christ, while "separationist" christologies maintain that the divine Christ indwelled the human Jesus beginning with his baptism but departed before Jesus' passion.

[14] See the summary of Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 224.

[15] One notable exception is Luke 24:51b, which is absent from the original hand of ℵ.

[16] Metzger summarizes the consensus view when he states that the early Alexandrian text "is generally shorter than the text presented in any of the other forms, the Western being the longest" (*Text of the New Testament*, 216).

5. Eight of the nine longer readings occur at the end of Luke.
6. Seven of these eight occur in Luke 24.
7. Three of these seven have some kind of relationship—most agree a literary relationship—to the end of the Fourth Gospel, as does the one non-Lukan reading, Matt 27:49b.[17]
8. Whether the words are attributed to the evangelists or a scribe(s), there is no denying that all nine readings happen to have significant christological—most would agree "proto-orthodox"—content.[18]
9. Whether the words are attributed to Luke or to a scribe(s), each of the seven readings in Luke 24 happens to provide assurance, given their narrative context, of the Lord Jesus' bodily existence or ascension *after* the resurrection (not every word or phrase in Luke 24 provides such assurance, so it is remarkable that all seven texts, whether judged to be Western omissions or Alexandrian interpolations, do).

I. The Authenticity of the Western Non-Interpolations

When the shared characteristics of the variants in question are seen together in a list such as the one above, the improbability of the longer readings' authenticity becomes more readily apparent, since virtually all those arguing for the authenticity of the longer readings insist that the Western omissions occurred independent of one another and for different reasons evident from a case-by-case analysis. Hence, for such scholars all of the shared characteristics of the omissions must be strictly coincidental.

Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, for example, relates the UBS committee's majority opinion as to why eight of the nine longer readings in question (printed in italics below) are authentic. In every case, a different reason—or no reason at all—is offered for why the Western "omissions" occurred:

Luke 22:19b–20

> Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he said, "Take this and divide it among yourselves; for I tell you that from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes." Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, "This is my body, *which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me." And he did the same with the cup after the supper, saying, "This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood."*

[17] Luke 24:12, 36b, and 40 bear a striking resemblance, respectively, to John 20:3–10; 20:19 + 6:20; and 20:20. Matthew 27:49b bears a striking resemblance to John 19:34.

[18] See the discussion of Parsons and Ehrman below.

Witnesses to the shorter reading are D it$^{a, d, ff2, i, l}$.

The majority of the committee, "impressed by the overwhelming preponderance of external evidence supporting the longer form, explained the origin of the shorter form as due to some scribal accident or misunderstanding."[19]

Luke 24:3b

. . . but when they went in, they did not find the body *of the Lord Jesus*.

Witnesses to the shorter reading are D it$^{a, b, d, e, ff2, l, r1}$.

The majority of the committee, again "impressed by the weight" of the external evidence, "regarded the [shorter] reading of D as influenced by ver. 23,"[20] which likewise refers strictly to "his body."

Luke 24:6a

The women were terrified and bowed their faces to the ground, but the men said to them, "Why do you look for the living among the dead? *He is not here, but has risen*."

Witnesses to the shorter reading are D it$^{a, b, d, e, ff2, l, r1}$ arm^{mss} geo^{B} Marcion.

The majority of the committee offered no explanation for why the text is omitted.

Luke 24:12

But these words seemed an idle tale, and they did not believed them. *But Peter got up and ran to the tomb; stooping and looking in he saw the linen cloths by themselves; then he went home, amazed at what had happened.*

Witnesses to the shorter reading are D it$^{a, b, d, e, l, r1}$.

The majority of the committee offered no explanation for why the text is omitted.

Luke 24:36b

While they were talking about this, Jesus himself stood among them *and said, "Peace be with you."*

Witnesses to the shorter reading are: D it$^{a, b, d, e, ff2, l, r1}$.

The majority of the committee offered no explanation for why the text is omitted.

[19] Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 176.
[20] Ibid., 183.

Luke 24:40

"Look at my hands and my feet; see that it is I myself. Touch me and see; for a ghost does not have flesh and bones as you see that I have." *And when he had said this, he showed them his hands and his feet.*

Witnesses to the shorter reading are: D it$^{a, b, d, e, ff2, l, r1}$ syr^{c,s}.

The majority of the committee explained the omission of v. 40 as having occurred perhaps "because it seemed superfluous after v. 39" ("Look at my hands . . . as you see that I have").[21]

Luke 24:51b

While he was blessing them, he withdrew from them *and was carried up into heaven.*

Witnesses to the shorter reading are: ℵ* D it$^{a, b, d, e, ff2, l}$ syr^{s} geo^{1} Augustine$^{1/3}$.

The majority of the committee thought "the omission . . . can be accounted for (*a*) through accidental scribal oversight occasioned by homoeoarcton (ΚΑΙΑ . . . ΚΑΙΑ . . .) or (*b*) by deliberate excision either (i) in order to relieve the apparent contradiction between this account (which seemingly places the ascension late Easter night) and the account in Ac 1.3-11 (which dates the ascension forty days after Easter), or (ii) in order to introduce a subtle theological differentiation between the Gospel and the Acts . . . ."[22]

Luke 24:52a

And they *worshiped him, and* returned to Jerusalem with great joy."

Witnesses to the shorter reading are: D it$^{a, b, d, e, ff2, l}$ syr^{s} geo^{2} Augustine.)

The majority of the committee thought the words in question "had been omitted either accidentally (the eye of the copyist passing from ΑΥΤΟΙ to ΑΥΤΟΝ) or, perhaps, deliberately (so as to accord better with the shorter reading in ver. 51)."[23]

Matt 27:49b

But the others said, "Wait, let us see whether Elijah will come to save him. *And another took a spear and pierced his side, and out came water and blood.*"

[21] Ibid., 186–87.
[22] Ibid., 189–90.
[23] Ibid., 190.

> Witnesses to the shorter reading are: A D W Λ Θ f^1 f^{13} 28 33 157 180 205 565 579 597 700 892 1006 1071 1241 1243 1292 1342 1424 1505 *Byz* [E F G H Σ] *Lect* it$^{a, aur, b, c, d, f, ff1, ff2, g1, h, l, q, r1}$ vg syr$^{s, p, h, pal\ mss}$ cop$^{sa, bo}$ arm eth^{pp}, TH geo Origen^{lat} Hesychius; Jerome Augustine.

In this one case, the committee agreed that the shorter reading was original, but Metzger reveals that harmonization with John was considered a possible reason the longer text might have been omitted: "it might be thought that the words were omitted because they represent the piercing as preceding Jesus' death, whereas John makes it follow."[24]

If we concur with the committee and acknowledge that no consistent reason for the omission of these texts is evident but rather that the reasons—when identified—vary, then we must agree that a remarkable series of coincidental events has taken place.

First, several different scribes only in the Western tradition—no one on the committee argues that one scribe is responsible for the omissions—have omitted only a small number of texts, the nine "omissions" cited above and the small number of remaining Western omissions (Westcott and Hort identified eighteen others). These omissions in and of themselves are not surprising, but they are unique on several counts: they are distinct in date, early enough to make it into the earliest Western texts, but late enough to have occurred after the Western and Alexandrian textual traditions began to divide; and as omissions, these readings defy the Western tendency toward expansion. What *is* surprising is that several of these unique omissions just happen to cluster at the end of Luke. In fact, eight occur in the same chapter in Luke[25]—and this by scribes who are supposed to be working *independently* of one another, some making *accidental* changes! Though a random pattern spanning Codex D is expected (given the allegedly independent and sometimes accidental processes producing the changes), a remarkably concentrated grouping is found.

The mathematical improbability of this clustering is not easily overstated. Expressed in terms of binomial distribution, we have a fixed number (n) of "trials" or "observations," the Western omissions. (Since Westcott and Hort identify twenty-seven such omissions, we will use that figure for the value of n. Our final calculations will show, however, that were there several times as many Western omissions, it would matter very little, as the resulting probability is infinitesimally small.) Each trial may be thought of as having one of two possible outcomes: the omission either occurs in Luke 24 or it does not. The trials

[24] Ibid., 71.

[25] In addition to the seven in Luke 24, Westcott and Hort identify one "omission" as well, the phrase "from the tomb" in Luke 24:9 (*New Testament*, 175–76).

are independent of one another (assuming the committee's majority position that the readings are produced *independently* of one another and for *independent* reasons). Finally, the probability (p) of "success" (i.e., of the omission occurring in Luke 24) is roughly the same from trial to trial (assuming the majority view, contra the Parsons/Ehrman camp, that there is no unique factor native to Luke 24 consistently attracting the omissions as a group, and so each chapter has an equal likelihood of containing an omission). We can estimate p as follows. Given that Codex Bezae is extant in approximately 111 chapters (Matt 1:20—Acts 22:9, with a few lacunae), each extant omission has roughly a 1/111 chance of appearing in Luke 24. I say "roughly" since every extant chapter in Codex Bezae varies in size, and some are affected significantly by lacunae.[26] We can compensate for this problem, however, by taking conservative measures. First, we can eliminate from our calculations those nine chapters in Codex D where lacunae have obscured a majority of the verses (Matt 1, 7, 8; John 1, 2, 3, 18, 19; Acts 9), leaving us with a total of 102 extant chapters. Next, we can compensate for the fact that Luke 24 is twice as large as some of the smaller chapters by treating it as two chapters, giving us a probability of 2/102.

Given, then, that $n = 27$ and $p = 2/102$, we obtain the following binomial distribution (rounded to the nearest trillionth).

CHART 1

Exact Number of Omissions in Luke 24	*Probability*
0	0.585862043953
1	0.316365503734
2	0.082255030971
3	0.013709171828
4	0.001645100619
5	0.000151349257
6	0.000011098946
7	0.000000665937
8	0.000000033297
9	0.000000001406
10	0.000000000051
11	0.000000000002
12–27	0.000000000000

[26] I recognize that in speaking conveniently of "chapters in codex Bezae," I am also speaking anachronistically.

In layperson's terms, the chance of exactly eight of the twenty-seven shorter Western readings identified by Westcott and Hort occurring in Luke 24, assuming they are independently produced for independent reasons, is approximately three in 100 million—or virtually zero.[27]

Adding to the coincidence, seven of the eight readings clustered in Luke 24 just happen to be among the nine authentic Western non-interpolations identified by Westcott and Hort upon independent examination of the internal and transcriptional evidence supporting each of the twenty-seven readings. Westcott and Hort judged each reading independently on a case-by-case basis, so the clustering of the seven allegedly authentic shorter readings was a product of the verdict after-the-fact, and not a contributing factor to the verdict.[28] Of course, the majority view disagrees with Westcott and Hort's judgment, insisting that the nine readings are omissions just like the other shorter Western readings. That opinion does not change the fact, however, that yet another remarkable grouping has occurred that must be chalked up to coincidence, a clustering of *"mistaken" verdicts* by Westcott and Hort in Luke 24. Given that there were twenty-seven total texts considered to be possibly authentic, and the majority of these were not in Luke 24, it is remarkable that seven of the nine verdicts of authenticity were clustered in Luke 24. Again, what is the chance of this happening?

Expressed in terms of binomial distribution, we have a fixed number (n) of "trials" or "observations," the nine "mistaken" (assuming the majority view) verdicts of authenticity of Westcott and Hort concerning the shorter Western readings. Each trial has one of two possible outcomes: the mistaken judgment either occurs in Luke 24 or it does not. The trials are independent of one another (since Westcott and Hort treated each of the twenty-seven shorter Western readings independently and not as a group). And finally, the probability (p) of "success" (i.e., of the mistake occurring in Luke 24) is the same from trial to trial, assuming that there is no unique factor native to Luke 24 attracting a mistaken judgment on the part of Westcott and Hort. Since eight of the twenty-seven readings (or, twenty-seven opportunities to reach a mistaken verdict) are in Luke 24, p has a value of 8/27. Given, then, that $n = 9$, and $p = 8/27$, binomial distribution shows that the chance or probability of exactly seven mis-

[27] I am indebted to Wade Davis of Baylor University for his assistance with probability theory. Any errors are my own.

[28] Westcott and Hort note the clustering, but do not build their case for the Western non-interpolations on it (*New Testament*, 175). It is a pattern that emerges after they have rendered their verdict on each shorter Western text. I am assuming that they have accurately described the evidence that convinced them of their verdict and cannot eliminate the possibility that the proximity of these texts to one another played some unacknowledged role in Westcott and Hort's initial assessment of the evidence.

taken verdicts of authenticity occurring with regard to the eight Lukan verses is 0.003574092055824.

Adding still further to the series of coincidences, all seven omitted texts that are clustered in Luke 24 and "mistakenly" thought of as Alexandrian interpolations by Westcott and Hort just happen to emphasize the proto-orthodox christological position that the Lord Jesus was raised and ascended bodily. (Again, not every word or phrase in Luke 24 provides such assurance, so it is remarkable that all seven texts, whether judged to be Western omissions or Alexandrian interpolations, do.) Perhaps this circumstance could be explained as a "heterodox corruption," though no one to my knowledge has argued for this position. The problem with such an argument, however, is that while the addition of the texts would certainly clarify Jesus Christ's bodily existence, their omission would constitute an extremely poor attempt to deny Jesus Christ's bodily resurrection (cf. Luke 24:39, which would still remain in Luke)—no doubt the reason no one argues this case.

Perhaps the concentrated "omissions" can be explained as a result of block mixture. Perhaps a copy of Luke, one that was characterized by consistent Western and heterodox omission, was partly incorporated into a second text. Such an explanation, however, only pushes the problem of the presence of remaining orthodox texts (Luke 24:39) back a step without solving it. The question still remains as to why a scribe would incorporate only the end of Luke from that document.

The improbability that rare and random omissions from an early and narrow window of time in the Western tradition just happen to cluster both theologically and in such a concentrated area of a single Gospel becomes exponentially greater when it is recognized that three of the allegedly omitted Lukan texts happen to have some relationship to the ending of the Fourth Gospel. Though advocates of the longer texts explain the relationship differently (most admitting a literary relationship),[29] none thinks that that relationship had any-

[29] At least four explanations are offered. (1) Jeremias flatly denies a literary relation (a view that has found few followers), arguing that the similarities are not uncommon and have been exaggerated. Discussing 24:12, he admits that the resemblances are "striking, but not without parallels" (e.g., John 12:8 with Mark 14:7), and sees in the disagreement over the number of disciples a "considerable deviation" (*Eucharistic Words*, 150). (2) The majority of the UBS[3] committee saw the similarities "as due to the likelihood that both evangelists had drawn upon a common tradition" (Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 184). (3) Barbara Shellard, arguing in general for the Third Evangelist's use of the Fourth Gospel, treats 24:12 as one of several test cases for her thesis ("The Relationship of Luke and John: A Fresh Look at an Old Problem," *JTS* 46 [1995]: 71–98; esp. 91–96). (4) Frans Neirynck, among others, has tirelessly argued for Johannine use of originally Lukan material; see, e.g. "A Supplemental Note on LK 24.12," *ETL* 72 (1996): 425–30, one of several articles on the verse by this author.

thing to do with the omission of the three texts—meaning that one more pattern is evident among omissions that are supposed to be random.

This fact is of crucial importance when weighing internal arguments for and against the authenticity of the three texts bearing a relation to the Fourth Gospel. While there are good arguments on both sides of the debate claiming, alternatively, that the language of these texts is intrinsically Lukan and non-Johannine, or intrinsically Johannine and non-Lukan, the argument that the shorter readings are favored by transcriptional probability is only enhanced by the relationship of the longer readings to the Fourth Gospel. If a single scribe has indeed interpolated the longer readings, the Fourth Gospel emerges as an obvious source for the added materials. If, however, several scribes have randomly omitted Lukan materials, one must marvel that, independent of one another, different scribes have managed to eliminate all the Johannine material found in Luke 24.

The debate over Luke 24:12, one of the longer disputed readings with some kind of relationship to material in John, illustrates the point well. At stake in this debate is whether the linguistic, theological, and narrative content of this verse, which has some kind of literary relationship to John 20:2–10, (1) originates with Luke and moves to John or (2) originates with John and moves to Luke. As the survey below suggests, plenty of arguments are produced for both sides, leaving one with the impression that the intrinsic evidence can cut both ways:

View 1. (a) Arguments that the language and style of Luke 24:12 is intrinsically Lukan include the following: (i) "ἀναστάς, used pleonastically as a semitic idiom without its strict meaning," is "completely lacking in John," but appears frequently in Luke-Acts (twenty-eight times; cf. Matthew, where it appears one time, and Mark, where it appears five times).[30] (ii) θαυμάζω with the accusative is more Lukan, for it occurs in the NT only in Luke 8:25; 9:43; Acts 7:31; John 5:28; and Jude 16.[31] (iii) τὸ γεγονός appears eight times in Luke-Acts, never in John.[32] (iv) John's verb προέδραμεν, seen next to Luke's verb, ἔδραμεν, betrays John's use of Luke: the Fourth Evangelist has borrowed Luke's account and inserted the theme of the Beloved Disciple, so that now he runs ahead of Peter.[33] (v) That John inserts the Beloved Disciple is evident also from the dou-

[30] Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 150; K. Peter G. Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12 and John xx.3–10," *JTS* 22 (1971): 514–15; John Muddiman, "The Uncorrected Historic Present in Lk. XXIV.12," *ETL* 48 (1972): 544; Frans Neirynck, "Once More Luke 24,12," *ETL* 70 (1994): 323.

[31] Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 150; Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 515; Neirynck, "Once More," 324.

[32] Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 150; Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 515; John M. Ross, "The Genuineness of Luke 24:12," *ExpTim* 98 (1970): 107; Neirynck, "Once More," 324.

[33] Frans Neirynck, "ΠΑΡΑΚΥΠΣΑΣ ΒΛΕΠΕΙ: Lc 24,12 et Jn 20,5," *ETL* 53 (1977): 140.

bling of the preposition in 20:2 ("She went *to* Simon Peter and *to* the other disciple").[34] (vi) That John inserts the Beloved Disciple is evident also from the compound subject ("Peter and the Beloved Disciple") used initially with a singular verb, but subsequently with a plural verb.[35] Arguments (iv), (v), and (vi) do not necessarily require the view that Luke 24:12 is intrinsically Lukan, but they do undermine the argument of interpolation from John.

(b) Similarly, arguments that the narrative/theological content of 24:12 is intrinsically Lukan include the following: (i) "The reference back to this verse in verse 24" ("Some of those who were with us went to the tomb") shows that 24:12 is part of the original composition.[36] (ii) "Without verse 12, the women's report [of the empty tomb] would never be fully vindicated."[37] (iii) "If we reject 24:12, we are left with disciples' disbelief in 24:11, which contradicts 24:34,"[38] a verse that reports the believing testimony of the eleven: "The Lord has risen indeed, and he has appeared to Simon." (iv) In Acts 5:17, 34; 9:39; 11:28; 13:16, ἀναστὰς δέ marks the beginning of narrative units.[39] (v) Peter's "wondering about what had happened" (θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός) in v. 12 "should be seen in relation to the preceding context: the apostles who did not believe (v. 11)."[40] (vi) "The first section of the tomb has its climax in οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σὼμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησού followed by the women's perplexity . . . (v. 3a); the story of Peter's visit to the tomb 'repeats' their non-finding of the body and ends with Peter θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός."[41] (vii) Luke's use of μόνα is not senseless, for the point is not the Johannine contrast of graveclothes with the headband, but graveclothes with the body: Peter saw the graveclothes only.[42] (viii) Peter's witnessing the empty tomb in v. 12 prepares for the appearance reported to him in v. 34.[43] (ix) The Lukan text without 24:12 (and 36b, 40) is still explicitly antidocetic; hence 24:12 is not only consistent theologically with the rest of Luke

[34] M.-É. Boismard's argument, cited and rejected by Neirynck ("ΠΑΡΑΚΥΠΣΑΣ ΒΛΕΠΕΙ," 135–36), who is nevertheless an advocate, like Boismard, of John's use of Luke.

[35] M.-É. Boismard's argument, cited by Neirynck ("ΠΑΡΑΚΥΠΣΑΣ ΒΛΕΠΕΙ," 140–41), who is also an advocate of John's use of Luke; but Neirynck himself rejects this one argument on the grounds that the construction is both classical and used often in the Fourth Gospel.

[36] Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 150; but this argument ignores the question of the plural!

[37] Muddiman, "Uncorrected Historic Present," 547. In this argument, Muddiman fails to anticipate Parsons's and Ehrman's question of whether a *scribe* might be interested in vindicating the report!

[38] Shellard, "Relationship," 95.

[39] Neirynck, "Once More," 323–24.

[40] Ibid., 324.

[41] Ibid., 335.

[42] Ibid., 332.

[43] Ibid.

(cf. 24:3, 39), but the motivation for its alleged insertion—a desire to heighten Luke's christology—would not have existed.[44]

View 2. (a) By contrast, arguments that the language and style of 24:12 are intrinsically non-Lukan include the following: (i) παρακύπτω occurs nowhere else in Luke-Acts (and it fits the Johannine narrative context better—see below); it is used twice in John.[45] (ii) ὀθόνιον occurs nowhere else in Luke-Acts, but three times in John, and only once elsewhere in the NT.[46] (iii) ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς + the accusative occurs nowhere else in Luke-Acts, but four times in John and only three times elsewhere in the NT.[47] (iv) βλέπει in both texts occurs as a historic present, but John employs the historic present 162 times, Luke only eleven times in the Gospel and thirteen times in Acts;[48] Luke is notorious, moreover, for eliminating the historic present, changing ninety-two out of ninety-three occurrences in Mark.[49] (v) In 24:12, the participle ἀναστάς follows the proper noun, but Lukan style prefers the reverse order, while Johannine style shows no such preference.[50] (vi) μνειμεῖον appears sixteen times in John and never as a synonym; Luke prefers the term, but uses μνῆμα five times.[51]

[44] Neirynck, "Note," 427–30; cf. Zwiep, "Text," 230. This argument, however, mistakes Parsons's and Ehrman's transcriptional argument regarding christological "heightening" for an intrinsic argument. The crucial question is not whether the Third Gospel apart from the three verses in question possesses actual ambiguity regarding Christ's bodily resurrection, but rather whether the Third Gospel apart from the three verses might have been perceived by a scribe as possessing such ambiguity— or, as is more likely in this case, by a scribe's heterodox opponents.

[45] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 514; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 214; Anton Dauer, "Zur Authentizität von Lk 24,12," *ETL* 70 (1994): 305–9; Jeremias, writing in 1960, knows the argument (*Eucharistic Words*, 150); see also the response of Muddiman, "Uncorrected Historic Present," 543–44. For a history of the argument and the most comprehensive response to date, see Neirynck, "ΠΑΡΑΚΥΨΑΣ ΒΛΕΠΕΙ," 113–52.

[46] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 514; Dauer, "Zur Authentizität," 305–9; Jeremias already knows the argument and responds (*Eucharistic Words*, 150); see also the response of Muddiman, "Uncorrected Historic Present," 543–44.

[47] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 514; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 214; Dauer, "Zur Authentizität," 305–9; Jeremias knows the argument (*Eucharistic Words*, 150); see also the response of Muddiman, "Uncorrected Historic Present," 543–44. For a history of the argument and for the most comprehensive response to date, see Frans Neirynck, "ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ," *ETL* 54 (1978): 104–18.

[48] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 514; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 213; Dauer, "Zur Authentizität," 305–9; Jeremias knows the argument, but insists that the text "goes back to the *Vorlage* used by Luke" (*Eucharistic Words*, 150–51); see also the response of Muddiman, "Uncorrected Historic Present," 543–44. For a history of the argument and the most comprehensive response to date, see Neirynck, "ΠΑΡΑΚΥΨΑΣ ΒΛΕΠΕΙ," 113–52.

[49] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 214.

[50] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 515; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 213.

[51] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 514; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 214; see the response of Muddiman, "Uncorrected Historic Present," 543–44

(b) Similarly, arguments that the narrative/theological content of 24:12 is intrinsically non-Lukan include the following: (i) The plural τινές is used in 24:24 ("Some of those who were with us went to the tomb"), a clue that v. 12 (wherein Peter alone visits the tomb) was never present.[52] (ii) Peter's witnessing of the empty tomb in v. 12 stands in tension with v. 37, where he and all the disciples think they have seen a ghost.[53] (iii) "Luke does not mention the headband, so his description of the grave-clothes as 'alone' is pointless. The word μόνα presupposes John's picture."[54] (iv) The verb παρακύπτω is "not relevant to Luke," but in John "delays matters until Peter arrives."[55] (v) John's verb προέδραμεν . . . is necessitated by his account, where the other disciple outruns Peter and, seeing the empty tomb, is the first to believe"; by contrast, "Luke, who uses the related verb ἔδραμεν, does not need Peter to perform this action, since he omits [most would say a *scribe* omits] all mention of the other disciple."[56] (vi) The plural τὰ ὀθόνια (linen cloths) in 24:12 contradicts the singular σινδών (linen cloth) in 23:53.[57] (vii) Perhaps most prominently, "Without these revelatory linens, Luke's subsequent tales of the resurrected Jesus can appear more than a little ambiguous, susceptible to a patently unorthodox interpretation by those who did not recognize that the Jesus who appeared to his disciples after his resurrection did so precisely in the body that had died."[58]

Numerous intrinsic arguments are therefore to be found on both sides of the debate, either supporting the authenticity of Luke 24:12 or opposing it. The problem with taking view 1 over view 2, however, resides not so much in the weakness of the intrinsic evidence cited (though I agree with those who think the intrinsic evidence favors view 2) as in the implications of that evidence for transcriptional considerations. That is, view 1 separates the borrowing of source materials, whenever it occurred, from the scribal corruption, whenever it occurred, positing an unlikely series of mostly unrelated events: Luke 24:12 originates with Luke, is borrowed by John, and is omitted from Luke by a Western scribe. Two other verses in the same chapter, Luke 24:36b and 40, are likewise penned by Luke, borrowed by John, and omitted from Luke, though by two different scribes. Together, the three scribes working independently of one another and with different motives managed to eliminate from Luke the exact

[52] Muddiman notes the conflict, but takes it as evidence of authenticity, arguing that a redactor would have fixed it ("Uncorrected Historic Present," 547).

[53] Shellard, "Relationship," 96; she sees this not as an argument against the originality of 24:12, but rather for Luke's use of foreign Johannine materials.

[54] Curtis, "Luke xxiv.12," 513.

[55] Shellard, "Relationship," 94; but cf. Neirynck's study of the word in "ΠΑΡΑΚΥΠΣΑΣ ΒΛΕΠΕΙ."

[56] Shellard, "Relationship," 94.

[57] Neirynck, "Once More," 338.

[58] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 216; cf. Parsons, "Christological Tendency," 477.

three verses that the Fourth Evangelist also happened to borrow. View 2, however, explains the borrowing of source materials and the scribal corruption as a single, simple event: a scribe used John 20 as a source when for theological reasons he added Luke 24:12, 36b, and 40.

The complexity and improbability of events assumed in view 1's understanding of the text's corruption are only magnified in view of the fact that many scholars, in arguing for the authenticity of the Luke 24:12, are content to rest their case on documentary and intrinsic evidence alone, remaining silent as to *why* a scribe omitted this particular verse.[59] Perhaps most telling is the silence, in an article on the verse, of Frans Neirynck, who, like the UBS committee, explains the "omissions" in Luke 24 differently and on a case-by-case basis (v. 39 because of redundancy, vv. 3 and 36b because of conflicts with other passages in the chapter), but says nothing of why the verse about which he is writing was omitted.[60]

View 2, by comparison, posits a simple and likely transcriptional event that may be characterized as follows. (1) The verse is added by a scribe to vindicate the women's report of an empty tomb, and so (2) it is an "orthodox corruption" intended to clarify that the resurrection was indeed in the body and not merely spiritual,[61] and (3) to clarify that Peter was an early witness of the bodily resurrection.[62] (4) Comparison with John 20:3–10 reveals the scribe's source for the verse.[63] Further and convincing proof of this characterization of the transcriptional event is secured in the recognition that in Luke 24 (1) there are two other variants where materials from John 20 once again appear to have been interpolated into Luke 24; and (2) there are six other apparent interpolations (including the two Johannine interpolations) that appear to provide a similar christological emphasis. A close examination of Luke 24:12, therefore, illustrates well the superiority of the transcriptional evidence against the longer Alexandrian readings in ch. 24.

In sum, the majority view, which rejects the shorter "Western non-interpolations" in favor of the longer Alexandrian readings, requires one to assume too many unlikely coincidences: (1) the extreme unlikelihood (three in one hundred million) that eight of the twenty-seven rare and random omissions identified by Westcott and Hort and deriving from an early and narrow window of time in the Western tradition just happen to cluster in Luke 24; (2) the unlikelihood (roughly four in a thousand) that seven of the nine "mistaken" verdicts of "non-interpolation" by Westcott and Hort just happen to occur in

[59] E.g., Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 184.

[60] Frans Neirynck, "Luke 24,12: An Anti-Docetic Interpolation?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (ed. Adelbert Denaux; Leuven: Leuven Univerisity Press, 2002), 157–58.

[61] Parsons, "Christological Tendency," 477; Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 216.

[62] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 216.

[63] Ibid.

Luke 24; (3) the unlikelihood that these seven just happen to promote the same "proto-orthodox" christology; and (4) the unlikelihood that different scribes working independently of one another for different reasons have managed to eliminate the same three "original" verses or partial verses in Luke 24 that were also borrowed by the Fourth Evangelist. By contrast, the minority view, which rejects the longer Alexander readings in favor of the "Western non-interpolations," potentially avoids these difficulties and is therefore to be preferred.

II. Mikeal Parsons and Bart D. Ehrman

Thus far I have argued that at least seven of the nine longer Alexandrian readings (those in Luke 24) share too many unique and striking patterns of characteristics for those readings to be regarded as anything other than the additions of a single scribe motivated by a theological agenda. In this regard I have sided generally with the Parsons/Ehrman camp, which sees the readings as "orthodox corruptions," and specifically with Parsons, who sees the orthodox corruptions as the work of a single scribe and so believes they may be treated en masse. In the present section, I will show where I differ with Parsons and Ehrman, though I would be remiss if I did not presently note my indebtedness to both.

Parsons argues that the eight Alexandrian interpolations in Luke are *like* other $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ singular/subsingular readings in that they display a similar christological *Tendenz*, a fact that suggests to Parsons that they all derive from the same hand, be it the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ or its ancestor.[64] By comparison, I have argued not only that the longer Alexandrian readings reflect a common christological *Tendenz*, but moreover that the combination of several unique characteristics distinguishes the readings as *unlike* all other variants in general—and the singular/subsingular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ are no exception, in my judgment. The longer Alexandrian readings in question differ from the singular/subsingular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ in that the former are lengthy interpolations—a rarity for the Alexandrian tradition in general, and especially for the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$. Gordon D. Fee, in his examination of the singular/subsingular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, describes a "scribe who is carefully preserving his original text," and who has "produced a remarkably error-free copy."[65] Similarly, the singular/subsingular $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ readings cited by

[64] See n. 7 above.

[65] Gordon D. Fee, "$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 32. Fee confirms the judgment, which he cites, of Ernest Cadman Colwell, who speaks of a "disciplined scribe who writes with the intention of being careful and accurate" ("Scribal Habits in Early Papryi: A Study in the Corruption of the Text," in *Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. Hyatt, 382).

Parsons, because they typically alter only a single word or a case ending, constitute far more modest modification than that which is seen in the eight Alexandrian interpolations in question. Few of the readings cited by Parsons, moreover, are interpolations, and none is an interpolation of a length comparable to that of the eight interpolations.

These facts would prove nothing were the latter scattered throughout the text of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (which is extant for Luke 3–24 and John 1–15), but the fact that they are tightly grouped at the end of Luke raises the question: Why would the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (or a predecessor), if he indeed has a wide range of proclivities, display his proclivity for lengthy interpolation only in such a limited area—despite making other kinds of changes *everywhere* in Luke and John. (Parsons cites orthodox, christologically motivated singular/subsingular readings in Luke 9:34, 48; 11:31; 16:19, 30, 31; 22:47; 23:3; 24:26, 27; John 2:15; 6:19; 8:57). Perhaps this one area of Luke, it may be argued, was especially prone to misinterpretation and so required special treatment by the scribe. Such an argument would deserve consideration, except for another distinction that *by itself* is enough to show that the longer Alexandrian readings likely derive from a different hand from that of the scribe who produced the other $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ variants identified by Parsons. The longer Alexandrian readings are *not* singular or subsingular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$. Rather, they are attested throughout the Alexandrian tradition, meaning that they arose separately and earlier in the history of transmission than did the singular and subsingular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$. Otherwise, one would have to account for why the entire Alexandrian tradition accepted the longer orthodox interpolations in Luke 24 but rejected the much more modest orthodox changes found elsewhere in the manuscript.[66]

Reviewing the characteristics that distinguish the longer Alexandrian readings from other variants in $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ is a helpful exercise, for it highlights the same shortcoming of Ehrman's thesis, namely, its failure to account for the distinctive patterns of characteristics of the Alexandrian interpolations. Ehrman, like Parsons, is only concerned to show how the readings, given their christological *Tendenz*, are like a larger set of variants in which they belong, but Ehrman sees the larger set as "anti-docetic corruptions" in general that span the early manuscript tradition, a set not limited to a single text type and certainly not to a single scribe.[67] Hence Ehrman, unlike Parsons, only treats the

[66] Zwiep's critique ("Text," 230–34) of Parsons's tendency hypothesis, because it attempts to undermine Parsons's reading of a *Tendenz* in singular/subsingular readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, has little bearing on the problem of the Western non-interpolations as I am framing it.

[67] Ehrman sees the same kind of anti-docetic corruption that characterizes the Western non-interpolations, or more accurately, their longer Alexandrian counterparts, not only in the Alexandrian tradition but also in the Western tradition: "One should not think that this kind of anti-docetic emphasis, whether Western or non-Western, is restricted to the final chapters of Luke" (*Orthodox Corruption*, 222).

nine readings on a case-by-case basis, insisting that "there is no reason to take all the so-called Western non-interpolations en masse, as if they all stand or fall together."[68] As we have already noted, Ehrman articulates the belief that the readings are not a real group and therefore should not be analyzed as such: "I take as a guiding principle the need to evaluate each of the readings in question on its own merits, not on the basis of its inclusion in a cluster of variants that scholars (in this case, Westcott and Hort) have artificially created."[69]

Yet even Ehrman observes that three of the readings in Luke 24 derive from John 20. Is this observation, given the tight grouping of the three interpolations both in their document of origin and in their new location, not grounds enough to suggest that three of the variants may "stand or fall together"? In fairness to Ehrman, he merely says that there is "no reason to take *all* the so-called Western non-interpolations en masse," and I suspect from his treatment of these three texts that he would allow at least the possibility that they derive from the same scribe.[70] Ehrman does not explore this possibility, however, nor its implications for the question of whether some if not all the readings ought to be treated "en masse" once individual treatment begins to produce the patterns of characteristics we have been discussing. The common *Tendenz* among the three readings, however, that Ehrman's own work has helped to uncover suggests in connection with these patterns not merely the possibility, but the probability, that the three do indeed "stand or fall together." Moreover, it suggests the probability that the other Alexandrian interpolations in ch. 24, because of their comparable length, documentary support, proximity, and *Tendenz*, are also from the same hand.

Otherwise, Ehrman demands a series of remarkable coincidences similar to those which opponents of the shorter readings demand. First, the longer Alexandrian readings were added by different scribes because of the same anti-docetic christological agenda seen everywhere in variant readings from the early second century on. These additions all happened to originate in the same narrow window of time, early enough to be found in virtually all Alexandrian texts, but later than the Western–Alexandrian split. Moreover, different scribes with the rarest of Alexandrian proclivities—the proclivity for lengthy expansion—just happened to make all but one of the additions in the same concen-

[68] Ibid., 217. In this regard, Ehrman agrees with his opponents who see the shorter Western readings as omissions.

[69] Ibid., 223.

[70] At one point, Ehrman even observes, "it is striking that a pattern appears to be emerging among the so-called non-interpolations considered to this point (Matt 27:49; Luke 22:19b-20; 24:12): the corruption in each case represents an early *interpolation* (outside the Western tradition) that works against a docetic form of Christology" (*Orthodox Corruption*, 217; Ehrman's emphasis). Ehrman, however, only attributes this pattern to "the same kind of scribal proclivity" (ibid., 219), and nowhere to the same scribe.

trated area of the NT—and, in three instances, borrowing from the same chapter in the Fourth Gospel. Once again, there are simply too many meaningful patterns emerging to ascribe the interpolations to independent processes. In all likelihood, a single scribe is responsible for the seven additions in Luke 24, and probably the addition in Luke 22 as well; and perhaps (though less probably) the one in Matthew, if only because that text, like the three in Luke 24, borrows material from the ending of John.

How are we to imagine, then, the *Tendenz* at work in the readings in question if, after attending to them individually, we treat them en masse, *contra* Ehrman, and as a distinct group unto themselves, *contra* Parsons and Ehrman? Is our understanding of the theological motivation behind the changes altered by these considerations?

To answer these questions, it will be helpful to review how Parsons and Ehrman describe the *Tendenz*. Both paint a remarkably similar portrait. In Parsons's judgment, the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (or its ancestor) is responsible for a number of changes intended "to refute the heretical tendencies of Gnosticism" by "accenting" what in both Luke and John is "an already exalted Christology." Though the scribe is "concerned with the problem of Christian Gnosticism in general," the readings in question show that he is concerned with "Gnostic views regarding the resurrection in particular."[71]

The longer Alexandrian readings in question, therefore, are in Parsons's view among the several anti-Gnostic changes in $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ that serve to reaffirm "orthodox" (from the scribe's perspective) Christology. By inserting these readings, the scribe

> was able (i) to specify whose body was gone (24:3); (ii) to supply a glorious and unmistakable reference to the resurrection at the empty tomb (24:6); (iii) to provide apostolic confirmation of the empty tomb (24:12); (iv) to furnish a greeting of peace from the risen Lord (24:36); (v) to stress the commonality shared between Jesus who was crucified and Jesus who has been raised (24:40); (vi) to emphasize both the corporeal nature and the exalted state of the body of the risen Lord by making explicit reference to Christ's ascension into heaven (24:51); (vii) to record the appropriate attitude of worship on the part of the disciples (24:52).[72]

Ehrman's treatment on a case-by-case basis of the longer Alexandrian readings produces similar, though not identical, results. In his judgment, the readings in differing ways betray an "anti-docetic" understanding of Jesus, asserting (1) that "Christ suffered in the flesh" (Matt 27:49b); (2) that Christ's "body and blood brought salvation" (Luke 22:19b–20); (3) that Christ was "raised bodily from the dead" (Luke 24:3b, 6a, 12, 36b, 40); and (4) that Christ

[71] Parsons, "Christological Tendency," 475–76.
[72] Ibid., 476.

"ascended in body" (Luke 24:51b, 52a).[73] Hence Parsons and Ehrman generally agree insofar as they understand the texts to emphasize in some way the materiality of Jesus' body, over and against those who might in some way deny it.

In speaking of the texts as "anti-docetic," however, Ehrman has in mind a more specific notion than Parsons's "anti-Gnostic" *Tendenz*,[74] one that is distinct as well from the "anti-separationist" *Tendenz* Ehrman describes in other textual variants.[75] Docetism taught that Jesus only seemed to live, suffer, die, and be raised in the flesh. By contrast, separationism taught that the divine, spiritual Christ began to indwell the human, fleshly Jesus from the moment of his baptism and continued to do so through most of his life. However, the divine, spiritual Christ departed from the human, fleshly Jesus before Jesus suffered and died.[76] In some separationist constructs, Jesus himself was also subsequently raised, but only *spiritually*.[77]

As Ehrman describes it, Gnostic christology can be characterized alternately by docetism or separationism,[78] and in his judgment, the longer Alexandrian readings, *contra* Parsons, oppose only docetism. Herein lies the primary disagreement between Parsons and Ehrman. Whereas the *Tendenz* as Parsons

[73] I am quoting from the subheadings under which Ehrman treats the longer Alexandrian readings in chapter 4, "Anti-Docetic Corruptions of Scripture" (*Orthodox Corruption*, 181–261).

[74] "These non-Western interpolations do not appear to counter Gnostic Christologies in general (which, in any case, are anything but monolithic) but specific docetic tendencies in particular, tendencies that are sporadically attested in Gnosticism but are attested more frequently elsewhere (e.g., Marcion)" (Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 256 n. 145).

[75] "For our purposes, however, it is better to maintain the distinction, sometimes drawn by the orthodox polemicists themselves, between separationist Christologies, which saw Jesus and the Christ as distinct entities, and docetism, which argued that the one (indivisible) Jesus Christ was completely and absolutely divine, and for that reason not a real flesh and blood human being. According to this view, Jesus Christ was a phantom, human in appearance only" (Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 181). Because both distinctions are helpful and, I think, justified in Ehrman's extended treatment of the material (*Orthodox Corruption*, 119–261, effectively shows at the very least that "separationist" and "docetic" christologies are clear and distinct points along the diverse spectrum of early christologies that disparage the materiality of Jesus in some way), I will maintain them in the present discussion.

[76] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 119–261.

[77] Ehrman (*Orthodox Corruption*, 122) cites Irenaeus's description of an unnamed group's characterization of the events surrounding Jesus after his death: "The anointed (Christ) was not unmindful of its own, but sent down into him a certain power, which raised him up in a (kind of) body that they call animate and spiritual, for he let the worldly parts return to the world" (*Haer.* 1.30).

[78] "Given the logic of this system, at least as it was perceived by the church fathers, Gnostic Christians had two basic christological options: they could claim either that Christ was a divine being who came into this world in the semblance but not the reality, of human flesh, that is that he was a phantom who only appeared to be human, or that he descended from the fullness of the divine realm, the Pleroma, to indwell a human being temporarily, in order to communicate his message of salvation before returning to his heavenly home" (Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 122).

describes it seems at different points to oppose alternately docetic and separationist christologies (because Parsons is not operating with Ehrman's distinction), the *Tendenz* as Ehrman consistently describes it is strictly anti-docetic.

We can see the disagreement in specific texts. For example, Parsons says that the addition of 24:40 (where the resurrected Jesus shows his disciples his hands and feet) is intended "to stress the commonality shared between Jesus who was crucified and Jesus who has been raised." In light of Ehrman's analysis, Parsons's interpretation appears to imply that the verse is anti-separationist, for only the separationists questioned the continuity between the "Jesus who was crucified and Jesus who was raised." Ehrman, however, thinks that the text is intended to emphasize Jesus' materiality in general (*contra* docetism), and not Jesus' materiality strictly postresurrection (*contra* separationism).

But how does Ehrman *know* that 24:40 is intended to stress Jesus' materiality in general, and not Jesus' materiality strictly postresurrection? If separationism denied the Christ's indwelling of a body from the passion on and Jesus' *bodily* resurrection, then verses like 24:40, which emphasize Jesus' materiality during his resurrection, could just as easily counter separationism as docetism.

In other words, the verse could just as easily represent the same anti-separationist polemic that is seen in Ignatius: "I know and believe that he ["Jesus Christ"; cf. 1:1] was in the flesh *even after* the Resurrection" (*Smyrn.* 3.1).[79] The verse would thus function in exactly the same way that a remarkably similar tradition cited by Ignatius in the next verse of his letter functions, proving *continuing* materiality "after the resurrection": "And when he came to those with Peter he said to them: 'Take, handle me and see that I am not a phantom without a body.' And they immediately touched him and believed, being mingled both with his flesh and his spirit" (*Smyrn.* 3.2).[80]

[79] Trans. Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols.; LCL; London: Heinemann, 1912, 1913).

[80] Ehrman (*Orthodox Corruption*, 132–33, and 217–18) treats Ignatius's Smyrnaean letter as anti-docetic polemic, but others (e.g., Charles H. Talbert, *Reading John: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles* [New York: Crossroad, 1994], 11) are right, I think, in reading this letter as anti-separationist. Several clues suggest such a reading: (1) the emphasis in the quotation above on Jesus' materiality "even after the Resurrection"; (2) the assertion in the immediately preceding verse that the Christ's departure at the passion is a model for the heretics' own future, post-death experience: "it shall happen to them, and they shall be without bodies and phantasmal" (2.1); (3) the letter's closing, which emphasizes "union" between the human Jesus and the divinity, between flesh and spirit: "in the name of Jesus Christ, and in his flesh and blood, by his Passion and Resurrection both of flesh and spirit, in union with God and with you" (12.2); and (4) the letter's opening address, which clarifies the true nature only of those moments disputed by separationists, the birth, baptism, death, and resurrection of Jesus (1.1–2). At the very least, the letter opposes a kind of separationism that is inconsistently mixed with docetism, like that found in the *Acts of John*, which denies Jesus' real bodily existence during

By itself, there simply is no way to say with certainty whether Luke 24:40 is intended to oppose docetism or separationism. Treatment of the longer Alexandrian readings en masse, however, *contra* Ehrman, and as a distinct group unto themselves, *contra* Parsons and Ehrman, arguably shows that an anti-separationist *Tendenz* is more likely at work in the readings as a group than an anti-docetic *Tendenz.* Three reasons commend such a view.

First, the remarkable concentration we have noted repeatedly of the readings in Luke's resurrection account and their notable absence elsewhere makes more sense as anti-separationist polemic than as anti-docetic polemic, for separationists did not deny that the Christ indwelled Jesus' body during his life, but only from the passion on. A scribe with anti-docetic concerns, by comparison, would have wanted to clarify Jesus' true materiality throughout the Gospel story and not just at the end, *contra* works like the *Acts of John*, which teach that Jesus during his life and ministry only seemed to have a normal body.[81] If we treat Luke 22:19b–20 as part of the group together with the other texts from Luke 24, the verdict is no different, for separationists, like docetists, denied that Jesus' death, and specifically the "giving" of his "body and blood," was salvific for believers.[82] Likewise, if we treat Matt 27:49b as a part of the group (though it is just as possible, if not probable, that this verse belongs to another hand), the verdict is no different. This is so because anti-separationists took the flowing forth of "water *and blood*" from the side of Jesus (1 John 5:6; cf. John 19:34) as symbolic of the divinity's presence with Jesus in both his baptism *and death*. Thus, the anti-separationist writer of 1 John insists that Jesus Christ came "not by the water only" (i.e., in Jesus' baptism, and secondarily, in the believer's baptism), "but by the water and the blood" (i.e., in Jesus' death, and secondarily,[83] in the Eucharist).[84]

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his life and ministry (*Acts John* 88–93), but teaches that the divine Christ separated from the human Jesus before the latter was crucified (*Acts John* 97–102).

[81] For example, in *Acts John* 88–93, John reports that Jesus' eyes never closed, that his body constantly changed forms, and that he never left footprints when he walked, all clues to his non-materiality.

[82] Cf. Ign. *Smyrn*. 6.1: "they do not believe on the blood of *Christ*" (trans. Lake, LCL).

[83] On the secondary references in 1 John 5:6 to the believer's baptism and Eucharist, see Georg Strecker, *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 183–85.

[84] In my interpretation of 1 John 5:6 as anti-separationist, I part with Ehrman in espousing what he acknowledges is the majority view (*Orthodox Corruption*, 131). Even if Ehrman is right, however, in reading 1 John as anti-docetic, his discussion of the variant reading of 4:3, "every spirit that looses (or 'separates') Jesus is not from God," shows at least that *some* early Christians interpreted the rhetoric of 1 John as anti-separationist. That fact alone justifies my claim that Matt 27:49b, which borrows the Johannine "water and blood rhetoric," could just as easily be read as anti-separationist. By itself, there is no way of telling. Ehrman takes its new location in Matthew before the death of Christ (in John 19, it is after his death) as a clue to the scribe's anti-docetic

Second, the first interpolation in the Lukan resurrection story makes clear that the body that is gone is that "of the *Lord* Jesus," not merely that "of Jesus." Ehrman himself argues that the addition of the title "Lord" is often indicative of anti-separationist corruption. His evidence shows, in fact, that in some Gnostic circles the title "Lord" functioned as the clearest designation for the divine being who separated from the human Jesus prior to his passion. Thus, Valentinian Gnostics, according to Irenaeus, refused "to call him [Jesus] 'Lord'" (*Haer.* 1.1.3). By contrast, some Gnostics could confess the "unity of Jesus *Christ*" and not "really believe it" (*Haer.* 3.16.6).[85] The preference in some circles for the title "Lord" over "Christ" for designating the divinity is seen also in the separationist ending of *Acts of John*, which narrates John's encounter during the passion with the separated divinity as follows: "And my *Lord* stood in the middle of the cave and giving light said to me, 'John, for the people below in Jerusalem I am being crucified and pierced with lances and reeds and given vinegar and gall to drink, but to you I am speaking, and listen to what I speak'" (*Acts John* 97).[86] John is subsequently given a vision of two crosses, one of light with no form and one of a single form, and he is said to see "the Lord" above the former. By contrast, the title "Christ" is revealed by "the Lord" to be one of many titles that are given merely "for men's sake" (*Acts John* 98).

The clarification, then, in Luke 24:3 that the body was that of the "Lord Jesus" is best seen as affirming both the postresurrection unity and materiality of the divine "Lord" and the human "Jesus." Had the scribe been motivated by an anti-docetic agenda, the word "Lord" would be unnecessary, for docetists already thought that Jesus was Lord, but only doubted his materiality.[87] In fact, the Lukan text apart from the addition of 24:3 is clear that "Jesus" is the one who is appearing, for that is how the narrator identifies him in 24:15. Only the confused disciples say that "the Lord" has appeared (24:33), a fact that would lend itself readily to distortion by separationists.

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interest (*Orthodox Corruption*, 195). The change from John, however, may just as well reflect a scribal concern to locate the symbolic "water *and blood*" rhetoric (notice the order of "water and blood" follows 1 John 5:6, not John 19:34), given its implicit apology for the Eucharist (see the note above), with the drinking of wine in v. 48 (the new structure would be: Elijah, wine, Elijah, water *and blood*). Though by itself the verse can be interpreted as anti-separationist, when it is grouped with the other longer Alexandrian readings, it most certainly takes on their general anti-separationist color.

[85] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 162.

[86] K. Schäferdiek, "The Acts of John," trans. G. C. Stead, in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 2:232.

[87] Indeed the word "Lord" is absent from a handful of witnesses (579 1071 1241 *l* 1016 $syr^{c,s,p}$) that instead simply read "the body of Jesus." This variant may constitute an independent, anti-docetic interpolation into the shorter text, but could just as well be a separationist omission from the longer text.

Third, the final addition made to Luke in 24:52 ("And they *'worshiped him, and'*"), is decidedly more suited for combating separationism than docetism, for while docetists might have denied that the "Jesus" (24:8) of the original Lukan resurrection account possessed a real body, they would in no way have denied Jesus' full divinity. Only separationists denied the divinity of Jesus.

For these reasons, it is best to regard the seven longer Alexandrian readings as anti-separationist interpolations made by a single "proto-orthodox" scribe. As for the date of these additions, the fact that these interpolations are found virtually everywhere in the Alexandrian tradition, including $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, suggests that the interpolations were made no later than the mid-second century, while their absence from a handful of Western witnesses shows that they were made not before the early Western and Alexandrian text traditions began to divide—probably the end of the first century at the earliest. This time frame corresponds nicely, moreover, to a time when separationist christologies are known to have existed.[88] As for provenance, there is not enough evidence, in my judgment, to support even an educated guess.

III. Conclusion

Our examination of the Western non-interpolations has highlighted a unique and striking confluence of patterns of characteristics that, when recognized, provides further confirmation of the general "orthodox corruption" thesis of Parsons and Ehrman, and specifically the thesis of Parsons that a single scribe is responsible for most, if not all, of the interpolations.[89] This confluence of patterns, moreover, vindicates the original verdict of Westcott and Hort concerning the authenticity of Western non-interpolations. Recognizing that

[88] I have already noted, for example, the writer of 1 John, an early anti-separationist whose work, according to most scholars, dates from the late first to early second centuries. This writer not only insists that Jesus came "by the water *and* the blood" (= baptism and death) and not "by the water only" (5:6), but he also condemns those who deny that Jesus was the Christ (2:22), positions that together make sense only as anti-separationist (and not anti-docetic) rhetoric. The presence of the same kind of polemic in later "proto-orthodox" writers, such as Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 1.1–2; 2.1; 3.12; 6:1; 12:2) and Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.24.3–6; 1.26.1; 1.30.12–14; 3.11.1), shows that separationism and opposition to it remained alive and well long after 1 John was written.

[89] Might the words "from the tomb" in Luke 24:9 (the eighth longer Alexandrian reading in Luke 24, but the only one thought original by Westcott and Hort [*New Testament*, 175–76]) be an additional, heretofore unidentified Western non-interpolation? The partial verse enjoys the same kind of documentary support and location as the other Lukan Western non-interpolations and, more importantly, appears to exhibit the same *Tendenz*. The reading leaves no uncertainty about where the body of Jesus was *not* to be found.

confluence, however, also justifies treating the interpolations en masse, *contra* Ehrman, and as a distinct group unto themselves, *contra* Parsons and Ehrman. When treated in this manner, the interpolations emerge as anti-separationist, not anti-docetic, corruption.

As a consequence of this thesis, I hope that further doubt will be cast on the overly "optimistic" assessment in the UBS fourth edition of the longer Lukan readings in question as "almost certain," the meaning of the newly defined "B" rating that has been newly assigned without explanation to these formerly "D"-rated readings.[90] It is also my hope that the importance of the Western non-interpolations for early Christian history has been demonstrated, as they offer unique testimony to a specific christological debate known from other sources. Specifically, these readings suggest that the Lukan ascension narrative was possibly the subject of debate between certain proto-orthodox and separationist Christians in the late first to mid-second centuries. Moreover, they provide further evidence that the title "Lord" was, in the opinion of some separationists, inappropriate for Jesus after his death (24:3b), as was worship (24:52a).[91] These and other possible conclusions that may be drawn, if only tentatively, from the obscure testimony of the Western non-interpolations illustrate the importance of textual evidence in general for historical reconstruction, as well as its limitations.

[90] See n. 4 above.

[91] There is also a subtle clue in one of these texts to the standing of women in both groups. The addition of 24:12 suggests that the testimony of the women to Jesus' resurrection (24:10) was disparaged by the scribe's separationist opponents, who may have even used Luke's own words (24:11) as fodder in their attack. The response of the scribe, seen in the addition of Peter's testimony to the resurrection, shows that he likely shared his opponents' low estimation of the testimony of women, or was at least unwilling to defend such testimony.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE LAME MAN IN ACTS 3–4

MIKEAL C. PARSONS
Mike_Parsons@baylor.edu
Baylor University, Waco, TX 76798

In the ancient world, it was commonplace to associate outer physical characteristics with inner moral qualities; it was a world in which it was assumed that you can, as it were, judge a book by its cover.[1] The study of the relationship between the physical and the moral was known as "physiognomy."[2] Several systematic studies were devoted to the topic. Among the best known are a third-century B.C.E. document entitled *Physiognomica*, attributed (inaccurately) to Aristotle; *On Physiognomy*, a work by the second-century C.E. rhetorician Polemo of Laodicea (which survives only in Arabic and various Latin epito-

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[1] Not all "moderns" would have been ignorant of physiognomic theories. The writings of Johann Caspar Lavater in the eighteenth century revived the practice of physiognomy, and Lavater was himself elevated to the status of a cult figure in popular European culture. See Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[2] Among scholars who have explored physiognomy in relation to the NT and early Christian texts, see Abraham Malherbe, "A Physical Description of Paul," *HTR* 79 (1986): 170–75 (reprinted in *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 165–70); Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996); J. Massyngbaerde Ford, "The Physical Features of the Antichrist," *JSP* 14 (1996): 23–41; János Ballók, "The Description of Paul in the Acta Pauli," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer; Kampen: Pharos, 1996), 1–15; J. Albert Harrill, "Invective against Paul (2 Cor 10:10), the Physiognomics of the Ancient Slave Body, and the Greco-Roman Rhetoric of Manhood," in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy. Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (ed. Adela Yarbro Collins and Margaret M. Mitchell; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 189–213; Karl Olav Sandnes, *Belly and Body in the Pauline Epistles* (SNTSMS 120; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

mes); and two later documents from the fourth century C.E., *Physiognomonica* by Adamantius the sophist, and an anonymous Latin handbook, *De Physiognomonia* (which at many points reproduces a Latin translation of Polemo's text).[3]

I. "Soul and Body React on Each Other": The "Physiognomic Consciousness" and Luke

In the earliest extant treatise on this topic, the author of the pseudo-Aristotelian tractate claims: "The physiognomist takes his information from movements, shapes, colors, and traits as they appear in the face, from the hair, from the smoothness of the skin, from the voice, from the appearance of the flesh, from the limbs, and from the entire stature of the body" (806a.28–34).[4] This method is based on the assumption that "soul and body react on each other; when the character of the soul changes, it changes also the form of the body, and conversely, when the form of the body changes, it changes the character of the soul" (808b.12–15).[5]

[3] These texts, along with some other physiognomic fragments, were collected, edited, and published in *Scriptores Physiognomonici Graeci et Latini* (ed. Richard Foerster; 2 vols.; Lipsius: Teubner, 1893). A critical edition and French translation of *Anon. Lat*. is now available in Jacques André, *Anonyme Latin: Traité de Physiognomonie* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981). The Greek text and English translation of pseudo-Aristotle's *Physiognomics* is accessible in W. S. Hett, ed., *Minor Works*, vol. 14 of Aristotle's *Works* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 83–137, and a German translation with interpretive essays and extensive textual notes can be found in Sabine Vogt, *Aristoteles: Physiognomonica: Übersetzt und Kommentiert* (Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzt, vol. 18, pt. 6; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999). Finally, mention must be made of a major translation project, *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, edited by Simon Swain of the University of Warwick, which aims "to translate the key classical texts of physiognomy surviving in Greek, Latin, and Arabic." The project hopes to publish texts and translations and a series of studies on the social, philosophical, and visual background. The project team comprises Swain, Robert Hoyland (St. Andrews), Ian Repath (University of Wales, Lampeter), George Boys-Stones (Durham), and Antonella Ghersetti (Venice). Online, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/classics/research/dept.projects. I am grateful to Professor Swain for making prepublication translations of key passages available to me.

[4] The Greek text (LCL, 92) reads: ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν κινήσεων φυσιογνωμονοῦσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σχημάτων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἠθῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου ἐμφαινομένων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τριχωμάτων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λειότητος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν μερῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τύπου ὅλου τοῦ σώματος.

[5] The Greek text (LCL, 104) reads: καὶ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξις ἀλλοιουμένη συναλλοιοῖ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μορφήν, πάλιν τε ἡ τοῦ σώματος μορφὴ ἀλλοιουμένη συναλλοιοῖ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν. Along the way, ps-Aristotle mentions three kinds of physiognomic analysis, what we might call the anatomical method, the zoological method, and the ethnographical method. Here I am following the suggestion of Jacques André, who speaks of the three methods as "l'anatomique, la zoologique

Interest in physiognomy was not limited to those who wrote such technical treatises. Elizabeth Evans has convincingly demonstrated that, from Homer through at least the fourth century C.E., physical descriptions of characters in epic, histories, drama, and fiction, as well as in medical writings, were used by writers "as an aspect of characterization in classical writers."[6] Thus, there developed a widespread "physiognomic consciousness" that permeated the Greco-Roman thought world.[7] This "physiognomic consciousness" in antiquity is now generally accepted, even if one rejects Evans's overly optimistic view of being able to trace the flow of influence *from* the physiognomic treatises *to* various genres of ancient literature. Rather, the flow of influence between physiognomic theory (preserved in the handbooks) and practice (seen in various genres) most probably moved in both directions, and not necessarily from theory to practice, as Evans suggests. Homer's (and others') descriptions of characters may very well have shaped development of physiognomic canons.[8]

Luke's narratives show an interest in and use of physiognomic conventions. To cite one set of examples, one hears echoes of the zoological method[9]

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et l'ethnologique" (*Anonyme Latin*, 12). A. MacC. Armstrong, on the other hand, refers to the "expression method, the zoological method, and the racial method" ("The Methods of the Greek Physiognomists," *Greece & Rome* 5 [1958]: 53).

[6] Elizabeth C. Evans, "Physiognomics in the Ancient World," *TAPA* 59 (1969): 5. Evans's argument for a pervasive "physiognomic consciousness" was originally resisted by classicists but recently has received confirmation in a variety of writings on ancient drama, theater, and art: see Giampiera Raina, "Il verisimile in Menandro e nella Fisiognomica," in *Il meraviglioso e il verisimile trá antichità e medioevo* (ed. D. Lanza and O. Longo; Florence: Olschki, 1989), 173–85; G. Krien, "Der Ausdruck der antiken Theatermasken nach Angaben in Pollux-Katalog und in der pseudearistotelischen 'Physiognomik,'" *JÖAI* 24 (1955): 84–117; B. Kiilerich, "Physiognomics and the Iconography of Alexander," *SO* 63 (1988): 5–28.

[7] Evans, "Physiognomics in the Ancient World," 6.

[8] On this, see Philip DeLacy, "Review of 'Physiognomics in the Ancient World' by Elizabeth C. Evans," *AJP* 92 (1971): 508–10; for a more "austere" approach than Evans's in detecting the presence of physiognomic interests in ancient literature, see George Boys-Stone, "Physiognomy in Ancient Philosophy," in *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Professor Boys-Stone for sharing this essay in prepublication form.

[9] The zoological method seeks to determine a person's character by observing similarities in appearance between the person and certain features of various kinds of animals (see Armstrong, "Methods of the Greek Physiognomists," 53–54). While humans might seek to mask their inner moral character, animals have no such pretensions. Rather, the character traits of certain animals are fixed and transparent for all to observe. Hence, when the physical feature in question is peculiar to a particular animal and that animal is characterized by certain character traits, the physiognomist may infer that the person and animal share certain traits. Thus, all deer and hares are timid; all lions are courageous; all foxes are wily and cunning. The physiognomist identifies the characteristics peculiar to the deer, lion, or fox (for example) and then looks for those same characteristics in the human subject under observation. Any human sharing these physical features can usually be assumed to share the inner nature of that animal.

in several places in Luke's text, where Luke uses an animal to refer figuratively (and negatively) to a person or group.[10] The multitudes who come out to be baptized by John the Baptist are greeted with these angry words: "You brood of *vipers*! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" (Luke 3:7). In Luke 10, Jesus sends out the seventy(-two) on mission. In the course of his commission, he warns them: "Go your way; behold, I send you out as lambs in the midst of *wolves*" (10:3). Paul uses similar imagery in his farewell address to the Ephesian elders: "I know that after my departure fierce *wolves* will come in among you, not sparing the flock" (Acts 20:29). In Luke 13, some Pharisees approach Jesus and warn, "Get away from here, for Herod wants to kill you" (13:31), to which Jesus replies, "Go and tell that *fox*, 'Behold, I cast out demons and perform cures today and tomorrow, and the third day I finish my course" (13:32). Vipers (*Anon. Lat.* 128), wolves (*Anon. Lat.* 126), and foxes (ps-Aristotle, *Physiogn.* 812a.17; Polemo, *Physiogn.* 174) function figuratively in physiognomic literature (as well as in the larger literary environment) to signify—and condemn—specific kinds of human behavior, and thus knowledge of the physiognomic handbooks illuminates the cultural significance of these passages.

It would be a mistake, however, to draw the conclusion from these (and other) examples that Luke uncritically employs physiognomic conventions in his narrative. While there are aspects of physiognomy that Luke finds useful, he has grave reservations about using physiognomic methods as an entrance requirement into the community, much as Pythagoras (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 1.9), the Qumraners (4Q186),[11] and even Ambrose (*Off.* 1.18.72) did. Not only does Luke show reluctance to use physiognomy as a community "entrance test," he subtly but forcefully opposes the conventions of physiognomy being applied in this way.[12]

[10] These examples, along with illustrations of Luke's use of the "anatomical method," are drawn from a larger study of Luke and ancient physiognomy, tentatively entitled, *Luke and the Whole Body* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic Press, forthcoming).

[11] Philip Alexander argues that this text suggests the Qumran community was using physiognomy as an entrance test for candidates seeking admission to the community, in much the same way that the Pythagoreans did ("Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag,* vol. 1, *Judentum* [ed. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996], 387).

[12] This is especially clear as it relates to the Abrahamic covenant in Luke. The so-called Gentile mission in Acts has its roots in the Third Gospel, primarily in relation to Luke's understanding of the implications of the Abrahamic covenant: "And in your offspring all the families on earth shall find blessing" (Gen 12:3; cf. Acts 3:25). I develop this argument in *Luke and the Whole Body* (see n. 10 above). On the importance of Abraham in Luke, see Nils A. Dahl, "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," in *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church: Essays* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1976), 66–86; Joel Green, "The Problem of a Beginning: Israel's Scriptures in Luke 1–2," *BBR* 4 (1994): 61–85; Robert Brawley, "Abrahamic Covenant Traditions and the Characterization of God in

Luke refuses to exclude anyone from the "social body" of this eschatological community on the basis of the shape of the physical body, as the physiognomists would have done. In four texts in particular (the bent woman, Luke 13; Zacchaeus, Luke 19; the lame man, Acts 3–4; and the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts 8), Luke introduces the traditional understanding of physiognomy only to undermine it. No one is excluded from the eschatological community on the basis of his or her physical appearance, and *this* is the message regarding physiognomy that Luke wishes to teach.

I propose to explore the character of the lame man in Acts 3–4 as an example of Luke's teaching about the inappropriateness of using physiognomy to judge one's worthiness for inclusion in the family of God. In doing so, I am not denigrating the considerable insight that scholars have already provided into this very important story, but I am seeking to explore features of the text that traditional exegesis has tended to neglect.[13] I am attempting to understand how this story, whatever its historical base, would have functioned in its original setting.[14] An understanding of the way in which the disabled were generally despised in antiquity is also helpful in understanding this story in its ancient

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Luke-Acts," in *The Unity of Luke Acts* (ed. J. Verheyden; BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 109–32; Jeffrey S. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in Early Christian Controversy* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991); Turid Karlsen Seim, "Abraham, Ancestor or Archetype? A Comparison of Abraham-Language in 4 Maccabees and Luke-Acts," in *Antiquity and Humanity,* ed. Yarbro Collins and Mitchell, 27–42. Nonetheless, other covenantal images are important for Luke; see, e.g., Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology* (JSNTSup 110; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995).

[13] The periodical literature, especially that which focuses on the healing itself and not the accompanying speeches, is not nearly so dense as one might expect; see, e.g., Paul Walaskay, "Acts 3:1–10," *Int* 42 (1988): 171–75; Danielle Ellul, "Actes 3:1–11," *ETR* 64 (1989): 95–99. See also Gilberto Marconi, "History as a Hermeneutical Interpretation of the Difference Between Acts 3:1–10 and 4:8–12," in *Luke and Acts* (ed. Gerald O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi; New York: Paulist, 1992), 167–80, 252–57. I should also mention the work of Dennis Hamm, who, though he does not explore physiognomy in any way, does argue for the symbolic and paradigmatic value of the lame man's story for Luke's theology; in that sense, his work stands closest to what I am attempting to do. See M. Dennis Hamm, S.J., "This Sign of Healing: Acts 3:1–10: A Study in Lucan Theology" (Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1975); idem, "Acts 3:12–26: Peter's Speech and the Healing of the Man Born Lame," *PRS* 11 (1984): 199–217; "Acts 3:1–10: The Healing of the Temple Beggar as Lucan Theology," *Bib* 67 (1986): 305–19.

[14] On the historicity of this story, see Gerd Luedemann, whose representative skepticism toward miracle is still the dominant view in modern NT scholarship: "There is no historical nucleus to the tradition of the miracle story in vv. 1–10. Those who are lame from their childhood are (unfortunately) not made whole again" (*Early Christianity according to the Tradition in Acts: A Commentary* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 54). For a defense of the historicity of miracles in Acts generally, see Colin Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 439–43. On the question of miracles in Acts, see the balanced presentation by Charles Talbert in *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Crossroad, 1997), 251–53.

cultural context. Luke drew on physiognomic language and the ancient cultural biases against the lame to lure the audience into the story only to argue that membership in the eschatological community of the Way requires rejection of the assumption that physical appearance is directly connected to moral character. As such, the story of the lame man joins with the other examples (the bent woman, Zacchaeus, and the Ethiopian eunuch) in introducing physiognomic categories only to subvert them.[15]

II. "Weak Ankles and Poorly Jointed Feet": Acts 3:7b and 4:9 in Light of Ancient Physiognomy

I begin by noting briefly the structure of Acts 3:1–4:31 and its placement in the narrative of Acts. This story is a well-defined narrative segment. Narrative summaries on either side of our text in 2:41–47 and 4:32–35 make it a text "readily isolated from what precedes and what follows."[16] Furthermore this narrative segment is comprised of four scenes, 3:1–10; 3:11–4:4; 4:5–22; and 4:23– 31, demarcated by temporal and spatial shifts.[17] The temporal shift from day 1 to day 2, effected by a "nocturnal pause" between 4:4 and 4:5, causes scenes 1–2 and 3–4 to be more closely related to each other. The theme of healing is found in every scene, either with specific reference to the lame man (3:7, 16; 4:9–10, 22) or to healing in general (4:30).[18] The healing of a lame man has parallels also in the ministry of Jesus (Luke 5:17–26) and Paul (Acts 14:8–18).

With this all-too-brief description of the literary contours of our narrative, we begin our physiognomic analysis. In many ways, the key text is Acts 3:7b, where the narrator, in recounting the healing, notes that "immediately his feet and ankles were made strong." This verse was a favorite among those who advanced the thesis that Luke's so-called medical vocabulary proved that the author was a physician. W. K. Hobart was probably not the first to comment on this verse, but he surely made more of it than most have. About βάσις ("feet") he commented that the word was employed to "show that the writer was acquainted with medical phraseology, and had investigated the nature of the

[15] On the Zacchaeus text, see Mikeal C. Parsons, "'Short in Stature'—Luke's Physical Description of Zacchaeus," *NTS* 47 (2001): 50–57.

[16] Robert W. Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988), 83. See also Mikeal C. Parsons, "Acts," in *Acts and Pauline Writings* (ed. Watson Mills, Richard Wilson, et al.; Mercer Commentary on the Bible 7; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 9.

[17] For a slightly different proposal of the structure of Acts 3–4, see Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 51–52. It is unusual to have such a long connected segment, since NT narratives are noted for their episodic nature; see Stephen Moore, "Are the Gospels Unified Narratives?" *SBLSP 1987* (ed. Kent Harold Richards; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1987), 443–58.

[18] Parsons, "Acts," 9.

disease under which the man suffered." In typical fashion, he cites Galen and others in support of this claim. Furthermore he claims that σφυδρά ("ankles") is "the technical term for the ankles, thus defined by Galen."[19] Adolf Harnack, in his attempt to refine Hobart's thesis by eliminating the less convincing examples from the evidence he marshals omits, the reference to "feet" as being significant but nonetheless claims that "Σφυδρόν is a very rare word . . . ; it is the Term. Tech. for the condyles of the leg-bones," again citing Galen.[20]

By showing the widespread usage of vocabulary in Hellenistic writings that were labeled as uniquely or distinctly medical terminology by Hobart and Harnack, Henry Cadbury, in his Harvard dissertation, dismantled the thesis that one could "prove" that the author of Luke-Acts was a physician by this medical terminology.[21] In a now well-known anecdote, Cadbury's graduate students used to jest that Cadbury had earned his doctorate by taking Luke's away from him!

On the term βάσις Cadbury notes that it occurs elsewhere in Plato, Aristotle, Josephus, Philostratus, Aelius, the LXX, and Apollodorius.[22] A search of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database for this term produced over sixteen hundred references, thus confirming Cadbury's general point.[23]

The case of σφύρον, Cadbury recognized, was a bit more complicated, since, according to him, it was found elsewhere only in the writings of Hesychius. However, Cadbury notes that Harnack emends to σφύρον, the reading of

[19] W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 1882; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1954), 35. Hobart built upon the work of practicing physician and medical historian John Friend, who devoted one chapter of his 1750 *Historia Medicinae* to the presence of medical knowledge in early Christian writings (see *Histora Medicinae A Galeni tempore usque ad initium saeculi decimi sexti. In qua ea praecipue notantur quae ad praxim pertinent* [Leiden, 1750]). More recently, Annette Weissenrieder has examined the way Luke constructs illness in his Gospel and has concluded: "[T]he author of Luke-Acts had a particular interest in images of illness and healing, which were plausible within the ancient medical context, and far exceed word analogies" (*Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke: Insights of Ancient Medical Texts* [WUNT 164; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 365). On the issue of whether or not this knowledge can be traced to Luke's professional occupation, Weissenrieder compares Luke's interest and knowledge with that of Philo and concludes: "whether or not they [Luke and Philo] may therefore be considered ancient physicians remains uncertain" (p. 366).

[20] Adolf Harnack, *Luke the Physician: The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. J. R. Wildinson; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 191.

[21] Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (HTS 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920). Unfortunately, subsequent Lukan scholarship has often gone beyond the cautious Cadbury to claim that Cadbury's work proved the converse, that Luke was not a physician. Cadbury resolutely refused to draw that conclusion on the grounds that it went beyond where the evidence leads.

[22] Ibid., 13.

[23] Thanks to my graduate assistants, Mr. Chad Hartsock and Mr. Jason Whitlark, who performed these TLG searches and other helpful tasks in preparing this manuscript for publication.

the Textus Receptus at Acts 3:7 and "found also in LXX, Josephus, Plutarch, Lucian, and other non-medical writers."[24] Again, a search of the term(s) in the TLG yielded well over one hundred references to σφύρον.

The (presumably unintended) legacy of Cadbury has been that subsequent commentators often omit any reference to these terms,[25] or when they do comment, usually do so only to point out that "feet" and "ankles" are *not* medical terms.[26]

When we turn to the physiognomic handbooks, we see that feet and ankles are indeed the object of physiognomic consideration. About ankles, ps-Aristotle writes:

> Those who have strong and well-jointed ankles are brave in character; witness the male sex. Those that have fleshy and ill-jointed ankles are weak in character; witness the female sex. (*Physiogn.* 810a.25–29)[27]

Adamantius, likewise, comments on the importance of ankles:

> Perfect, solid ankles belong to a noble man, those which are soft and smooth to a more unmanly man and those which are very thin to a cowardly and intemperate man. All those who have thick ankles, thick heels, fleshy feet, stubby toes and thick calves are for the most part stupid or mad. (*Adam.* 7)[28]

[24] Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method*, 56 n. 36.

[25] So Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998).

[26] See Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn; Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 200. John Wilkinson, himself a medical missionary, has suggested that the most probable diagnosis for the lame man in Acts 3–4 "is a severe degree of club-foot or what is known medically as congenital talipes equino-varus" (*Health and Healing: Studies in New Testament Principles and Practice* [Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1980], 88).

[27] The Greek text (LCL, 114) reads: ὅσοις τὰ περὶ τὰ σφυρὰ νευρώδη τε καὶ διηρθρωμένα ἐστίν, εὔρωστοι τὰς ψυχάς· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρρεν γένος. ὅσοι τὰ σφυρὰ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἄναρθροι, μαλακοὶ τὰς ψυχάς· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος.

[28] The translation is from Swain, *Seeing the Face* (see n. 3). The Greek text reads: Σφυρὰ διηκριβωμένα <στερεὰ> γενναίου ἀνδρός, τὰ δὲ μαλακὰ καὶ λεῖα ἀνανδροτέρου, λεπτὰ δὲ πάνυ δειλοῦ καὶ ἀκολάστου. Παχέα δέ σφυρὰ καὶ πτέρνας καὶ πόδας σαρκώδεις καὶ κολοβοὺς δακτύλους καὶ κνήμας παχείας ὅσοι φοροῦσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μωραίνουσιν ἢ μεμήνασι (Foerster, *Scriptores,* 1:357).

Similarly, see also *Epitom. Matr.* 18: Σφυρὰ διηκριβωμένα στερεὰ γενναῖον ἄνδρα ἐπαγγέλλουσι, τὰ δὲ μαλακὰ καὶ λεῖα ἀνανδροτέρου, λεπτὰ δὲ πάνυ δολίου καὶ ἀκολάστου σημεῖα. παχέα δὲ σφυρὰ καὶ πτέρναι τραχεῖαι καὶ πόδες σαρκώδεις καὶ κολοβοὶ δάκτυλοι κνῆμαί τε παχεῖα ἐξηχοῦντας ποιοῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἢ δαιμονίζοντας. Ps.-Polemon, *Physiogn.* 51: Σφυρὰ διηκριβωμένα στερεὰ γενναῖον ἄνδρα δηλοῦσι, τὰ μαλακὰ δὲ και λεῖα σφυρὰ ἄνανδρον σημαίνουσι, λεπτὰ δὲ [καὶ] πάνυ σφυρὰ δολίου καὶ ἀκολάστου ἀνδρὸς τὸ σημεῖον. παχέα δὲ σφυρὰ καὶ κολοβοὺς δακτύλους καὶ πτέρνας τραχείας καὶ πόδας σαρκώδεις καὶ κνήμας παχείας ὅσοι φοροῦσι, μωραίνουσιν, ἐξηχοῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἢ δαιμονίζονται (Foerster, *Scriptores,* 1:357).

The comments about feet (here the more familiar πόδες) are similar:

> Those who have well-made, large feet, well-jointed and sinewy, are strong in character; witness the male sex. Those who have small, narrow, poorly-jointed feet, are rather attractive to look at than strong, being weak in character; witness the female sex. Those whose toes of the feet are curved are shameless, just like creatures which have curved talons; witness birds with curved talons. (810a15–22)[29]

In Polemo, we find another description:

> If you see contracted, strong feet, and their tendons are straight and strong, and their joints are evenly proportioned, these are the signs of powerful and mighty men. If the feet are very fleshy and soft, they indicate weakness, softness, and laxity. (*Physiogn.* 5.15–19)[30]

In a culture where the "physiognomic consciousness" pervaded, "well-made" ankles and feet are a sign of a "robust character";[31] conversely, the lame man's weak ankles would have been viewed as an outward physical sign of his inner weak moral character, his μαλακός, his "soft," "timid," "cowardly" or "effeminate" nature.[32] This weakness is confirmed by his presentation in the narrative as a passive participant. The lame man "is carried"; he is "laid daily at the gate"; "Peter took him by the right hand"; and "raised him up."[33]

The man's moral weakness is confirmed also by Peter's reference in 4:9 to the lame man as an ἀνθρώπου ἀσθενοῦς—though not the same lexeme as ps-Aristotle, certainly in the same semantic range. The phrase ἀνθρώπου ἀσθενοῦς is translated "cripple" or "sick" in most modern translations, but literally means "weak man."[34] The various forms of the ἀσθεν- stem do often refer to a

[29] The Greek text (LCL, 114) reads: ὅσοις οἱ πόδες εὐφυεῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοι διηρθρωμένοι τε καὶ νευρώδεις, ἐρρωμένοι τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· διηρθρωμένοι τε καὶ νευρώδεις, ἐρρωμένοι τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρρεν γένος. ὅσοι δὲ τοὺς πόδας μικροὺς στενοὺς ἀνάρθρους ἔχουσιν, ἡδίους τε ἰδεῖν ἢ ῥωμαλεωτέρους, μαλακοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος. ὅσοι δὲ τοὺς πόδας μικροὺς στενοὺς ἀνάρθρους ἔχουσιν, ἡδίους τε ἰδεῖν ἢ ῥωμαλεωτέρους, μαλακοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος. οἷς τῶν ποδῶν οἱ δάκτυλοι καμπύλοι, ἀναιδεῖς, καὶ ὅσοις ὄνυχες καμπύλαι· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρνεις τοὺς γαμψώνυχας.

[30] This translation of the Arabic version of Polemo found in the Leiden manuscript is from Swain, *Seeing the Face*. Hoffman's reconstructed Latin text (found in Foerster, *Scriptores,* 1:200) reads: "Si pedes adstrictos robustos et eorum nervos aequales et robustos atque articulos moderatos vides, ii virorum heroum strenuorum signa sunt. Si pedes valde carnosi molles sunt, infirmitatem mollitiem et languorem produnt."

[31] On feet and ankles as a sign of strong moral character, see Vogt, *Aristoteles: Physiognomonica*, 155–56.

[32] See BAGD, 613, for definitions of and references to μαλακός.

[33] As Funk notes, "The lame man is the 'subject' of the mini-narrative. This does not mean that he is the agent of the principal action, but that the narrative is 'about' him" (*Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 64).

[34] RSV, NIV = "cripple"; NASB = "sick man"; NRSV = "someone who was sick."

physical infirmity (cf. Luke 4:40; 5:15; 9:2; 10:9; Acts 5:15, 16; 9:37; 19:12; 28:9), but the term can carry a moral or metaphorical sense, which Luke also knows.[35] In Paul's Ephesian farewell address, he claims, "In all things I have shown you that by so toiling one must help the weak (ἀσθενούντων), remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'" (Acts 20:35; cf. Luke 13:11). Here the weak do not necessarily seem to be limited to those with physical ailments. Thus, Peter's description of the man here as "weak" may refer both to his former physical *and* moral state.

III. The Rhetoric of Ridicule: The Lame Man and Ancient Perceptions of Disability

That the audience would have viewed the lame man negatively is further confirmed by the attitude in antiquity toward the disabled generally and the lame specifically.[36] The disabled, and the lame in particular, in the ancient world were objects of ridicule and derision.[37] Robert Garland comments at length on the cheap and often lewd humor associated with the Greek symposium.

> *Crippled dancers* feature prominently on Corinthian pots, as, for instance, on an alabastron which depicts a padded dancer with clubbed feet who is about to have his leg pulled away by another dancer—to the side-splitting laughter no doubt of the drinkers witnessing this prank. Whether scenes like these were acted out by genuine cripples or by actors taking their parts makes no difference. Evidently the joke was deemed sufficiently amusing to bear fre-

[35] See L&N, 88.117. Forms of the ἀσθεν- stem occur in ps-Arist. 807b.8,10 in a description of the signs of a coward (δειλοῦ σημεῖα), "weak eyes" and a "weak thigh" (cf. also 810.b11, 27), but these references appear to refer to physical, not moral, weakness (though of course they are signs of the morally weak or cowardly).

[36] The physiognomic handbooks do not themselves specifically mention the term "lameness" (χωλός) in conjunction with physiognomic signs (though some of their descriptions naturally lead to the conclusion that someone suffering from such symptoms would necessarily be unable to walk; see above). As evidence of physiognomic interest outside the treatises, however, Foerster (*Scriptores,* 2:270) does list two passages from *Problemata*, a text falsely attributed to Aristotle, that mention the "lame." "Both birds and lame men are lustful for the same reason; for in both the nourishment below is small owing to the deficiencies of their legs, so it passes into the upper region and forms secretions of semen" (*Prob*. 880b.5–8, LCL; cf. a similar passage in *Prob*. 893b.13–17). The Greek text reads: διὰ ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες λάγνοι καὶ οἱ χωλοί, ἡ γὰρ τροφὴ ἀμφοτέροις κάτω μὲν ὀλίγη διὰ τὴν ἀναπηρίαν τῶν σκελῶν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἄνω τόπον ἔρχεται καὶ εἰς σπέρμα συγκρίνεται.

[37] Two cripples feature prominently in this derision of the disabled in Homer's writings. See Hephaistos (*Il*. 1.600 and *Od*. 8); Thersites (*Il*., 2.217–19).

quent repetition in the artistic repertoire, which presumably reflects its popularity at symposia.[38]

As an example of this kind of ribald and denigrating humor, consider also Plutarch, who "informs us that the typical kinds of commands which an insensitive symposiarch or master of drinking might give to test the guests' ability to hold their liquor included ordering a stammerer to sing, a bald man to comb his hair, or *a lame man to dance on a greased wineskin*" (*Mor.* 621e; emphasis mine).[39]

Such ridicule was not limited to the pagan world. This point is underscored in the late-first-century Jewish document *4 Ezra,* which, in an exhortation to good works, commands: "Do not ridicule a lame man" (*4 Ezra* 2:21). Or consider the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* (first century B.C.E.–first century C.E.), whose point about the need to reunite body and soul in the resurrection depends on the assumption that, alone, a lame man and a blind man are each only "half a man."[40]

Whether or not lame worshipers were formally and ritually excluded from the first-century temple is a hotly debated and probably irresolvable issue. Nonetheless, the location of the lame man at "the threshold of the temple enclosure," raises question as to whether or not the authorial audience would have inferred from this reference that the man was socially ostracized, lying, as it were, "outside" the boundaries of institutional religion.

F. Scott Spencer suggests that this text laid the foundation "for stereotyping crippled persons throughout Israelite society, not just in priestly circles, as 'dead dogs'; that is pathetic, impotent, despicable creatures (2 Sam 9.8)."[41]

[38] Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 84.

[39] Another popular and degrading "gag," was to have the crippled serve as wine-pourer at the symposium. In one of the more familiar scenes on Greek pottery, the divine ironsmith, crippled Hephaistos, pours the wine for the Olympiad symposium, which causes "unquenchable laughter" to break out (*Il.* 1.600). As Garland notes, "The incident involving Hephaistos as wine-pourer is made all the more comical by the fact that in real life, just as in myth, the role of wine-pourer was usually reserved for a young man of outstanding beauty . . . by prompting comparison with that graceful and perfect-limbed youth, the ungainly Hephaistos becomes a natural vehicle for parody" (*Eye of the Beholder,* 84).

[40] For a translation of the surviving fragments of the text, see J. R. Mueller and S. E. Robinson, "Apocryphon of Ezekiel," in *OTP* 1:492–95. For discussions of the text, see J. R. Mueller, *The Five Fragments of the Apocryphon of Ezekiel: A Critical Study* (JSPSup 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Marc Bregman, "The Parable of the Lame and the Blind: Epiphanius' Quotation from an Apocryphon of Ezekiel," *JTS* 42 (1991): 125–38; Richard Bauckham, "The Parable of the Royal Wedding Feast (Matthew 22:1–14) and the Parable of the Lame Man and the Blind Man (*Apocryphon of Ezekiel*)," *JBL* 115 (1996): 471–88.

[41] F. Scott Spencer, *Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 45.

Joachim Jeremias cites *m. Šabb* 6:8 in order to argue that those who were ambulatory (with assistance) were allowed into the temple, while "for those who were altogether lame or legless and had to be carried around on a padded seat, this was forbidden. The impotent man in Acts 3.2 is probably an example of this."[42] Beverly Gaventa, on the other hand, is right to point out that the restrictions found in Lev 21:16–18 "apply only to priests who are offering sacrifices."[43] More relevant, however, may be the rather difficult passage in 2 Sam 5:8, "The blind and the lame shall not come into the house," to which the LXX translators add "of the Lord." Some take this text to reflect, at least on the part of hellenized Jews in the second century B.C.E., the assumption that the blind and the lame are excluded from entering the temple precincts.[44]

In the larger Greco-Roman world, pagan priests were often excluded from temple service because of physical blemishes. Plato claimed that a priest must "be whole in body and legitimate" (6.759c). Pausanius reports that in archaic Achaia "the boy who won the beauty" contest was appointed priest of Zeus (*Descr.* 7.24.4). Admission to the priesthood of Apollo fell to the young man "who was himself good-looking and strong" (9.10.4). On the Roman side, Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports that Romulus required priests to be without bodily defect (*Ant. rom.* 2.21.3); likewise vestal virgins could have no speech or hearing impediment "nor any other bodily defect" (*Gell. An.* 1.12.3). Garland suggests that these physical requirements might have extended beyond priests to pagan worshipers:

> We do not know to what extent the deformed and disabled were denied access to Greek or Roman sanctuaries . . . but it would hardly be surprising if the more distressing cases were excluded from participation in the processions and festivals which were such a prominent feature in the civic life of ancient communities in order not to offend the gods.[45]

In any case, the healing that ensues then would have been dramatic: a healing of the body and a transformation of the soul, underscored in part by the movement from outside to inside the temple precinct.[46]

Luke's interest in feet is no simple fetish! The physiognomic understanding of weak ankles and feet combined with the reality of the derision of the disabled in Greco-Roman society and the possible social exclusion hinted at by his location "outside" the gate, would have caused the audience of Acts 3–4 to view

[42]Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 117.

[43] Beverly Gaventa, *Acts* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2003), 84.

[44] See especially Saul M. Olyan, "'Anyone Blind or Lame Shall Not Enter the House': On the Interpretation of Second Samuel 5:8b," *CBQ* 60 (1998): 218–27.

[45] Garland, *Eye of the Beholder*, 64.

[46] A similar symbolic use of space may be seen in Luke 16:20, where Lazarus lies at the gate (πυλών) of the rich man.

the lame man as a thoroughly negative character, a morally weak and passive man who is unable to stand on his own two feet.[47]

IV. "Sure-Footed and Stout-Hearted": The Transformation of the Character of the Lame Man

The strengthening of the lower extremities would be an outward sign of his newly found inner moral strength of character; what ps-Aristotle calls εὔρωστος ("stout," "strong," or "robust").[48] A few examples from ancient pagan, Jewish, and Christian sources will help delineate the meaning of the term. In his novel, Achilles Tatius uses the term to describe a "robust" or "muscular" sailor (*Leuc. Clit.* 2.17.3; 3.4.1). Josephus uses the term to describe one Jewish archer named Mosollamus, who was intelligent and "robust" (εὔρωστος; *C. Ap.* 1.201.4). The *Sibylline Oracles* use the word to refer to a "bracing" (εὔρωστος) storm (3:369). Eusebius, in a quotation attributed to Clement, describes the moral corruption of a young man whose rush away from God was like an "unbroken and powerful (εὔρωστος) horse" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.23.10). In an interesting passage, Plutarch claims (in relation to the character of Aemilius) that the spirit (ψυχή) that is "vigorous and strong" (εὐρωστία καὶ ἰσχύς) "is neither spoiled nor elated by the insolence which prosperity brings, nor humbled by adversity" (Plutarch, *Tim.* 2.5). Though Luke does not use the term εὔρωστος, he "shows" the restored "vigor" and "robustness" of the lame man's character through the physical manifestations of standing and walking (Acts 3:9). The outer physical healing thus provides empirical proof of the inner moral and spiritual transformation, a point underscored by the double sense of σώζω in 4:9 as both "heal" in a physical sense and "save" in a moral/spiritual sense, a double entendre that conforms nicely to physiognomic expectations.

We see this point borne out in the narrative as well. The lame man moves from inactivity to walking, from paralysis to praise. He also moves from sitting to clinging (Acts 3:11) to standing unassisted, alongside Peter and John. Thus he shares in the "boldness" (παρρησία) of the apostles (4:13),[49] a point noted long ago by John Chrysostom, "Great was the boldness of the man; that even in the judgement-hall he has not left him. For had they said that the fact was not

[47] Furthermore, the note that the man was "lame from birth" might have been understood to suggest some kind of divine retribution for transgression (cf. John 9:1–2).

[48] LSJ, 731.

[49] The term παρρησία was particularly associated with the "frank speech" of the Cynic philosophers (see Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.11; 77/78.37, 45; esp. Lucian of Samosata, *Pisc.*; cited by Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* [SP 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 78). See also Stanley B. Marrow, "*Parrhēsia* and the New Testament," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 431–46.

so, there was he to refute them."[50] Chrysostom, building on the use of the word θεωρέω in Acts 4:13, where the religious authorities "saw" the apostles' boldness, also claims that this boldness was not confined to words, but rather was "seen" in the apostles' "body language": "[Not only by their words,] but by their gesture also, and their look and voice, and, in short, by everything about them, they manifested the boldness with which they confronted the people."[51] Even though he does not speak, the lame man's boldness is seen also in his "body language," as he boldly takes his stand in solidarity with the persecuted apostles, and his transformation is complete.

V. "Walk like a Man"? Luke's Subversion of Ancient Physiognomic Conventions

If this were the whole story, then it would appear that Luke had followed the conventions of physiognomy to a tee. The lame, morally weak man becomes a whole, morally bold man. But this is not all there is to Luke's story.

The issue remains as to what we are to make of the lame man's actions recorded in Acts 3:8: "And leaping up, he stood and walked and entered the temple with them, walking and leaping and praising God."[52] Form-critically this action is typically labeled the "demonstration of healing," but it certainly goes beyond the typical demonstration (cf. Luke 5:25; Acts 14:10). The references to leaping and praising God, should, in the first instance, be taken as a spontaneous response of exhilarating joy at having his body restored and being able, for the first time, to become ambulatory.[53] The leaping is also symbolic of

[50] John Chrysostom, "Homily X," *The Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1851), 143.The Greek text reads: Πολλὴ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παῤῥησία· καὶ δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτούς. Ὥστε εἰ εἶπον, ὅτι Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἐκεῖνος ἂν κατηγόρησε (PG, 60:87.33–36).

[51] Chrysostom, "Homily X," 147. The Greek text reads: ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ τῷ βλέμματι, καὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τὴν παῤῥησίαν ἐνέφαινον ἐπὶ τοῦ λαοῦ (PG 60:89.50–52). For other occurrences of θεωρέω in Luke/Acts, see Luke 10:18; 14:29; 21:6; 23:35, 48; 24:37, 39; Acts 3:16; 4:13; 8:13; 9:7; 10:11; 17:16, 22; 19:26; 20:38; 21:220; 25:24; 27:10. All of these usages have the sense of physical seeing or beholding, thus supporting Chrysostom's interpretation of this verse.

[52] I see the emphases in this text as part of Luke's intentional rhetoric; contrary to C. K. Barrett, who claims; "How Luke came to write such a clumsy sentence is another question to which no answer seems satisfactory; it is perhaps best to leave the sentence as one of a number of indications that Acts did not receive a final stylistic revision" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994], 1:184).

[53] It is difficult, if not impossible, for an able-bodied person to comprehend the excessive joy and display for its own sake in this kind of hearing, and the response at the most fundamental level must be taken as a sign of this inexpressible joy. I am grateful to Rebecca Raphael, chair of the SBL consultation on the Bible and Disability Studies, for this insight. Nonetheless, the fact remains that of all the other healing stories, especially those related to the lame walking, the exuberant reaction

the restoration of Israel (see below); and, finally, by moving from total inactivity to excessive activity, in his joy the lame man breaks physiognomic convention. He does not "walk like a man" but rather leaps in grateful response to this benefaction of God.

More than one commentator has focused on the intertextual echoes with Isa 35:6. In that eschatological vision we hear that "the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped; the *lame shall leap like a deer*" (ἀλεῖται ὡς ἔλαφος ὁ χωλός; cf. ἁλλόμενος in Acts 3:9). The image is of the restoration of Israel as part of the vision of God as cosmic king.[54] As in Isaiah, the lame man in Acts symbolizes the potential restoration of Israel (see Acts 1:6) as part of the establishment of God's cosmic reign, inaugurated by Jesus and continued through the ministry of the apostles and Paul. In this light, it is difficult to resist giving symbolic value to the more than forty years of the lame man's illness in terms of the exiled and restored Israel.[55]

But there is yet more to the story, and here the physiognomy texts shed

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of the lame man of Acts 3–4 remains unique in Luke's writings and invites further reflection (see in particular, Luke 5:17–26, esp. v. 25, and Acts 14:8–13, esp. v. 10).

[54] On the messianic role of the Israelite community in God's cosmic kingship, see Edgar W. Conrad, *Reading Isaiah* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991). Regarding Israel's destiny in Isaiah, Conrad writes, "The vocation of the Davidic kingship, once the function of individuals such as Ahaz and Hezekiah, has become the vocation of the community" (*Reading Isaiah*, 145). I am indebted to my colleague Jim Kennedy for this reference.

[55] Indeed, such symbolic reading is tempting, despite Johnson's warning,: "There is an obvious temptation to see a symbolic resonance here except that Luke uses the specific number forty (well-hallowed by the biblical tradition) so frequently" (*Acts*, 79). The references Johnson cites against giving forty a symbolic value could just as easily be used in its favor. Consider Spencer's remarks (*Acts*, 52):

> Apart from providing a symbol of hope for the poor and disadvantaged in Israelite society, the healed lame man also represents an image of restoration for the entire nation. We have already noted the connection to Isa. 35.6 where the leaping lame typify Israel's glorious deliverance from exile through the desert (cf. 35.1–10). . . . The lame man's restoration after forty years of paralysis establishes a key temporal link to this same national tradition. As God's saving purpose for ancient Israel was finally realized after forty years of stumbling and meandering through the wilderness, so the moment of fresh renewal—signalled by the dance of a forty-year cripple—has dawned upon the present Israel. To join this joyous dance, however, Israel must now follow the lead not only of Moses, but also of the promised "prophet like Moses," the crucified and risen Jesus of Nazareth, in whose name alone God brings full salvation to his people.

Spencer's comments remarkably echo comments made well over a millennium earlier by the Venerable Bede (*Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [trans. Lawrence T. Martin; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989], 51): "According to the historical sense, this [age] shows that the man's mature age [made him] invincible to detractors. Allegorically, however, [the passage signifies that] the people of Israel . . . in the land of promise continued always to limp along [*claudicabat*] with the rites of idols together with those of the Lord." Bede's use of the verb *claudicabat* recalls the description of the lame man as *claudus*; see translator's note, pp. 54–55.

further light. Maud Gleason claims that deportment—the way one carries oneself—was also a telltale sign of a person's character. Furthermore, it was the walk of the lion, which, "in the zoological shorthand of physiognomy," represented the ideal male.[56] Ps-Aristotle echoes this sentiment in his description of the lion as "the most perfect share of the male type" (*Physiogn.* 809a15–16). After describing the fine features of the lion's head and back, the author proceeds to speak of the lion's lower body:

> His legs are strong and muscular, his walk is vigorous, and his whole body is well-jointed and muscular. . . . He moves slowly with a long stride and swings his shoulders as he moves. These then are his bodily characteristics; in character he is generous and liberal, magnanimous and with a will to win; he is gentle, just, and affectionate towards his associates. (*Physiogn.* 809b.30–36)[57]

By contrast, Polemo describes the effeminate or cowardly: "You may recognize him by his provocatively melting glance and by the rapid movement of his intensely staring eyes . . . his loins do not hold still, and his slack limbs never stay in one position. He minces along with little jumping steps."[58]

This interest in the physiognomic implications of one's gait was not limited to the physiognomic handbooks. Aristotle speaks of the "great-souled man" *whose step is slow*, whose voice is low, and whose speech is measured and deliberate (see Arist. *Eth. nic.* 1125a34). Dio Chrysostom observes: "Walking is a universal and uncomplicated activity, but while one man's gait reveals his composure and the attention he gives to his conduct, another's reveals his inner disorder and lack of self-restraint" (*Or.* 35.24).[59] Gleason concludes:

> The physiognomists, astrologers, and popular moralists of antiquity thought in terms of degrees of gender-conformity and gender-deviance. They shared a notion of gender identity built upon polarized distinctions . . . that purported to characterize the gulf between men and women but actually divided the male sex into legitimate and illegitimate members.[60]

[56] Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 61–62.

[57] The Greek text (LCL, 112) reads: σκέλη ἐρρωμένα καὶ νευρώδη, βάσιν τε νεανικήν, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἀρθρῶδες καὶ νευρῶδες, . . . βαδίζον δὲ βραδέως, καὶ μεγάλα διαβαῖνον, καὶ διασαλεῦον ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις, ὅταν πορεύηται. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοιοῦτον· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δοτικὸν καὶ ἐλεύθερον, μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλόνικον, καὶ πραῦ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ φιλόστοργον πρὸς ἃ ἂν ὁμιλήσῃ.

[58] This translation is a composite of Polemo, *Phys.* 61 (Foerster, *Scriptores,* 1:276) and *Anon. Lat.* 98 (Foerster, *Scriptores,* 2:123–24; André, *Anonyme Latin,* 124) made by Gleason, *Making Men*, 63. On gait specifically, see *Anon. Lat.* 76 (Foerster, *Scriptores,* 2:100; Andrè, 108–9).

[59] See also Demosthenes, who "concedes the unattractiveness of a hasty gait" (*Or.* 37.52; 45.77). Likewise, Cicero condemns a hasty gait as an impediment to masculine *dignitas* (*Off.* 1.131).

[60] Gleason, *Making Men*, 80.

This concern about the "hasty gait" is seen also in later Christian texts. Clement said, "A noble man should bear no sign of effeminacy upon his face or any other portion of his body. Nor should the disgrace of unmanliness ever be found in his movements or his posture" (*Paed.* 3.11.73–74). "Modesty must be guarded in our very movements and gestures and gaits. For the condition of the mind is often to be seen in the attitude of the body. . . . Thus, the movement of the body is a sort of voice of the soul" (Ambrose, *Off.* 1.18.67, 70–71).[61]

The lame man, "inadequate" though he may have been, does not thus simply conform to the physiognomic standards of the day and immediately comport himself with a slow, dignified gait, showing by his outward deportment that he is a man of courage, or vigorous character, in other words, a "manly man." Rather, Luke shows that the formerly lame man, by leaping and praising God, is an enthusiastic and grateful member of the eschatological community of God![62] It is more important, in Luke's opinion, for one to respond appropriately to the benefaction of God than to worry about whether or not one's deportment is appropriately "masculine" according to cultural convention. The authorial audience experiences both continuity with and discontinuity from physiognomic conventions, as Luke subverts them in the name of Jewish eschatological expectation.[63]

VI. Conclusion

In Acts, where the Christian enterprise is called the "Way," we should not be surprised to find that the healing of the man born lame functions in a

[61] See also Tertullian, *Cult. fem.* 2.1, 8, 13; *An.* 5, 20, 25, 32; Basil, *Let.* 1.2, 20–21, 132–35.

[62] On "praising God" as a "Lukan equivalent to faith," see Luke 17:11–19, esp. vv. 18–19 (so Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 53). It is interesting to note here that in the physiognomic handbooks, the deer is the symbol of timidity (although leaping is nowhere used in the handbooks as a sign per se of timidity in deer): "For the *deer*, the hare and sheep are the most timid of all animals" (ps-Aristotle. *Physiogn.* 806b.8; cf. 807a.20; 811a.16; 811b.3; 811b.7). The lion, as we have seen, is uniformly the symbol of courage and traditional masculinity (see the quotation from ps-Aristotle, *Physiogn.* 809b.30–36 above). In fact, when the writer wants to highlight the necessity of using peculiar characteristics of animals, rather than common ones, he contrasts lions and deer: "So that, when a man resembles an animal not in a peculiar but in a common characteristic, why should he be more like a lion than a deer?" (805b.18). The Lukan authorial audience, shaped by a physiognomic consciousness, would expect the lame man to "prowl like a lion," not "leap like a deer"! But this seems to be exactly Luke's point.

[63] Think here also of the father running to his son in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:20). Hamm ("Acts 3,1–10," 313) also suggests a possible allusion to the LXX in Luke's use of ἐξαλλόμενος in Acts 3:9 and the reference to the remnant of Israel in Mic 2:13–14: "I will surely receive the remnant of Israel; I will cause them to return together as sheep in trouble (ὡς πρόβατα ἐν θλίψει), as a flock in the midst of their fold. They shall rush forth (ἐξαλοῦνται) among men through the breach made before them; they have broken through and passed the gate and gone out of it, and their king has gone out before them and the Lord shall lead them."

paradigmatic and symbolic way (much as the man born blind in John 9 functions in the Fourth Gospel, where believing is symbolized as a kind of seeing).[64] Luke has used (and ultimately subverted) Greco-Roman physiognomic conventions to lure his audience into his story. By employing allusions to the OT (especially Isaiah 35), he encourages them to accept his conclusion that the lame man's healing is paradigmatic for the potential restoration of Israel within the establishment of the cosmic reign of God.

The lame man's healing is also a fulfillment of the Abrahamic blessing that Peter mentions in his speech to the religious leaders: "You are the heirs of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with your fathers when he said to Abraham, 'And in your offspring all the families on earth shall find blessing'" (Acts 3:25).[65]

Finally, but no less importantly, Luke invokes the categories of physiognomy and cultural biases against the disabled only to overturn them. The lame man (along with the bent woman, Zacchaeus, and the Ethiopian eunuch) would have been viewed by Luke's auditors as morally weak, corrupt, or even evil, yet Luke claims that the eschatological community is comprised of such as these, a community in which "God shows no partiality" (Acts 10:34). If the lame man's body language in standing with the bold apostles fulfills physiognomic conventions, his actions of leaping and praising defy them. In other words, the literary character(ization) of the lame man is unfolded in the story of the transformation of the lame man's (moral) character. And this without uttering an audible word in the story. In a curious (and perhaps unintended) way, Ambrose was right, "the movement of the body is a sort of voice of the soul."

[64] Hamm, "Healing of the Temple Beggar as Lucan Theology," 305. Contra S. John Roth, *The Blind, the Lame, and the Poor: Character Types in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 144; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 220–21, who denies any paradigmatic use of these healing stories in Acts.

[65] Brawley claims that the healing of the lame man should be taken as "a concrete case of the blessing available to all the people" ("Abrahamic Covenant," 126).

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1 CORINTHIANS 11:3–16: SPIRIT POSSESSION AND AUTHORITY IN A NON-PAULINE INTERPOLATION

CHRISTOPHER MOUNT
cmount@depaul.edu
DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60614

I

"I want you to know," begins 1 Cor 11:3. Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι. What knowledge does this "I" intend to communicate in what follows? If the history of scholarship on 1 Cor 11:3–16 is any indication, this knowledge was lost long ago in the now unfathomable intent of the "I" speaking to a situation that can no longer be reconstructed with any certainty.[1] Perhaps the only consensus that

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[1] Troy Martin comments, "[T]he scholarly assessment is that neither the Corinthians nor possibly even Paul himself completely comprehended this argument for the veiling of women" ("Paul's Argument from Nature for the Veil in 1 Corinthians 11:13–15: A Testicle instead of a Head Covering," *JBL* 123 [2004]: 76). For the general problems of interpretation of this passage, see, e.g., Marlis Gielen, "Beten und Prophezeien mit unverhülltem Kopf? Die Kontroverse zwischen Paulus und der korinthischen Gemeinde um die Wahrung der Geschlechtsrollensymbolik in 1Kor 11,2–16," *ZNW* 90 (1999): 220–49; Judith M. Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16: A Study in Paul's Theological Method," in *Evangelium–Schriftauslegung–Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Jostein Ådna et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 151–71; L. Ann Jervis, "'But I Want You to Know . . .': Paul's Midrashic Intertextual Response to the Corinthian Worshipers (1 Cor 11:2–16)," *JBL* 112 (1993): 231–46; Troels Engberg-Pederson, "1 Corinthians 11:16 and the Character of Pauline Exhortation," *JBL* 110 (1991): 679–89; Gail Patterson Corrington, "The 'Headless Woman': Paul and the Language of the Body in 1 Cor 11:2–16," *PRSt* 18 (1991): 223–31; Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 258–63; Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 116–34; David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-Coverings in

has emerged about this passage is that the "I" is Paul and the knowledge has something to do with women. Most scholars read 1 Cor 11:3–16 as an integral part of 1 Corinthians and have sought to explain its difficult logic as part of Paul's response to a situation in the Corinthian community related to the roles of women.[2] A few scholars, however, have suggested that this passage is a non-Pauline interpolation and, following the terms of the debate set by those who see the passage as Pauline, have argued that it expresses a view of women inconsistent with Paul's own views regarding women.[3]

The discussion of 1 Cor 11:3–16 in terms of women's roles has obscured a more important difference between the situation presupposed by this passage and the situation presupposed by its immediate context in 1 Corinthians and in Paul's thought in general. The "I" of 1 Cor 11:3–16 imposes on the phenomenon of spirit possession in early Christianity an ecclesiastical consensus that enforces a theology of the created order and male-female biology. The ecclesiastically enforced knowledge in 1 Cor 11:3–16 presupposes a construction of authority different from that construction by which Paul seeks to exert control on phenomena associated with spirit possession in early Christianity. Both in the immediate context (in which Paul's interest is to establish a spiritual hierarchy: 1 Cor 12:28–31; 14:18–19; 14:37–38) and in Paul's thought in general (in which spirit possession constitutes a new creation: 2 Cor 5:17 and Gal

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1 Corinthians 11:2–16," *TynBul* 41 (1990): 245–60; Richard Oster, "When Men Wore Veils to Worship: The Historical Context of 1 Corinthians 11.4," *NTS* 34 (1988): 481–505; Cynthia L. Thompson, "Hairstyles, Head-Coverings, and St. Paul: Portraits from Roman Corinth," *BA* 51 (1988): 99–115; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 491–530; Joël Delobel, "1 Cor 11,2–16: Towards a Coherent Interpretation," in *L'apôtre Paul: Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (ed. A. Vanhoye; BETL 73; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1986), 369–89; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 226–30; Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *HR* 13 (1974): 165–208; Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman: Revisited," *JAAR* 42 (1974): 532–49; idem, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *JAAR* 40 (1972): 283–303; Annie Jaubert, "Le voile des femmes (1 Cor. XI.2–16)," *NTS* 18 (1971/72): 419–30; Morna D. Hooker, "Authority on Her Head: An Examination of 1 Cor. XI.10," *NTS* 10 (1963/64): 410–16; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. XI.10," *NTS* 4 (1957/58): 48–58. On the specific question of whether this passage is an interpolation, see nn. 3 and 7 below.

[2] Oster, however, has emphasized the "male issue" in this passage ("When Men Wore Veils," 481–505). See also Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 483; idem, "1 Corinthians 11:2–16 Once Again," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 265–66.

[3] William O. Walker, Jr., "1 Corinthians 11:2–16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *JBL* 94 (1975): 94–110; idem, "The 'Theology of Women's Place' and the 'Paulinist Traditions,'" *Semeia* 28 (1983): 101–12; idem, "The Vocabulary of 1 Corinthians 11.3–16: Pauline or Non-Pauline?" *JSNT* 35 (1989): 75–88; Lamar Cope, "1 Cor 11:2–16: One Step Further," *JBL* 97 (1978): 435–36; G. W. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:3–16 and Its Context," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 196–215.

6:15), Paul's understanding of authority and identity for individuals within the community is determined by spirit possession, not by the created order of this age maintained by the church.

The passage can certainly be removed without difficulty from Paul's argument.[4] 1 Corinthians 11:2 (καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε, "Just as I handed down to you, you hold the traditions") anticipates 11:23 (ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς . . . , "For I received from the Lord what also I handed down to you, that the Lord Jesus [on the night when he was betrayed . . .]"). If so, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε in 11:2 does not refer to traditions about veiling of women (the putative subject of 11:3–16) but instead refers to matters pertaining to the ritual meal established by Jesus and recounted by Paul in 11:23–26. Paul has reservations, however, about the actual practice of this ritual meal in Corinth. He introduces these reservations in 11:17–22. On this reading, 11:17 (τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ κρεῖσσον ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ ἧσσον συνέρχεσθε, "In giving the following instructions, however, I do not praise you because you come together not for the better but for the worse")[5] follows naturally on 11:2 (ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε καί, καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε, "I praise you that you remember me in all things, and just as I handed down to you, you hold to the traditions") to introduce these concerns in the context of a discussion of food and ritual meals preceding and following the unit 11:3–16.[6] That this connection between 11:2 and 11:17–34 suggests that 11:3–16 is an interpolation has not persuaded many, nor have suggestions that the attitude toward women expressed in 1 Cor 11:3–16 is in tension with Paul's view of women expressed elsewhere in his letters.[7]

There is no evidence in the manuscript tradition of 1 Corinthians to support a theory of interpolation at this point. Nevertheless, unqualified confidence in the manuscript tradition of Paul's Corinthian correspondence is unwarranted. Virtually no trace is left in the manuscript tradition of the complex redaction of this correspondence to produce the archetype or archetypes that have come to be known as 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians in the NT collection of Pauline letters. Despite a lack of evidence in the manuscript tradi-

[4] See Trompf, "Attitudes Toward Women," 198–202. Robert Jewett has proposed that 1 Cor 11:2–34 is a (genuine) letter fragment ("The Redaction of 1 Corinthians and the Trajectory of the Pauline School," *JAAR* 44 Supplement [1978]: 389–444).

[5] On the textual variants and meaning of this verse, see Fee, *Corinthians,* 534–36.

[6] See Cope, "1 Cor 11:2–16," 434–35. Differently Mitchell, *Paul,* 260–63. For attempts to explain the logic of an interpolation at this point, see Trompf, "Attitudes Toward Women," 214–15.

[7] See, e.g., Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11:2–16?" *JBL* 95 (1976): 615–21; idem, "Sex and Logic"; idem, "1 Corinthians 11:2–16 Once Again"; Alan Padgett, "Paul on Women in the Church: The Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16," *JSNT* 20 (1984): 69–86.

tion, there is a measure of consensus about some of this redaction—for example, the letter fragment 2 Corinthians 10–13.[8] On the other hand, is 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 an anti-Pauline fragment?[9] Is 1 Cor 14:33b–36 non-Pauline?[10] In each case, appeals to the manuscript tradition are of little value for reconstructing the redaction of the Corinthian correspondence. In the case of 1 Cor 11:3–16, there are reasons to think that the knowledge revealed by the "I" of 1 Cor 11:3 belongs to a different situation in early Christianity than does the knowledge revealed in the larger context of 1 Corinthians 11–14, reasons sufficient to warrant the hypothesis that 1 Cor 11:3-16 is a non-Pauline interpolation.[11] The authority of the "I" in 1 Cor 11:3–16 to impart knowledge about possession phenomena (praying in tongues, prophesying) needs to be set in the context of the phenomenon of spirit possession in Paul's religion more generally.

II

The form of early Christianity associated with Paul can be characterized as a spirit-possession cult.[12] Paul establishes communities of those possessed by the spirit of Jesus. Paul can speak of an individual having the spirit of Christ (e.g., Rom 8:9: εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ, "If anyone does not have the spirit of Christ, this person does not belong to him")

[8] Chapters 8 and 9 of 2 Corinthians have received separate commentary treatment. See Hans Dieter Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (ed. George W. MacRae; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985). For letter fragments in 1 Corinthians, see, e.g., Jewett, "Redaction of 1 Corinthians," 389–444.

[9] Hans Dieter Betz, "2 Cor 6:14–7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?" *JBL* 92 (1973): 88–108.

[10] In the case of 1 Cor 14:33b–36, some evidence of tampering exists in the manuscript tradition. The Greek manuscripts D, F, and G, along with a few Latin manuscripts, place vv. 34 and 35 after v. 40. In itself, however, this is very weak manuscript evidence for vv. 33b–36 as an interpolation.

[11] See, e.g., the criteria for discerning fragments set down by Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (trans. James W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 2–4. He concludes concerning the overall unity of 1 Corinthians: "There is no conclusive proof of different situations within 1 Corinthians. The existing breaks can be explained from the circumstances of its composition."

[12] For a useful analysis of spirit possession, see I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession* (3rd ed.; London/New York: Routledge, 2003); see also John Ashton, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000). Alan F. Segal has discussed Paul's religious experiences under the category of Jewish mysticism (*Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* [New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1990], 34–71). On spirit possession and magic in the Jesus tradition, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978). Stevan L. Davies comments on spirit possession in Paul in the context of possession phenomena associated with Jesus (*Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* [New York: Continuum, 1995], 176–87).

or Christ being in an individual (e.g., Rom 8:10–11: εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, "If Christ is in you").[13] In much the same way, other early Christian texts describe individuals as having a demon (e.g., Mark 3:22: ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει, "They were saying, 'He has Beelzebul'"; cf. John 10:20), or a hostile spirit can be said to be in someone (e.g., Mark 1:23: καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, "And just then there was in their synagogue a man possessed by an unclearn spirit").[14] In the context of such beliefs about spirit possession, certain behaviors were identified as possession phenomena.[15] Just as possession by hostile spirits can be manifested by speech (e.g., Mark 1:24: τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ, "Leave us alone, Jesus of Nazareth!"),[16] so too the spirit that possesses members of Paul's communities is thought to enable the speech of those in the community (see especially 1 Corinthians 14 on prophesying and speaking in tongues). The power to do miracles/magic, including exorcisms, is also identified as possession phenomena: Mark 3:22, ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια, "They were saying, 'He has Beelzebul and by the ruler of the demons he casts out demons'"; Gal 3:5, ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, "The one who gives you the spirit and works miracles among you" (see also Rom 15:19; 1 Cor 12:9–11).

For Paul this possessing spirit produces a transformation of moral behavior in the context of a spiritual battle (see, e.g., Gal 5:16–25, λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε, "I say, walk by the spirit and do not satisfy your physical desires"; see also Rom 8:9-17)—a transformation that protects the members of the community from the power of Satan (see 1 Cor 5:1–13). Such possession phenomena may have involved trance (e.g., visions [2 Cor 12:1–3], speaking in tongues [1 Cor 14:2, 23], perhaps prophesying [1 Cor 14:30]) but not necessarily (e.g., 1 Cor 12:28: ἀντιλήμψεις, "helpful deeds"; κυβερνήσεις, "administrative roles"). Whether or not such possession phenomena occurred in a trance, the essential point in characterizing Paul's communities as spirit-possession cults is their belief that individuals within the community had come under the control of an alien spirit that subordinated the "I" of the individual to that of the occupying spirit. The individual acts within the community as a possessed "I."[17]

[13] The plural ὑμῖν refers to the community of possessed *individuals*—see v. 9. See also, e.g., 1 Thess 4:8; Gal 3:5.

[14] An unclean spirit that can be forced to leave (ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, v. 25). Compare Luke 4:33: ἄνθρωπος ἔχων πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου. See also Mark 5:1–13, a story in which spirits relocate their residence.

[15] Lewis puts well the prerequisite for the analysis of spirit possession as a social phenomenon: "Let those who believe in spirits and possession speak for themselves!" (*Ecstatic Religion*, 25).

[16] Compare Mark 5:5; see also Lucian, *Lover of Lies*, 16.

[17] Compare Gal 2:20, ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός ("I no longer live, but Christ

Through Paul's itinerant performances of the power of spirit possession, his message is an invitation for the audience to participate in the performance. For his pagan audiences, to turn from idols to serve the living God is to be possessed by the deity that works miracles through Paul—that is, to be possessed by Jesus.[18] At least some of the pagans who form Paul's earliest communities have likely abandoned participation in possession phenomena associated with pagan deities to profess instead κύριος Ἰησοῦς, "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor 12:1–3), an utterance of those possessed by the spirit of Jesus that acknowledges the presence and power of this new deity.[19] In these communities, Paul's power to work signs and wonders through spirit possession is replicated in the power this

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lives in me"); see Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion,* 57 (citing Kenneth Stewart, "Spirit-possession in Native America," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2 [1946]: 325); Davies, *Jesus the Healer,* 22–42.

[18] Compare 1 Thess 1:5, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ("our gospel did not come to you by word only but also by power and by holy spirit") with 1 Thess 1:9, πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ ("how you turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God"); 1 Thess 4:8, τὸν θεὸν τὸν καὶ διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς ("the god who gives his holy spirit to you"); Gal 3:5; Rom 8:9–11.

[19] 1 Corinthians 12:2–3 contrasts pagans carried away by mute [!] idols and those who speak possessed by the spirit of Jesus. ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε πρὸς τὸ εἴδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι ("that when you were pagans, how you were led astray to mute idols, being carried away")—ὡς resumes ὅτι; ἄν with imperfect is iterative; see BDAG, s.v. ἄγω. This contrast is between possession phenomena of pagan deities and the possession phenomena of Paul's religion. The utterance of 12:3 is speech under the control of a possessing spirit. Compare the cautious comments by Conzelmann (*1 Corinthians,* 204–6). Compare also 1 Cor 14:23, οὐκ ἐροῦσιν ὅτι μαίνεσθε ("Will they not say that you are mad?"), a question probably intended to characterize possession phenomena within Paul's communities as different from pagan possession phenomena. Followers of the deities Dionysos (Bacchus) and Cybele, for example, were well known for the possession phenomena by which the adherents to the deities acted out their possession by the deities. On Cybele, see Lynn E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Roller comments that Meter was linked with Dionysos on the basis of the similar possession phenomena characteristic of the two cults (p. 176). Performances associated with spirit possession were also characteristic of oracles. Alexander's oracle for Glycon, for example, was established on the basis of a performance of possession (Lucian, *Alex.* 12). The practice of so-called magic often involved possession by a deity (a familiar) by whose power the magician invoked spells. Spells also existed to cause an individual to become possessed by a deity to function as an oracle. The Mithras liturgy invokes a spell that sends the individual's soul on a heavenly journey that leads to a commingling of the soul and the deity (PGM IV.710; compare IV.625–30) and produces a revelation. Paul's performance of signs and wonders through the power of a spirit at his disposal would have been right at home in the cities of the Roman Empire, and his offer of this spirit to his audience would have appealed to anyone persuaded by his performance that this spirit offered relief from the perceived troubles of their daily lives. See Morton Smith, "Pauline Worship as Seen by Pagans," *HTR* 73 (1980): 241–49. On the possible role glossolalia played in the development of early Christianity, see Philip F. Esler, "Glossolalia and the Admission of Gentiles into the Early Christian Community," *BTB* 22 (1992): 136–42; reprinted in idem, *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), 37–51.

possessing spirit offers to these earliest followers of this new deity.[20] The possession phenomena in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14 are not an aberration of Pauline religion, nor unique to Corinth.[21] Such phenomena are constitutive of Paul's religion.

Thus, when Paul reflects on his first arrival in Corinth, he recalls his demonstration through signs and wonders of the power of the spirit that possesses him:

> κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἦλθον οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον. κἀγὼ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ.
>
> When I came to you, brothers and sisters, I did not come proclaiming the mystery of God to you in lofty words or wisdom. For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I came to you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling. My speech and my proclamation were not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power, so that your faith might rest not on human wisdom but on the power of God. (1 Cor 2:1–5 NRSV)[22]

"For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified," Paul says in 2:2. For Paul, Jesus' violent death makes available the power of this possessing spirit to perform signs and wonders (δύναμις, v. 4, which forms an ironic contrast with ἀσθένεια, v. 3), and Paul uses this power of the crucifixion to construct a new basis for knowledge (καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ).[23] For Paul, to know Jesus Christ is to manifest the power

[20] See, e.g., 1 Thess 1:5; 2 Cor 12:12, τὰ μὲν σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου κατειργάσθη ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ, σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασιν καὶ δυνάμεσιν ("the signs of an apostle were performed among you, signs and wonders and miracles"); Rom 15:18–19, κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν, λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ ("[what] Christ accomplished through me for obedience of the Gentiles, by word and deed, by power of signs and wonders, by power of the spirit of God"); Gal 3:5; 1 Cor 12:4–11, including ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων ("workings of miracles"). Signs and wonders were the currency to be spent to found oracles (Lucian, *Alex.* 12), to establish the reputation of wandering representatives of various deities (e.g., Apollonius of Tyana, as reported by Philostratus; Jesus of Nazareth as reported by various Christian Gospels), and to spread the fame of temples themselves (the power of whose gods was proclaimed, for example, through the dedication to the temple of the deity of various objects in response to miraculous deliverances and healings thought to have been accomplished by the deity).

[21] See, e.g., 1 Thess 5:19, τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε ("do not suppress the spirit"); compare also Gal 3:5; Rom 15:18–19.

[22] Compare 1 Thess 1:5; Gal 3:1–5; Rom 15:18–19.

[23] On the connection of (magical) power to violent death compare, e.g., PGM IV.1390–1495:

of Jesus' crucifixion in one's body through spirit possession and performance characterized by possession phenomena. Paul's body has become the site at which Jesus' crucifixion is displayed as an interpretive paradox of δύναμις/ἀσθένεια, an interpretive paradox that manifests a battle with spirits.[24]

Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or those who have died a violent death:

Leave a little of the bread which you eat; break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. Say the spell to the pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

"To Morai, Destinies, Malignities,
To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died
Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
I'm sending food . . .
You who've left the light, O you
Unfortunate ones, bring success to him,
NN, who is distressed at heart because
Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
So bring her wracked with torment–and in haste!
EIOUT ABAOTH PSAKERBA . . .
Give heed to me and rouse her, NN, on
This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
And for my will give her a willingness
Until she does what I command of her . . ."

When you have done these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung from a black cow and say this and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.

The words spoken over the offering are these:

"[C]ome today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, because I am calling . . .

Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
Forthwith for service in this very hour.

So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN . . ."

(Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells* [2nd ed.; Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1992], 64–66).

In *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 15, Paul is actually accused of being a sorcerer who casts such spells on women. For the connection of the power of Jesus' death to Paul's mythology of Jesus, see, e.g., Rom 8:31–39; see also Phil 2:5–11. The crucifixion of the mythic "last Adam" (1 Cor 15:45) makes available the power to defeat hostile spirits. See n. 33 below. See also Mark 6:14, 16; Matt 14:1–2; contrast Luke 9:7–9 (on magic in Luke-Acts, see below). See Smith, *Jesus the Magician,* 97–98.

[24] See Gal 3:1, οἷς κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος ("before your

Paul reflects on this battle of spirits in his account of his journey to the heavens ἐν Χριστῷ (a possession state probably marked by trance—εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, "Whether in the body or out of the body I do not know; God knows" [2 Cor 12:2]). In Paul's report of this battle in 2 Cor 12:7–10, σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί ("thorn in the flesh") corresponds to ἄγγελος σατανᾶ ("messenger of Satan") and defines an existence ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις μου in which "the power of Christ dwells in me" (ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ).[25] With a performance of signs and wonders as a possessed "I," Paul initiates pagan converts into the power and knowledge of this possessing spirit (1 Cor 12:3) that grants knowledge of heavenly mysteries (τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, 2:1). Performances associated with spirit possession were one way of constructing the presence of a deity in the Greco-Roman world, and the possession phenomena displayed by Paul persuaded some pagans of the power of the new deity Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρωμένος and of Paul's authority to declare knowledge revealed by this deity.[26]

Those possessed by the spirit of Jesus declare under the direction of the spirit, κύριος Ἰησοῦς.[27] This utterance defines a community that for Paul par-

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eyes Jesus Christ was portrayed on a cross"). On προεγράφη, see BDAG, s.v. προγράφω. The visual performance witnessed by the Galatians was likely a manifestation of spirit possession (Gal 3:5). Compare Gal 6:17, ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω ("I bear the marks of Jesus in my body"). These marks should be connected to Paul's ἀσθένεια, interpreted as a site of spiritual battle in which the power of Christ crucified is displayed. In Gal 4:13–14 Paul recalls his first arrival in Galatia: "You know that the gospel was first proclaimed to you δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός." For Paul, this ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός is a mark of a battle with spirits (compare 2 Cor 12:7–10) that manifests the power of Christ crucified—a battle that the Galatians rightly interpreted as evidence of the presence of Jesus himself in Paul. Hans Dieter Betz has commented on the demonological language of this passage (*Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979], 225). Troy Martin rejects a connection between Gal 4:13–14 and 2 Cor 12:7–10 ("Whose Flesh? What Temptations? [Galatians 4.13–14]," *JSNT* 74 [1999]: 65–91). The πείρασμος of Gal 4:14, however, is probably not Paul's circumcision but the paradox of δύναμις/ἀσθένεια that the Galatians interpreted correctly on Paul's first visit (compare Gal 3:1–2; 1:8). For Paul, physical affliction becomes a sign of spiritual battle and as such an ironical mark of the power of Christ crucified. On affliction and spirit possession, see Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion,* 59–89.

[25] Compare Betz, *Galatians,* 224–25. Compare also Ashton, *Religion of Paul,* 113–23.

[26] See Smith, "Pauline Worship," 241–49. The association of weakness with spirit possession is not unique to Paul in antiquity. The possessed state, often perceived as a state of madness, was intrinsically ambiguous and open to competing interpretations. See, e.g., Plato, *Phaedrus* 244, 265; Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (trans. John Raffan; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 110–11. The image of Socrates as the physically unattractive vessel possessed by a *daimonion* and imparting wisdom of great beauty is paradigmatic of power in weakness in the philosophical tradition. See, e.g., Alcibiades' comparison of Socrates to Silenus (Plato, *Symposium* 215B).

[27] Compare the possession phenomenon described in Rom 8:15, in which the spirit produces the utterance of a foreign language, Αββα. See also Gal 4:6.

ticipates in a new creation (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15) in which a baptismal formula characterized by the negation of a series of antithetical pairs (cited in one form in 1 Cor 12:13 and in another form in Gal 3:28) proclaims freedom in the spirit from social boundaries defined by one's physical body inhabiting an αἰών that is soon to pass away.[28] Spirit possession reconstitutes the relation of individuals to one another (Gal 3:28, "neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female"; 1 Cor 12:27, "you are the body of Christ, and individually members of it") and as a consequence the relation of the community to the world.[29] How, then, is authority constructed in such a community?

[28] Galatians 6:15 concludes a discussion in which Paul rejects social boundaries defined by a physical body inhabiting this αἰών. A physical body embeds an individual into a network of roles anchored in this αἰών (Jew–Gentile, slave–free, male–female). For Paul, spirit possession constitutes an "I" separate from these social boundaries marked out by the physical body. The abolition of social boundaries expressed in Gal 3:28 is the consequence of the antithesis between spirit possession and "works of the law" set forth in Gal 3:1–5. The identification of Gal 3:28 as a citation of a fixed baptismal formula has been questioned by Troy Martin, who is right to point out the lack of any set pattern for such antitheses as the basis for a standard baptismal formula in early Christianity ("The Covenant of Circumcision [Genesis 17:9–14] and the Situational Antitheses in Galatians 3:28," *JBL* 122 [2003]:111–25). However, in relating Gal 3:28 to the situation addressed by Paul, Martin understates the consequences of such antitheses for roles in the new communities (p. 122): "This verse [Gal 3:28] does not proclaim the absolute abolition of these distinctions [Jew–Greek, slave–free, male–female] but only their irrelevance for participation in Christian baptism and full membership in the Christian community. According to 1 Cor 12:12–14, these distinctions must remain intact to reflect the true nature of the body as composed of many members." This conclusion misses an important redefinition of roles in the community for those possessed by the spirit that Paul represents. The social hierarchies enshrined by the antitheses Jew–Greek, slave–free, and male–female have been replaced by a hierarchy determined by spirit possession: apostles, prophets, teachers, et al. (1 Cor 12:28–31a). This new hierarchy reflects the true nature of the body as composed of many members. It is just because the distinction between Jews and Greeks no longer holds, for example, that Jews and non-Jews can share meals together (Gal 2:11–14). The radical nature of Paul's conclusions about the consequences of spirit possession for social identity and roles is evident in the apparent split that took place between him and the rest of the leaders of the new movement at Antioch. Romans 15 attests to Paul's desire to mend this rift created by his interpretation of his experience of spirit possession (15:15–21) with those who opposed him at Antioch (15:31).

[29] In discussions of women's roles in early Christianity, Gal 3:28 has been used to support the idea that Paul's communities were egalitarian. "Egalitarian" is an infelicitous term. Yet, in attacking the idea of Paul's communities as (radically) egalitarian, John Elliott goes to the opposite extreme of denying virtually any social implication of the baptismal formula ("The Jesus Movement Was Not Egalitarian but Family Oriented," *BibInt* 11 [2003]: 173–210). To be sure, as Elliott points out, Paul's communities were hierarchical (see below on Paul's construction of authority). The hierarchy, however, was not defined by any of the antitheses Jew–Gentile, slave–free, male–female (see comments in n. 28 above on Martin's interpretation of Gal 3:28). For Paul, the negation of these antitheses through spirit possession that is pronounced ritually in baptism creates room for a new hierarchy determined by spirit possession. See below on 1 Cor 12:28–31a. Possession by the spirit of Jesus, according to Paul, does not create egalitarian communities but rather is a new marker of social status and hierarchy in the community, a marker open to non-Jews, slaves, and women.

In social terms, spirit possession can be analyzed as a strategy for distributing power in a community.[30] A human possessed by the divine gains a new way to relate to other humans. For Paul's communities, spirit possession grants the possessed "I" a new power in relation to an αἰών that is to be destroyed.[31] A specific consequence of this power is a willingness to suffer for the new political, social, and economic identity constructed by membership in the community.[32] Possession by the spirit of Jesus grants the possessed "I" a new power in relation to physical realities and hostile spirits.[33] Apparently, Paul and some of his earliest converts believed they would not experience death.[34] Not only does spirit possession give the possessed "I" power to reimagine a broader social-cosmological context, but the possessed "I" gains a new power in the community of other possessed individuals—a power that includes nothing less than the competence to pass judicial sentence to exclude individuals from the community of those possessed by the spirit that shelters them from sin and death in this world.[35]

[30] See Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, 90–113. See also Judith M. Gundry-Volf, "Celibate Pneumatics and Social Power: On the Motivations for Sexual Asceticism in Corinth," *USQR* 48 (1994): 115–18.

[31] See, e.g., 1 Thess 1:10: "to wait for his son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead—Jesus who rescues us from the wrath that is coming"; also Gal 1:4. Compare Phil 3:20, "our citizenship is in heaven."

[32] See, e.g., 1 Thess 1:6; 2:1–2; 3:1–13. The political and economic consequences of this willingness to suffer are imagined in Revelation, an apocalypse in which a Christian community confronts the Roman Empire in a mythic battle to rule the world seen through the eyes of a (possessed) prophet (Rev 1:10).

[33] On physical realities: first and foremost, corrupt material existence (Gal 5:16–26) and death (1 Thess 4:14; 1 Cor 15:54–55; Rom 8:38). On hostile spirits, see Rom 8:37–39; Gal 4:3. For Paul the concept of "Sin" links the two together, as he argues in Rom 5:12–8:39. Participation in at least some of the mystery religions seems to have offered a similar protection. For example, in *Metamorphoses* by Apuleius, participation in the Isis mysteries is portrayed as offering deliverance from the hostile forces of magic. Similarly, the Mithras liturgy invokes a spell that allows the individual to placate deities that prevent access to the higher realms (PGM IV.555–60).

[34] Judging from Paul's words in 1 Thess 4:13–18, Paul himself expected to escape death, though Phil 1:21 suggests that Paul revised his expectations.

[35] 1 Corinthians 5:1–13 reports a ritual execution "in the spirit" carried out by members of the community. See Arthur J. Droge, "Discerning the Body: Early Christian Sex and Other Apocryphal Acts," in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (ed. Adela Yarbro Collins and Margaret M. Mitchell; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 297–99. This competence to pass judicial sentence presupposes the moral certitude imparted by the spirit (compare Gal 5:16–26) and expressed in Paul's paraenesis. On the out-of-body presence of Paul at this judicial proceeding, compare Ezek 11:1–13 for an account of a similar spirit journey to pass a sentence of death. For a discussion of the social function of such intermediaries in ancient Israel, see Robert Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); compare also David L. Petersen, *The Roles of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSup 17; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 9–34.

Within Paul's communities, possession by the spirit redistributes power from those who have to those who do not by the very fact that it creates a new way of knowing.[36] The "I" possessed by the spirit speaks a new knowledge with a divine authority.[37] The "I" possessed by the spirit can reveal divine mysteries —divine mysteries that only other individuals of the community can understand.[38] For Paul's communities, these mysteries promise to redistribute power in the present and in the future. One specific consequence of the redefinition of social boundaries and redistribution of power created by this knowledge is that on Paul's authority the resources of members of the community are now taxed to support Paul's interests.[39]

In this type of community, the "I" who is possessed by a spirit is an authority unto itself.[40] Ironically, however, the authority of the "I" possessed by a spirit exists only to the extent that the community assents to the reality of that possession.[41] The "I" possessed by a spirit speaks with ultimate authority, yet is ever in competition with and at the mercy of the community that validates the possessed "I" (cf. 1 Cor 14:29). From the perspective of Paul's communities as cults of spirit possession, the rhetoric of Paul's letters is an attempt to construct this "I"–community dialectic of knowledge in such a way that the individual possessed by a spirit (in this case, Paul) authenticates his or her authority in dialogue with a community that acknowledges that authority.[42] The knowledge

[36] Those characterized by Paul in 1 Cor 1:26–31 as powerless ("not many wise according to the flesh, not many powerful, not many well born") gain access to divine mysteries the world cannot understand.

[37] See 1 Cor 14:37: "What I write to you is a command of the Lord"; see also 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:6–16.

[38] 1 Corinthians 15:51, ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω, "I speak to you a mystery"; cf. 1 Thess 4:15. Compare also the Mithras liturgy (PGM IV.475–829), in which an individual gains access to divine mysteries. Some mysteries are reserved only for the most powerful—see 2 Cor 12:2–4.

[39] See Rom 15; 1 Cor 16:1–14; 2 Cor 8–9; Phil 4:15; compare Lucian, *Peregr.* 11–13. Paul's authority to extract wealth from his communities leads to the inevitable charges of fraud and misappropriation against which he constantly has to defend himself. See esp. 1 Thess 2:1–12; 2 Cor 8:18–21. Such charges of fraud were not uncommon against those establishing a new cult in antiquity. See, e.g., Lucian's portrayal of Alexander in *Alexander the False Prophet.*

[40] See 1 Cor 2:15: ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει τὰ πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται ("the one possessed by the spirit judges all things, but is judged by no one").

[41] See 1 Cor 9:2: εἰ ἄλλοις οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος, ἀλλά γε ὑμῖν εἰμι. ἡ γὰρ σφραγίς μου τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ ("if to others I am not an apostle, at least I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord"); see also 2 Cor 12:11–12; 13:6.

[42] On the usefulness of Max Weber's concept of charisma for understanding the "I"–community dialectic in these possession communities associated with Paul, see John Howard Schütz, "Charisma and Social Reality in Primitive Christianity," *JR* 54 (1974): 51–70. As Schütz points out, Weber's concept of a charismatic leader is not entirely adequate for understanding the dynamics of Paul's relation to a community whose members also possess *charismata.* (See also the comments of

that Paul hands down exists only insofar as a community reifies that knowledge as something other than a construction of this "I"–community dialectic. Paul's problem is that his authority is entirely from heaven,[43] yet he must persuade his followers to validate that authority (see esp. 2 Cor 10–13). The irony of Paul's rhetoric is that he claims that his authority is divine and thus unassailable, yet his authority exists only as the community comes to share Paul's understanding of the reality of possession by Jesus. Not surprisingly, Paul's attempt to construct authority in the spirit-possession cult formed around the worship of Jesus in Corinth proves to be an intractable problem.[44]

III

1 Corinthians 12 and 14 introduce possession phenomena characteristic of these early Christian possession cults formed around the spirit-controlled utterance, κύριος Ἰησοῦς. The topic of possession phenomena in the community is anticipated by the discussion beginning in ch. 8 concerning pagan idols, ritual meals in honor of demons and gods (10:14–22), and sickness and death connected with these rituals (11:27–32). Paul asserts his authority as an apostle

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Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel,* 58; see also Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* [SNTSMS 26; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975], 249–80.) In Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, he is not a charismatic leader set apart from ordinary but devoted followers. Instead, he is but one possessed "I" among many attempting to define roles to govern the interaction of possessed individuals in the community. By contrast, Weber's charismatic leader stands over against his followers: "The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or a least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader" (*Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* [ed. S. N. Eisenstadt; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968], 48). Paul's discussion of unity and plurality in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14 and his hierarchy of spiritual gifts in 1 Cor 12:28–31a ranks disputed roles of individuals in the community, all of whom are possessed (see esp. 14:26–40). On Paul as a charismatic leader, see Anthony J. Blasi, *Making Charisma: The Social Construction of Paul's Public Image* (New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers, 1991), esp. 1–20. See also Petersen, *Roles of Israel's Prophets,* esp. 9–34.

[43] See Gal 1:1: ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι᾽ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρός ("an apostle not from men nor through human agency, but through Jesus Christ and God the father").

[44] The problematic nature of the authority of the possessed "I" in relation to a community is evident in the rise and fall of the popularity of ancient oracles. Lucian has chronicled the rise of the oracle associated with the deity Glycon in his scathing account *Alexander the False Prophet.* Lucian is a hostile witness to the process by which Alexander "negotiated" with the patrons of his oracle the power to reveal knowledge through a performance marked by possession phenomena.

who has seen Jesus in 1 Cor 9:1–3, yet the full defense of this authority in the context of the possession phenomena characteristic of his communities begins in ch. 12.[45] The issue is one of order and chaos in a community in which every "I" speaks and acts in his or her own way with the authority of the spirit. The anarchy latent in such a spirit-possession cult not only threatens the order of the community at Corinth; it also threatens to deconstruct the role of Paul as one who speaks with more authority than any other "I." Paul crafts his argument in chs. 12 and 14 to establish his authority to deliver (construct) knowledge from the deity.

After a discussion of the mystery of unity and diversity in the multiple spiritual gifts from the one spirit under the rubric πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ("for the common good," 12:7), in 12:28–31a Paul establishes a spiritual hierarchy for the different gifts of the spirit. Apostles stand first; those who speak in tongues stand last.[46] "Are all apostles? Do all speak in tongues?" Paul asks. No. Each "I" possessed by the spirit stands in relation not only to the deity but also to other members of the spirit-possession cult in a hierarchy of spiritual power. That such a hierarchy of roles would exist is rationalized by the metaphor of the body (12:12–27), though the specific hierarchy itself is not self-evident. The hierarchy is revealed by Paul, the possessed "I" speaking for the deity to the community: "God has appointed" (12:28).[47] Roles in the community of those possessed by Jesus are not marked by the place one's physical body (as Jew or Gentile, slave or free, male or female—1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28) occupies in this αἰών but instead by the status granted by God to the possessed "I" for the sake of the spiritual body.

The discussion of spiritual gifts continues in ch. 14, again under the rubric πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ("for the building up of the church," 14:12; see also 14:4).[48] Paul turns to two manifestations of the spirit that apparently

[45] Paul's questions—"Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus?"—construct apostolic authority on the basis of possession phenomena associated with visions of Jesus. See 1 Cor 15:1–11, on which see n. 54 below; see also 2 Cor 12:1–10. Compare Acts 1, in which apostolic authority is based on association with the historical Jesus.

[46] Paul can correlate apostleship and speaking in tongues in a spiritual hierarchy because for Paul apostleship is a manifestation of spirit possession (see n. 45) marked by the performance of signs and wonders (2 Cor 12:12).

[47] Compare 1 Thess 4:15, where Paul speaks a word of the Lord to resolve a problem in the community. On Paul's use of the political commonplace of the image of the body and the language of the common good for the body politic, see Mitchell, *Paul*, esp. 157–64, 267–70. Such imagery was inherently hierarchical in the Greco-Roman world. See Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995), 29–34. For Paul, the unity of the community of those possessed by Jesus is expressed in a hierarchy determined by the spirit and revealed through Paul.

[48] On ch. 13, see n. 103 below.

were creating a particular competition for recognition and authority in the community of spirit-possessed individuals at Corinth: prophesying and speaking in tongues. Both may have been marked by a trance state, though the performance of an individual prophesying apparently would have appeared quite different from the performance of an individual speaking in tongues (1 Cor 14:23–25). Paul presents two arguments for subordinating speaking in tongues to prophesying. First, the value of a spiritual gift is measured in relation to its usefulness in building up the community. Paul appeals to the function of language to explain the role of utterances associated with possession phenomena in the community. Utterances under the influence of the spirit in a known language connect the possessed "I" to other members of the community through language that engages the mind; utterances under the influence of the spirit in an unknown language connect the "I" only to the deity. The good of the community takes priority over the interests of the individual (14:4, 12).[49] Thus, prophesying is greater than speaking in tongues. Paul realizes, though, the inadequacy of this attempt to rationalize the role of possession phenomena in the community. A stronger argument is needed.

The second and more important argument for subordinating praying in tongues to prophesying is Paul's experience as a possessed "I."

> εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ· ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοΐ μου λαλῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσσῃ. Ἀδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσὶν ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι γίνεσθε.
>
> I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you; nevertheless, in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue. Brothers and sisters, do not be children in your thinking; rather, be infants in evil, but in thinking be adults. (1 Cor 14:18–20 NRSV)[50]

Amid the diversity of spiritual powers allotted to various individuals possessed by the spirit, Paul claims not only to be an apostle (the gift that occupies first position in his hierarchy in 12:28–31a) but also to be one who prophesies (the second gift) and one who speaks in tongues (the gift that occupies last position in his hierarchy of spiritual gifts). As one who both prophesies and speaks in tongues, Paul is best able to judge their relative merits. There is a more fundamental assertion that Paul is making here, though. Paul's authority to resolve

[49] This principle underlies his discussion of the eating of meat sacrificed to idols (1 Cor 8:1–13; 10:31–33).

[50] τέλειοι connotes for Paul not merely "adult" thinking but "spiritual" thinking, thinking the thoughts of the spirit (see 1 Cor 2:6–16).

the conflict rests in his power as, what might be called, a spirit master.[51] Whereas he can ask the Corinthians in 12:29–30, "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all workers of miracles? . . . Do all speak in tongues?" and expect a negative answer, he himself claims to have all these gifts of the spirit. Moreover, he mediates these gifts to the community (1 Cor 9:2). He is a "professional" when it comes to matters of spirit possession. He has more power than all the rest. His authority to establish a hierarchy rests on this construction of the superiority of his spiritual power—and this construction of authority will come back to haunt him as his relation to the Corinthians deteriorates.

Paul concludes his discussion of prophecy and tongues with an appeal for order and decency in the community's gatherings, again under the rubric πρὸς οἰκοδομήν ("for building up," 1 Cor 14:26; cf. 14:40). Such order is possible because the "I" possessed by the spirit can direct the manifestations of the spirit for the common good (14:32) because "God is not a God of disorder but of peace" (14:33)—an insight that Paul as conduit of divine knowledge is able to reveal.

In chs. 12 and 14 Paul negotiates the dynamic between the individual and the community that animates a spirit-possession cult. At stake in this negotiation is not only order in the community but Paul's authority to speak for the deity in the community. The logic of this negotiation of order and hierarchy depends on the community's willingness to assent to the authority of the one speaking for the spirit, an assent that allows the community to construct "spiritual" knowledge (cf. 1 Cor 2:6–16). Paul, however, cannot explicitly recognize this social dynamic that constructs knowledge in the community. Instead, in what is ultimately an assertion of the independence of the possessed "I" from the community, in 1 Cor 14:37–38 Paul defines the community of the possessed in terms of his own status as spirit master.[52]

> εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή· εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοεῖται.
>
> Anyone who claims to be a prophet, or to have spiritual powers, must acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord. Anyone who does not recognize this is not to be recognized. (NRSV)

Here Paul constructs the possessed "I" with which he speaks as an authoritative voice of the Lord and defines the legitimacy of any other possessed "I" in terms

[51] Paul is, to employ a category from comparative religions, a shaman. For the use of the comparative category of shaman to understand Paul, see I. M. Lewis, *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105–21; idem, *Ecstatic Religion*, 60. See also Ashton, *Religion of Paul*, 6–72.

[52] 1 Corinthians 14:33b–36 is, like 11:3–16, a later gloss by another individual on the possession phenomena of chs. 12 and 14. See n. 103 below.

of his own authority. There is a definitive test for one who claims to be possessed by the spirit of Jesus: that individual recognizes Paul's authority. Anyone who does not recognize Paul's authority does not speak with the spirit that proclaims κύριος Ἰησοῦς (12:3) and is not to be recognized by the community. Only an "I" possessed and therefore transformed by the spirit can judge spiritual matters,[53] yet such an "I" must acknowledge Paul's authority to speak for the Lord. Paul has constructed a community that must acknowledge his role and authority as apostle or cease to exist.[54]

The precarious nature of the spiritual hierarchy of power and authority that Paul has created becomes clear as his position as an apostle is directly challenged by the community. He has to defend himself in 2 Corinthians 10–13 against others whose performances of spiritual powers are quite impressive.[55] Nevertheless, even as his relationship to the community at Corinth deteriorates, he does not abandon the construction of authority based on his power as one possessed by the spirit. In responding to the challenge to his authority, he asserts his power as a spirit master in visions, out-of-body journeys, and the working of signs and wonders as part of an argument to restore the community's acknowledgment of his authority.[56] Paul's authority as a possessed "I" in a spirit-

[53] 1 Corinthians 2:15: ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει τὰ πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται ("the one who is possessed by the spirit judges all things, but is not judged by anyone").

[54] Paul continues the construction of his apostolic authority in 1 Cor 15:1–11 in terms of possession phenomena. Because ch. 15 introduces a new topic (resurrection), ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον (15:3) is easily misconstrued as Paul's acknowledgment of dependence on a human tradition. Not only would such dependence undercut his construction of authority up to the end of ch. 14 and the construction of his apostolic authority elsewhere (see esp. Galatians 1), but a notion of dependence on human tradition misunderstands the logic of 15:1–11. The language of 15:1–3 is directly parallel to the language of 11:23. In 11:23, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον is ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. Paul claims to have received the account of the institution of the ritual meal directly from Jesus; so too, Paul's knowledge of the "facts" of Jesus' death and resurrection comes directly from Jesus. Though Paul quotes in both places traditional formulations (see, e.g., Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 251–55), Paul claims that what he has received has been granted by an experience of possession by the resurrected Jesus (15:8; cf. Gal 1:16). In 1 Cor 15:1–11 Paul is reflecting on the qualifications of an apostle (v. 7; see Gal 1), the spiritual gift that occupies the highest position in the hierarchy of spiritual gifts in ch. 12 and which is marked by visions of Jesus (1 Cor 9:1). When Paul's status as an apostle is challenged, he defends his apostleship by claiming visions (2 Cor 12:1–10), a possession phenomenon probably associated with trance. The content of what Paul handed down to the Corinthians in 15:1–11 (παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν) includes the "fact" of his vision of Jesus reported in 15:8 as part of what he himself has received. This experience of visions of Jesus qualifies him to reveal mysteries (15:51; 1 Thess 4:15) and to speak with the authority of the Lord (1 Cor 14:37).

[55] On Paul's rhetoric in 2 Corinthians 10–13, see Donald Dale Walker, *Paul's Offer of Leniency (2 Cor 10:1): Populist Ideology and Rhetoric in a Pauline Letter Fragment* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 258–325.

[56] See 2 Cor 12:11. Paul's irony in chs. 10–13 (e.g., 11:30, "If I must boast, I will boast of the things that show my weakness") is an irony characteristic of many individuals who can be labeled

possession cult is inherently unstable. A spirit master must constantly compete for the allegiance of the spirit-possessed community, and the words of a spirit master become knowledge only as the community grants allegiance to the spirit master.[57] Yet, even when faced with competing spirit masters, Paul refuses to acknowledge any higher authority beyond the spirit that possesses him.[58]

IV

What, then, is the knowledge that the "I" of 1 Cor 11:3 reveals? This knowledge concerns the phenomena of praying (in tongues) and prophesying.[59] 1 Corinthians 11:3–16 comments on the phenomena of chs. 12 and 14—possession phenomena associated with Paul's religion. The relation of men and women is of interest specifically as men and women manifest spirit possession. Authority for the knowledge disclosed in 1 Cor 11:3–16 is constructed

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shamans: physical, social, political, or economic weakness becomes evidence of the spiritual power of the individual. See n. 26 above. Paul turns the derision of his opponents in 2 Cor 10:10—"his letters are weighty and forceful, but his physical presence is weak and his speech contemptible"—into proof of his power as a spirit master. The hagiography of the sixth-century holy man Theodore of Sykeon provides an interesting example of the irony of power in weakness (*Three Byzantine Saints* [trans. Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948], 87–192). The job description of such a holy man included extreme asceticism as evidence of power over spirits. The greater Theodore's physical torments accompanied by social and economic deprivations, the more power he was conceded by communities of Asia Minor to mediate disputes (the solution of which often involved the enactment of elaborate exorcisms). On the holy man in late antiquity, see Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 61 (1971): 80–101; reprinted in Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 103–52. See also Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion,* 59–89. Likewise Paul can assert, "I will boast all the more in my weakness, so that the power of Christ may dwell in me" (2 Cor 12:9).

[57] On the career of a shaman, see Lewis, *Religion in Context,* 105–21.

[58] This construction of his authority as a possessed "I" stands behind the opening rhetoric of several of his letters: Παῦλος . . . ἀπόστολος he asserts in 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Rom 1:1; and Gal 1:1. Paul's rhetorical strategies are not limited to claims of his authority as a spirit master (as, e.g., his attempts to rationalize spirit possession in 1 Cor 12:14–26 and 14:6–12 indicate). Nevertheless, τὸ μυστήριον that Paul proclaims (1 Cor 2:2; cf. 15:51; 1 Thess 4:15; Gal 1:6–9) finally depends on his authority as one possessed by Jesus to speak the word of the Lord. Δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν in 1 Cor 7:40 underscores the irony of the rhetorical contrast between 7:10 and 7:12.

[59] The conjunction of praying with prophesying in 11:4 suggests that the topic is the same as that discussed in ch. 14, speaking (praying) in tongues (14:2; cf. 14:14) and prophesying. The interpolation of the material at this point rather than somewhere in ch. 14 can perhaps be explained by a desire of the interpolator to identify this material clearly as part of the traditions handed on by Paul directly from the Lord (11:2; cf. 11:23).

according to the relation of the "I" to three principles: the order of creation, nature, and the custom (συνήθεια) of churches.[60]

> Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι πάντος ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ, κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός.
>
> I want you to know that Christ is the head of every man, and man is the head of woman, and God is the head of Christ. (1 Cor 11:3)

According to 11:3–12, a hierarchy constrains the possession phenomena of praying and prophesying in the church: θεός, Χριστός, ἀνήρ, γυνή. This hierarchy is not the hierarchy of 1 Cor 12:28–31a or 14:37. A number of scholars have rejected a hierarchical reading of the ranked pairs in v. 3.[61] Yet, even though κεφαλή in v. 3 probably expresses an idea of "source of being,"[62] the hierarchical implications of the ranked pairs cannot be easily evaded.[63] The distinction between the sexes introduced by the pair ἀνήρ–γυνή and developed in vv. 4–12 is inescapably hierarchical in the context of the first century.[64] This hierarchy is determined by God's act in creation (vv. 8 and 9—expressed in the ranked pair ἀνήρ–γυνή)[65] and Christ's act in recreation (expressed by the ranked pair

[60] Compare Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Reason," 491, who rightly argues that these three points establish a consistent perspective in 1 Cor 11:3–16.

[61] See, e.g., Fee, *Corinthians,* 502–5. The confidence with which Fee dismisses the hierarchical implications of this passage seems to be misplaced, given his acknowledgment at several points in his commentary on this passage that he can make little sense of what Paul is talking about. For example, commenting on the problems of interpreting ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπί ("to have authority over"), Fee concludes, "But finally we must beg ignorance. Paul seems to be affirming the 'freedom' of women over their own heads; but what that means in this context remains a mystery" (p. 521).

[62] As emphatically argued, e.g., by Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Reason," 491–95.

[63] Fee suggests that the clause κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός is difficult for those who interpret these pairs as hierarchical (*Corinthians,* 505 n. 51). According to Fee, "The usual solution is to make a distinction between ontological equality and functional subordination." One can only ask in response to the way Fee has framed the issue, What evidence is there for anyone in the first century conceiving of Christ in anything but an ontologically subordinate relationship to the (one) high God? For Paul himself, see 1 Cor 15:24–28. See Dale Martin, *Corinthian Body,* 232 n. 18. See also the comments of Engberg-Pedersen, "1 Corinthians 11:16," 681 n. 9.

[64] Dale Martin is correct when he comments on the ranked pairs, "The subordination of women could hardly be clearer" (*Corinthian Body,* 232). Commenting on v. 3, Fee states: "Thus Paul's concern is not hierarchical (who has authority over whom), but relational (the unique relationships that are predicated on one's being the source of the other's existence)" (*Corinthians,* 503). Fee later develops this point in terms of a distinction between the sexes (pp. 510–11). The "unique relationships" that are predicated on the male being the source of the female in antiquity subordinate women (as inferior) to men (as superior). The Aristotelian household codes enforced in Col 3:18–4:2 and Eph 5:21–6:9 express this superior-inferior ranked pairing of male-female. On the household codes, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her,* 251–84.

[65] The pair ἀνήρ–γυνή is not a statement about the husband–wife relationship but rather

Χριστός–ἀνήρ, a ranked pair in which ἀνήρ subsumes γυνή).[66] The final ranked pair, θεός–Χριστός, correlates the divine act of creation and recreation, subordinating the latter to the former just as Christ is subordinate to God. The new creation (πάντος ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν) has been assimilated into the old creation (κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ), in sharp contrast to the principle of new creation set forth in 2 Cor 5:17 (see also Gal 6:15; cf. Gal 3:28).

According to the knowledge revealed by the "I" of 1 Cor 11:3, the community's practice of religion ἐν κυρίῳ (11:11) is constrained by the place human beings occupy in the created order of this αἰών (11:8).[67] Men and women are interdependent ἐν κυρίῳ not because possession by the spirit establishes a new principle of hierarchy and unity (1 Cor 12:28–31a; Gal 3:28) but because men and women are codependent for reproduction.[68] The hierarchy θεός, Χριστός, ἀνήρ, γυνή subordinates possession phenomena in the community to a theology of the order of creation that makes the antithesis male–female normative for conduct associated with possession in the churches. In contrast to Paul's understanding of the freedom of the spirit-possessed "I" from social hierarchies defined by a physical body inhabiting an αἰών that is soon to pass away, the "I" of 1 Cor 11:13–16 reasserts the physical body as an anchor for one's identity in a present world judged to be good.

According to 11:13–15 a principle of nature (φύσις) constrains the possession phenomena of praying and prophesying. Not only a theology of creation but also male-female biology governs conduct associated with possession according to the "I" of 1 Cor 11:3–16. In 1 Cor 11:13–15 the "I" appeals to the judgment of those ἐν κυρίῳ (11:11). This competency to judge in matters pertaining to conduct associated with spirit possession, however, is not directed to a possessed "I" discerning spiritual matters (cf. 1 Cor 2:15) but instead to one familiar with nature—more specifically, male-female biology of the created order set forth in 11:3–12.[69]

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expresses the priority of the male to the female in creation, as the explanation of this pair in 11:12 makes clear. Creation establishes the priority of the male to the female, but reproduction establishes the dependence of the male on the female.

[66] The pair Χριστός–ἀνήρ expresses existence within the church. See Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Reason," 494. The priority of male to female in creation (the ranked pair ἀνήρ–γυνή) thus becomes normative for subsuming women under men in the church (ἐν κυρίῳ, 11:11—on which see below).

[67] This created order includes the angels (v. 10). If the reference to angels is negative, then the passage suggests that conformity to the created order protects women from spirit attack. See below.

[68] See, e.g., Hans-Josef Klauck, *1. Korintherbrief* (NEchtB, NT 7; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1984), 79–80: "Implizit hängt die Höherbewertung der Frau allerdings mit ihrem Mutterstatus zusammen: Mit Ausnahme des ersten Menschenpaares ist es so, daß Männer immer von Müttern geboren werden."

[69] Dale Martin has made the observation that the only (other) place Paul makes an ethical

Verse 15 has been problematic for understanding the logic of 11:3-16. "If a woman has long hair, it is her glory, because her hair has been given to her in place of a περιβολαίου." If περιβόλαιον is translated "covering" (the usual translation), then 11:15 seems to contradict 11:4–5. Is a woman's hair her covering, or does a woman's hair need to be covered?[70] Περιβόλαιον, however, has a more precise meaning than "covering" in the context of a discussion of nature. Troy Martin has persuasively argued that the physiological semantic domain of the language of 11:15 (in which περιβόλαιον is contrasted with hair) suggests a context in which περιβόλαιον refers not generally to a covering (a translation that seems to contradict the argument in 11:3–12) but specifically to male testicles.[71] According to Martin, "This ancient physiological conception of hair [as part of female genitalia] indicates that Paul's argument from nature in 1 Cor 11:13–15 contrasts long hair in women with testicles in men. Paul states that appropriate to her nature, a woman is not given an external testicle (περιβόλαιον; 1 Cor 11:15b) but rather hair instead."[72] On such an interpretation of περιβόλαιον, the knowledge imparted by the "Paul" of 11:3–16 includes the knowledge that a woman's long hair, conceived as part of the female genitalia in ancient biological theory, should be covered when a woman speaks under the control of the spirit.

The theory of male-female biology in 11:13–15 is closely connected to the theology of creation in 11:3–12. Ancient biological theory was hierarchical and thus supports the ranked pair ἀνήρ–γυνή of 11:3–12.[73] Moreover, utterances associated with possession phenomena may very well expose women to a (sexual) threat from spiritual forces (ἄγγελοι, 11:10—perhaps alluding to Gen 6:4).[74] The conduct of men and women while possessed by the spirit is constrained by ancient biology.

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argument based on "nature" is in Rom 1:18–32 ("Heterosexism and the Interpretation of Romans 1:18–32," *BibInt* 3 [1995]: 348). In Rom 1:26–27 Paul characterizes certain conduct as παρὰ φύσιν, conduct that goes "beyond the proper limits prescribed by nature" (p. 343). Paul "reads" nature to describe the moral consequence of pagan idolatry. In Rom 1:18–32, however, Paul does not resolve a dispute about conduct within the community by appealing to nature. An instructive example of how Paul resolves a dispute about (moral) conduct within a church is 1 Cor 5:1–13 (see n. 35 above). To be sure, in 1 Cor 5:1 Paul does compare what he has judged to be an immoral act by a member of the community to the practices (and standards) of pagans in general. The basis for moral judgment leading to the ritual execution of the member of the community, however, is not "nature" but the possessed "I" (Paul) speaking (κέκρικα) for Christ (vv. 3–4). See 4:16–17; 5:11; cf. 1 Thess 4:8. For Paul's construction of authority in relation to spirit possession, "nature" is not grounds for arbitrating disputes about the conduct of those possessed by Jesus.

[70] Schüssler Fiorenza characterizes the logic as "a very convoluted argument, which can no longer be unraveled completely" (*In Memory of Her*, 228).

[71] Troy Martin, "Paul's Argument from Nature," 76–83.

[72] Ibid., 83.

[73] See, e.g., Dale Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 32–34.

[74] Ibid., 239–44.

The theology of creation and the theory of biology articulated in 11:3–15 suppress Paul's understanding of sex, marriage, and spirit possession as expressed in 1 Cor 7:1–40.[75] Paul defines proper sex and marriage not in terms of gender roles established by creation but instead in relation to the battle of the possessed "I" with πορνεία (7:2)[76] and the authority of the possessed "I" working for the good of the community (7:7, 35).[77] In contrast to the emphasis in 11:11–12 on procreation ἐν κυρίῳ (see below on this ecclesiastical slogan),[78] Paul upholds celibacy as the preferred state for men *and women* possessed by the spirit. As characteristic of his rhetoric elsewhere in 1 Corinthians, Paul begins his discussion of sex and marriage with a slogan of the Corinthians that he judges to be deficient: περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, "Now concerning what you wrote, 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman'" (7:1).[79] This one-sided formulation of the sexual relationship between men and women presupposes the body hierarchy of the Greco-Roman world.[80] Paul proceeds to recast the relationship between man and woman implicit in the slogan formulated in v. 1. The σῶμα (v. 4) of an individual possessed by the spirit (ἐν κυρίῳ, vv. 39–40; having χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, v. 7) is no longer determined by social hierarchies of this world (σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου, v. 31).[81] The statement marked by gender in 7:1, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, is challenged by Paul's concluding comment in 7:40 on the existence of the possessed "I" in this αἰών: μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτῶς μείνῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν, "But she is happier if she remains unmarried in my judgment, and I think that I have the spirit of God."

Finally, according to 1 Cor 11:16 a principle of the custom of the churches constrains the possession phenomena of praying and prophesying. The knowledge disclosed in 11:3–16 correlates the churches of God with the order of creation and male-female biology expressed in vv. 3–15. The churches of God

[75] For interpretations of the connection between these passages, see Dale Martin, *Corinthian Body,* 198–249; Gundry-Volf, "Celibate Pneumatics and Social Power," 105–26, esp. 116–18.

[76] See Gal 5:16–26, esp. v. 19; Rom 8:1–11 (cf. Rom 1:18–32, esp. vv. 28–29).

[77] See 1 Cor 5:1–13 and n. 35 above.

[78] Compare 1 Tim 2:15 on the role of women in the community: σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης ("she will be saved through childbearing if they continue in faith and love and holiness with self-control"); see also 1 Tim 5:14.

[79] See 1 Cor 8:1–3; Wire, *Corinthian Women Prophets,* 80.

[80] See Dale Martin, *Corinthian Body,* 198–228.

[81] See Gundry-Volf, "Celebate Pneumatics and Social Power," 116–18. Paul returns in 7:36–38 to address directly the concerns of the ἄνθρωπος of v. 1, but only after he has rejected the hierarchical relationship between men and women implied by the statement in v. 1. Dale Martin underestimates the extent to which the structure of Paul's response to the slogan in v. 1 does in fact undercut the ideological assumptions of the body hierarchy of the ancient world (*Corinthian Body,* 227–28).

maintain the order of creation as a standard for conduct associated with spirit possession.[82] The activities of a possessed "I" have been institutionalized in a church at home in this world.[83] The shift from the first person singular "I" of 11:3 to the first person plural "we" of 11:16 betrays the loss of voice of the possessed "I" in an emerging institutional structure that enforces social antitheses of this present αἰών. The "we" in 11:16 replaces the utterance of the possessed "I," κύριος Ἰησοῦς, with the voice of the church, ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

The extent to which this "we" that speaks for the churches in 11:16 displaces Paul's understanding of the authority of the possessed "I" is evident from Paul's version of events associated with the Jerusalem council in Galatians 1–2. At this meeting and later at Antioch, Paul confronts the "custom of the churches" that emerges around the practices of authoritative individuals.[84] Over against the ecclesiastical authority represented by those present at the meeting, Paul asserts his authority as one possessed by Jesus (Gal 1:15–16; see 2:20; 1 Cor 9:1–2). His authorization to attend the council is κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν (Gal 2:2; cf. 1:12, 16–17).[85] The equal standing of Titus in the church is a consequence of spirit possession (Gal 4:6–7; cf. 3:1–5, 26–28; 2:20). When the equal standing of all those possessed by the spirit is called into question at Antioch by practices that Paul attributes to the Jerusalem church (Gal 2:12), whose authority to establish custom is accepted by others at Antioch, Paul breaks from the other leaders of the church.[86] Ecclesiastical authority—whether at Jerusalem,

[82] Contrast 1 Cor 4:16–17, where Paul himself (as speaking for God) establishes the practices of the churches. The protasis εἰ δέ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι in 11:16 is similar to those found in 3:18; 8:2; and 14:37, but the apodosis is quite different: elsewhere Paul appeals to his authority in the spirit (see esp. 1 Cor 14:37–38), not the authority of the church. See also n. 83.

[83] The connection of the church to the present created order articulated in 1 Cor 11:3–16 is quite similar to the viewpoint expressed by 1 Tim 3:4–5. Compare Paul's own view in, e.g., Gal 1:4. Wire connects the appeal to the practice of the churches of God in 11:16 not only to the appeal to "all the churches of the saints" in 14:33 (on which, see n. 103 below) but also to 1 Cor 4:16–17 and 7:17 (*Corinthian Women Prophets,* 31–32). See also Fee, *Corinthians,* 530. However, in the latter two contexts, Paul asserts his authority as a possessed "I" over all the churches. In 11:16 and 14:33 the authority of all the churches is asserted over the possessed "I." The construction of authority in 4:16–17 and 7:17 is different from the construction of authority in 11:16 and 14:33.

[84] οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι (Gal 2:9; cf. 1:22; 2:11–12; 1 Cor 9:5).

[85] On Paul's visions in connection with traditions mediated by leaders at Jerusalem, see n. 54 above.

[86] The Acts of the Apostles reports a different version of events associated with the Jerusalem council. The outcome of the council reported in Acts 15:22 thoroughly subordinates Paul to the customary practices of the church—τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Moreover, Paul's conversion in Acts 9:1–31 is carefully narrated to subordinate Paul's vision and possession by the spirit (9:17) to the authority of the church (9:6: ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι καὶ εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ λαληθήσεταί σοι ὃ τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν, commands Jesus in Paul's vision). Unlike Paul's claims in Gal 1:15–17, in Acts 9 Paul's commission and spirit possession are mediated by human agents acting on behalf of the church. See n. 90 and section V below.

Antioch, or Corinth—carries little weight for Paul.[87] Not the custom of the churches but the κανών of the καινὴ κτίσις of those possessed by Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρωμένος governs conduct in the community (Gal 6:14– 16; 3:1; cf. 2 Cor 5:17).

In short, the knowledge revealed in 1 Cor 11:3–16 suggests a situation and set of exigencies quite different from the situation in chs. 12 and 14. 1 Corinthians 11:3–16 constructs knowledge in the community in terms of a theology of the order of creation and male-female biology, a theology enforced by the churches of God. The "I" of 1 Cor 11:3 is quite comfortable with the social antithesis male–female of this αἰών. The effect of this knowledge is to subordinate women to men in the church through the distinctions between male and female institutionalized by this knowledge, but the purpose of this gloss on the phenomena of chs. 12 and 14 is to establish ecclesiastical control over the spirit possession characteristic of Paul's religion.[88] The authority of the "I" possessed by the spirit, whether man or woman, can now be judged by an institution that mediates divine authority in the present αἰών. More to the point, the "I" possessed by the spirit can now be judged by the "we" who do not experience possession phenomena. Ἐν κυρίῳ (11:11) has become an ecclesiastical slogan, not a sign of spirit possession.[89] As such, the slogan ἐν κυρίῳ in 11:11 connotes a situation in early Christianity quite different from the utterance of the possessed "I" in 12:3, κύριος Ἰησοῦς.[90]

[87] Consequently, Paul also has a minimal interest in the historical Jesus and in authority vested in those connected to the historical Jesus. For example, when Paul reports "traditional" material in 1 Cor 11:23–26 and 15:1–11, he claims to have received this material by revelation. See n. 54 above. When Paul comments on a saying of the historical Jesus in 1 Cor 7:10, he creates an ironic contrast with his own authority as one possessed by Jesus (1 Cor 7:12, see v. 40). See n. 58 above.

[88] Women and spirit possession are closely connected in early Christianity. See below on Montanism, a movement characterized by possession phenomena in which women took a leading role as prophets.

[89] Ἐν κυρίῳ refers back to the formulation in 11:3 (παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός), and vv. 11–12 restate the ranked pairs of v. 3, culminating in τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐν κυρίῳ expresses the properly ordered creation preserved by the churches of God, not a notion of possession by Jesus.

[90] The Pastoral Epistles institutionalize prophecy in a similar way. Spiritual gifts are granted by a council of elders (1 Tim 4:14). Few traces of Paul's spirit-possession cult remain in the male-dominated ecclesiastical hierarchy established in these letters. Note also that in the Acts of the Apostles, possession phenomena have a very narrowly defined function in the church. The Acts of the Apostles defines the possession phenomena of tongues and prophecy in terms of the mission of the church to establish itself within the political and cultural world of the Roman Empire. See, e.g., Acts 1:8; also Acts 2, in which tongues is the ability to speak other human languages for the purposes of spreading the message of the apostles. Christopher Forbes restates this tendentious interpretation of possession phenomena in Paul's religion: "Inspired speech (both glossolalic and

This difference of situations presupposed by the thought of 11:3–16 and the thought of chs. 12 and 14 is evident in the construction of authority. In chs. 12 and 14, as elsewhere in Paul, authority resides in the "I" possessed by the spirit in relation to the larger spirit-possession cult construed as a new creation. In 11:3–16 authority resides in the practice of churches construed as a bulwark for the divine order of this world. Paul's argument about prophesying and speaking in tongues in chs. 12 and 14 culminates with the possessed "I" who speaks the commands of the Lord (14:37); the argument of 11:3–16 culminates with the "we" who speaks for the consensus of the churches.[91]

V

The "I" of 1 Cor 11:3 anticipates the strategy certain leaders in early Christianity would adopt to control spirit possession. Some factions within early Christianity maintained an uneasy relationship with the phenomenon of spirit possession. The close connection between magic and spirit possession created an interpretive problem for what happened within the church and what happened outside the church.[92] This problem of interpretation is already evident in the story in Acts 8, in which spirit possession and miracle associated with the

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prophetic, as we shall see) was subordinated to the community and the Gospel, not vice versa" (*Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and Its Hellenistic Environment* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997], 169; see also his comments on the portrayal of Alexander by Lucian, pp. 162–65). See also Stefan Schreiber, *Paulus als Wundertäter: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und den authentischen Paulusbriefen* (BZNW 79; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 292–93.

[91] Fee comments at the end of his discussion of 11:2–16: "Indeed, there is nothing quite like this in [Paul's] extant letters, where he argues for maintaining a custom, let alone predicating a large part of the argument on shame, propriety, and custom" (*Corinthians,* 530). Yet, against those who have suggested that 1 Cor 11:3–16 is an interpolation, Fee passes a harsh rhetorical judgment (p. 492 n. 3): "This [excising the passage altogether as a non-Pauline interpolation] is a counsel of despair and is predicated not on grammatical and linguistic difficulties (*pace* Walker), but on the alleged non-Pauline character of the passage. But there is a certain danger in assuming that one knows so well what Paul could or could not have written that one can perform such radical surgery on a text, especially when nothing in the language or style is non-Pauline!" Leaving aside the rhetoric of "danger," "radical surgery," "counsel of despair," and the final exclamation point that seems to be out of place given Fee's concluding comments on p. 530, the issue is simply one of understanding the collection and editing of the Pauline letters in the context of the development of forms of early Christianity. No clear understanding of this development can be achieved by imposing what amounts to almost an a priori assumption that Paul's correspondence was not subject to editing to produce the archetype or archetypes of 1 and 2 Corinthians that are the basis of the manuscript tradition.

[92] See n. 19 above.

apostles are distinguished from magic and the possession of a familiar sought by individuals such as Simon.[93] The problematic relation between spirit possession and miracle in the church, on the one hand, and magic and familiars outside the church, on the other, can be seen in two passages from Irenaeus. In the first, Irenaeus characterizes the "magic" of certain "heretics":

> Thus, then, the mystic priests belonging to this sect [the followers of Simon] both lead profligate lives and practise magical arts, each one to the extent of his ability. They use exorcisms and incantations. Love-potions, too, and charms, as well as those beings who are called "Paredri" (familiars) and "Oniropompi" (dream-senders), and whatever other curious arts can be had recourse to, are eagerly pressed into their service. (*Haer.* 1.23.4)[94]

A second passage puts a different spin on such phenomena as they occur within the church as defined by Irenaeus:

> In like manner we do also hear many brethren in the Church, who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of languages, and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men, and declare the mysteries of God. (*Haer.* 5.6.1)[95]

For certain church fathers, spirit possession was a gift of God if properly bounded within the church that possessed the apostolic deposit of truth;[96] spirit possession outside the properly defined apostolic church was the domain of magicians and heretics.

In the second century, phenomena associated with spirit possession surfaced in Phrygia.[97] The fourth-century church historian Eusebius preserves sources that suggest the way certain Christian leaders and intellectuals attempted to control this outbreak of "heretical" spirit possession.[98]

According to Eusebius and his sources, genuine possession phenomena belong under the control of the church as an institution presided over by a male

[93] See Hans-Josef Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: The World of the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. Brian McNeil; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 13–29, 119–20. The competition between miracle and magic represented by Peter and Simon is developed elaborately in the *Acts of Peter.* For the problem of spirit possession and magic in the life of Jesus, see Mark 3:22.

[94] *ANF* 1:348.

[95] *ANF* 1:531. This passage is cited by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 5.7) against possession phenomena outside the church associated with Montanism.

[96] On the apostolic deposit of truth, see, e.g., Irenaus, *Haer.* 3.1–3; cf. 1 Tim 4:11–16.

[97] The movement was variously labeled but is widely known as "Montanism" after one of its early leaders. The leadership of this movement included the female prophets Priscilla and Maximilla. See Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 151–97.

[98] Eusebius is an important, though tendentious, source for information about Montanism in Phrygia.

hierarchy preserving the apostolic deposit of truth. There is a sharp distinction between possession phenomena that occur within the church under the control of its leaders and possession phenomena that occur outside the church as a challenge to its leaders. In *Hist. eccl.* 5.3 Eusebius comments:

> It was at that very time, in Phrygia, that Montanus, Alcibiades, Theodotus, and their followers began to acquire a widespread reputation for prophecy; for numerous other manifestations of the miraculous gift of God, still occurring in various churches, led many to believe that these men too were prophets. When there was a difference of opinion about them [that is, those manifesting possession phenomena], the Gallic Christians again submitted their own careful and most orthodox conclusions on the question.[99]

Eusebius claims that spirit possession was at home in the church in the second century (he cites Irenaeus to support this claim) just to the extent that differences of opinion about possession phenomena are resolved by careful intellectual inquiry and a consensus of the "we" of orthodoxy. In other words, the manifestations of spirit possession are subject to the consensus of a community of churches and their leaders (who do not necessarily manifest possession phenomena) enforcing ecclesiastical order. Eusebius quotes a letter by Serapion on this point:

> In order that you may know this, that the working of the so-called New Prophecy of this fraudulent organization is held in detestation by the whole brotherhood throughout the world, I am sending you the writings of Claudius Apolinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, of most blessed memory. (*Hist. eccl.* 5.19)

Manifestations of spirit possession are subject to the glosses of those writing in service of the true church, and the genuine succession of prophecy has been institutionalized by a carefully defined ecclesiastical consensus.

Possession phenomena were accepted to the extent that spirit possession could be domesticated by a consensus of church leaders quite comfortable in the church in this world.[100] The possessed "I" who challenged the authority of the bishops, however, was excluded on the authority of the practice of the churches,[101] churches whose leaders could reassure themselves that they were

[99] Translations of Eusebius are from *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (trans. G. A. Williamson; rev. Andrew Louth; London: Penguin Books, 1989).

[100] In contrast to the institutional "at home in this world" character of the bishops opposing Montanism, Montanists proclaimed the imminent end of the age. To this extent, the tension between the bishops and Montanism parallels the tension between Paul's religion and the Acts of the Apostles.

[101] See *Hist. eccl.* 5.16: "[Those possessed by a spirit] were taught by this arrogant spirit to denigrate the entire Catholic Church throughout the world, because the spirit of pseudo-prophecy

not suppressing the spirit (see 1 Thess 5:19) because they could point to domesticated prophets who operated within the boundaries laid out by the institution.[102] 1 Corinthians 11:3–16 is perhaps one of the earliest attempts to gloss the manifestations of spirit possession in terms of the institution of the church at home in this world.[103]

"I want you to know," begins 1 Cor 11:3. The "I" who speaks in 1 Cor 11:3 is not the "I" who speaks in chs. 12 and 14. The "I" of chs. 12 and 14 speaks with the authority of one possessed by the spirit. The "I" of 1 Cor 11:3–16 speaks with the authority of one who represents an ecclesiastical consensus of the churches, an ecclesiastical consensus that enforces a theology of the order of creation and male-female biology on manifestations of spirit possession. 1 Corinthians 11:3–16 is a non-Pauline interpolation that displaces the authority and knowledge of the possessed "I" from the center to the periphery of Paul's religion.

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received neither honour nor admission into it; for the Asian believers repeatedly and in many parts of Asia had met for this purpose, and after investigating the recent utterances pronounced them profane and ejected the heresy. Then at last its devotees were turned out of the Church and excommunicated."

[102] Or, as Eusebius quotes another opponent of Montanism in *Hist. eccl.* 5.17: "For the prophetic gift must continue in the true Church until the final coming. . . . " Cf. 1 Tim 4:14.

[103] The problem that Paul's construction of authority in relation to spirit possession in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14 posed for those forms of early Christianity that did not construct authority in terms of manifestations of possession phenomena is evident in another gloss explicitly intended to silence the female "I" possessed by the spirit: 1 Cor 14:33b–36. In this passage the principle of the law replaces the theology and science of creation in 11:3–16, and the strictures on manifestations of possession phenomena by women are much more severe, but a similar appeal is made to the authority of "all the churches of the saints" (14:33b). 1 Corinthians 11:3–16 and 14:33b–36 should be taken as independent, non-Pauline glosses on the manifestations of spirit possession that are characteristic of Paul's religion. For a different view of the relation of these interpolations, see Winsome Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter* (SNTSMS 45; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69–80. A number of scholars have suggested that 1 Cor 12:31b–14:1a is out of place. See, e.g., Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 217–18. Whether this passage is Pauline or not (see William O. Walker, Jr., "Is First Corinthians 13 a Non-Pauline Interpolation?" *CBQ* 60 [1998]: 484–99), its present location may also be due to editing intended to gloss the manifestations of spirit possession in chs. 12 and 14 that are characteristic of Paul's religion with a principle of conduct rooted in the practice of the ethical virtue of love stripped of possession phenomena.

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CRITICAL NOTE

THE LAST BATTLE OF HADADEZER

The recently discovered stele at Tel Dan consists of three fragments that join together to present thirteen partial lines of Old Aramaic text.[1] Most interpreters classify it as a memorial inscription and ascribe it to Hazael, the king of Aram-Damascus ca. 844–800 B.C.E. The text divides into two sections. (1) Lines 1–4a review events during the reign of a previous Aramean king, whom Hazael calls "my father." The reference presumably is to Hadadezer, who is attested repeatedly in the Assyrian inscriptions of Shalmaneser III.[2] (2) Lines 4b–13 report Hazael's rise to kingship and his subsequent campaign against Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of "the House of David," that is, Judah.

Biblical scholars have concentrated on the second section, since it appears to contradict 2 Kgs 9:15–27. The text in 2 Kings 9 claims that the Israelite general Jehu, commissioned by the prophet Elisha, executed Jehoram and Ahaziah in the vicinity of Jezreel and Ibleam. In contrast, the Tel Dan stele asserts in lines 7–9 that Hazael killed the two kings in battle. In a separate article, I have argued for the historical reliability of the inscription's report over against the pro-Jehu account in 2 Kings 9.[3]

The present essay concerns the first section of the stele. It is of equal historical interest, since it also appears to bear on the question of Aramean–Israelite relations dur-

[1] See Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," *IEJ* 45 (1993): 1–18. A minority of scholars doubt that fragments B1 + B2 belong to the same inscription as fragment A; see, e.g., Bob Becking, "Did Jehu Write the Tel Dan Inscription?" *SJOT* 13 (1999): 191–92. Gershon Galil agrees that the three fragments belong together, but he proposes a different arrangement that yields twenty-one partial lines of text ("A Re-arrangement of the Fragments of the Tel Dan Inscription and the Relations between Israel and Aram," *PEQ* 133 [2001]: 16–21).

[2] For this identification, see André Lemaire, "The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," *JSOT* 81 (1998): 5–6; Ingo Kottsieper, "Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan und die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Aram-Damaskus und Israel in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus," in *"Und Mose schrieb dies Lied auf": Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient* (ed. Manfried Dietrich and Ingo Kottsieper; AOAT 250; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 485–86; Shigeo Yamada, "Aram-Israel Relations as Reflected in the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *UF* 27 (1995): 613; but cf. Nadav Na'aman, "Hazael of ʿAmqi and Hadadezer of Beth-rehob," *UF* 27 (1995): 389.

[3] Stuart A. Irvine, "The Rise of the House of Jehu," in *The Land That I Will Show You: Essays in Honour of J. Maxwell Miller* (ed. M. Patrick Graham and J. Andrew Dearman; JSOTSup 343; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 105–19. For the same conclusion, see Nadav Na'aman, "The Contribution of Royal Inscriptions for a Re-evaluation of the Book of Kings as a Historical Source," *JSOT* 82 (1999): 10–11.

ing the mid-ninth century B.C.E., as well as the issue of Hazael's background and the manner of his ascendance to the throne in Damascus.[4] I will focus specifically on the meaning and historical value of the statements about military conflicts in lines 2 and 3b–4a.

Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh published the *editio princeps* of the inscription, and the following translation rests largely on their transcription of the Aramaic text.[5] Since very little of line 1 is preserved, any restoration of the text here is highly conjectural.[6] I begin, accordingly, with line 2.

2. . . . aga[inst] my father, he went up[7] [against him when] he fought at Ab[el].[8]
3. And my father lay down, he went to his [ancestors]. Now the king of I[s]rael had entered
4. previously into the land of my father. [And] Hadad made me king.[9]

[4] For detailed discussions of Hazael's rise to kingship, see Wayne Pitard, *Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from the Earliest Times until Its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E.* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 145–60; Na'aman, "Hazael of ʿAmqi," 381–89; Paul-Eugene Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales* (Paris: Gabalda, 1997), 191–204; and Shigeo Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of Shalmaneser III (859–824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 310–20.

[5] Biran and Naveh, "New Fragment," 12–13. They also provide a facsimile of the inscription as drawn by Ada Yardeni.

[6] The extant letters are [...]*mr.ʿ*[,,,]*wgzr*[...], ". . . said (?) . . . and cut . . ." For two extensive and very different reconstructions of line 1, see Kottsieper, "Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 477–78; and Jan-Wim Wesselius, "The First Royal Inscription from Ancient Israel: The Tel Dan Inscription Reconsidered," *SJOT* 81 (1998): 173–74.

[7] The first clear words of the line are *ʾby.ysq.* Partial letters appear before *ʾby,* but Biran and Naveh decline to guess at them. William M. Schniedewind and Bruce Zuckerman restore them as [*b*]*rqʾl* (Baraqʾel), which they presume to be the name of Hazael's father ("A Possible Reconstruction of the Name of Hazael's Father in the Tel Dan Inscription," *IEJ* 51 [2001]: 88–91). However, despite their use of computer enhancement and imaging, this reading looks to be simply imposed on the minimal traces of letters. (For example, what they take to be the horizontal stroke of an *aleph,* just before the partial *lamed,* may in fact be the bottom part of an *ayin,* especially since there is no trace here of the downward stroke one would expect to see for an *aleph.*) The more modest restoration by Nadav Na'aman is adopted here: [...]ʿ[*l*].*ʾby.ysq* ("Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 50 [2000]: 96–97).

[8] Biran and Naveh note three possibilities for completing the final word of the line: *bʾb*[*y*], "against my fa[ther]"; *bʾb*[*l*], "at Ab[el]"; and *bʾp*[*q*], "at Aph[ek]." The broken letter before the lacuna resembles a *beth* more than a *pe,* thus telling against the third of these restorations (see Lemaire, "Tel Dan Stela," 4; cf. Yamada, "Aram–Israel Relations," 612 n. 7 and 617 n. 26). As for the first reading, *bʾb*[*y*], it too would seem unlikely if the beginning of the line is restored correctly as [...]ʿ*l.ʾby. ysq* (see n. 7 above). Why, after all, would the ancient writer have used two different prepositions (ʿ*l* and *b*) to convey the same meaning ("against") with the same noun (*ʾby*) in the same sentence? For proponents of the second reading, which is adopted here, see, e.g., William M. Schniedewind, "Tel Dan Stela: New Light on Aramaic and Jehu's Revolt," *BASOR* 302 (1996): 77 and 79; and Na'aman, "Three Notes," 98. Edward Lipiński favors restoring the toponym with a long vowel: *bʾb*[*yl*], "at Ab[īl]" (*The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* [OLA 100; Leuven: Peeters, 2000], 373).

[9] The Aramaic in the middle of the line reads: *bʾrq.ʾby*[*.w*]*yhmlk.hdd.* Compare Lipiński's

If the last word of line 2 is restored correctly, the text here reports a battle at Abel between Hadadezer and a certain enemy whose name is lost. Several scholars assume that the enemy was a king of Israel, and they identify Abel as Abel-Beth-Maacah (Abil al-Qamḥ), just west of biblical Dan (Tell al-Qaḍi) in the border area between Aram-Damascus and Israel.[10] Presumably Jehoram, Ahab, or Omri encroached on the southern fringe of Hadadezer's kingdom.

After a notice on the death of Hadadezer (line 3a), the inscription refers to an Israelite invasion of Aramean territory (lines 3b–4a). The Aramaic reads: *wyʿl.mlky[ś]rʾl.qdm.bʾrq.ʾby.* The meaning of *qdm* in line 4a is crucial. Following Biran and Naveh, most scholars render the term as a temporal adverb, "formerly, previously." Lines 3b–4a thus appear to describe an attack by a king of Israel during Hadadezer's time, presumably the same attack as the one noted in line 2.[11]

Nadav Na'aman recently has challenged this interpretation, arguing that, as a temporal adverb, *qdm* does not fit the immediate context.[12] He asks: "Why should Hazael report [in lines 3b–4a] what he already said about Israelite aggression (line 2)?" To eliminate the repetition, Na'aman construes *qdm* as a verb specifying the preceding verb *wyʿl*.[13] He thus translates the sentence: "And the king of Israel invaded, advancing in my father's land." The report supposedly explains that Israel's aggression began during Hadadezer's reign (line 2) and subsequently resumed between the king's death and Hazael's enthronement (lines 3b–4a).

Although this proposal is not impossible, there is good reason to doubt it. Among Northwest Semitic inscriptions, *qdm* as a verb does not occur in Old Aramaic. It is attested in Official Aramaic, but its meanings there are "precede (in time), rise, stand up, present oneself, be brought." In Nabatean, the participle of *qdm* appears once, as a

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restoration of the text: *bʾrq.ʾby[l.wy]hmlk.hdd,* "in the land of Abi[l, but] Hadad made (me) king" (*Aramaeans,* 373 and 378). Although the expression, "in the land of my father," is unusual, as Lipiński observes, it is in keeping with the inscription's concern to emphasize the failure of the reign of Hazael's "father" (see below). Furthermore, Yardeni's copy of the text, at least as it is given by Biran and Naveh, does not likely allow enough space in the lacuna for Lipiński's restoration of three missing letters and a word divider.

[10] See, e.g., Schniedewind, "Tel Dan Stele," 79; Na'aman, "Three Notes," 97–98; Lipiński, *Aramaeans,* 373; and cf. Yamada, "Aram–Israel Relations," 616–17. Lipiński reverses the site identifications: Abel-Beth-Maacah = Abil al-Qaḍi; Dan = Abil al-Qamḥ.

[11] See, e.g., Lipiński, *Aramaeans,* 373 n. 152.

[12] Na'aman, "Three Notes," 97.

[13] For the same interpretation, see Lemaire, "Tel Dan Stela," 4–5. Taking *qdm* as a verb helps to support Na'aman's assumption that each sentence in lines 2–4 employs two verbs. The first, he suggests, is written with the *waw* consecutive and imperfect (*wyškb,* "lay down," in line 3a; *wyʿl,* "entered," in line 3b); the second is written as a preterit (*ysq,* "went up," in line 2; *yhk,* "went," in line 3a; *qdm,* "advanced," in line 4a). Na'aman presupposes that a verb with the *waw* conversive originally preceded *ysq* at the beginning of line 2. Scholars debate whether the *waw* consecutive occurs in Aramaic. The forms *wyškb* and *wyʿl* might be preterit prefix conjugations with the copulative *waw;* see Takamitsu Muraoka, "Linguistic Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 19–20; and cf. J. A. Emerton, "Further Comments on the Use of Tenses in the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *VT* 47 (1997): 429–40. This linguistic issue is not crucial to the pattern of verbs that Na'aman sees in lines 2-4 of the Tel Dan stela.

subtantive in construct, meaning "chief."[14] Biblical Aramaic offers no instances of the verb. In the Late Aramaic of the Targums and Talmuds, finite forms of *qdm* occur in the *paʿal* and *ʿaphel* conjugations with various senses: "precede, do/be early, go before, come to meet, anticipate, prevent, be quick in doing, give preference to." A similar range of meaning is attested for the verb in Syriac. In Samaritan Aramaic, the verb *qdm* can mean "precede, lead, approach, advance."[15] Instances of the last meaning, however, are transitive; e.g., one "advances" a blessing or precept. The verb occurs in Biblical and Qumran Hebrew and in the Late Hebrew of the Talmuds and midrashic works, but here again it never has the intransitive meaning of movement into a place.

To summarize: there is little lexical support for rendering *qdm* in the Tel Dan stele as "advance in."[16] The term in line 4a more likely is the well-attested adverb "previously," as Biran and Naveh first proposed.[17]

This translation, however, poses a literary problem, as Na'aman correctly observes. If line 2 of the inscription concerned an Israelite attack against Hazael's "father," lines 3b–4a would appear oddly repetitive in reporting again that "the king of Israel had entered previously into my father's land." The solution is not to render *qdm* as "advance," but rather to reconsider the interpretation of line 2. Na'aman and others assume that the enemy in line 2 is a king of Israel, but in fact his identity is not preserved. The text here could refer to some other opponent of Hadadezer, and thus the subject of Israelite aggression might not begin until lines 3b–4a. Historical considerations support this suggestion.

The extant annals of Shalmaneser III report his several campaigns to the west. According to the Kurkh Monolith Inscription, he engaged a coalition of twelve Syro-Palestinian kings at Qarqar in 853 B.C.E.[18] Hadadezer led the coalition, and Ahab of Israel contributed a significant number of troops and chariots. Damascus and Israel thus appear to have been allies toward the end of Ahab's reign.[19] It is possible, of course, that

[14] See J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

[15] See Abraham Tal, *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[16] Cf. Lipiński, *Aramaeans,* 373–74 n. 152. He states that *qdm* as a verb is impossible in "this grammatical structure," by which he apparently means the syntactic connection between *wyʿl* and *bʾrq* ("entered . . . into the land . . ."). The verb *qdm* would not match *ysq* and *yhk* in lines 2 and 3a as closely as Na'aman suggests (see n. 13 above), since those verbs are specifically prefix forms.

[17] Biran and Naveh, "New Fragment," 14–15. Biran and Naveh also mention the less likely possibility of taking *qdm* as Qedem, a general geographical name for the desert region east of Syria. Kottsieper has adopted this interpretation ("Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 481), but few others have followed him.

[18] See D. D. Luckenbill, ed., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (2 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), 1:223; *ANET,* 278–79. For a recent transcription and translation of the Akkadian text, see Jeffrey Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine* (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995), 29–31.

[19] In their present form, 1 Kings 20 and 22 narrate three battles between Ahab and an Aramean king Benhadad during the last three years of Ahab's life, ca. 854–851 B.C.E. These stories, however, probably related originally to a later king of Israel, either Jehoahaz or Joash of the Jehu dynasty. See J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadel-

Ahab or his father, Omri, was at war with Hadadezer during an earlier period, long before the alliance at Qarqar, but no evidence directly attests this conflict.[20]

Other inscriptions of Shalmaneser III cover his campaigns to the west during the 840s B.C.E.[21] They report his battles with Hadadezer, Irhuleni of Hamath, and the "twelve kings of the seacoast" in 849, 848, and 845 B.C.E. Although Jehoram of Israel is not explicitly named as a member of the coalition, most scholars assume that he participated. If this view is correct, Jehoram continued the foreign policy of Ahab by aligning himself with Hadadezer against Assyria.[22] The situation changed only after 845 B.C.E. The annals report that in 841 B.C.E., when Shalmaneser again marched to the west, Hazael alone fought the Assyrian king. Apparently, with Hadadezer's death in 845 or 844 B.C.E., the anti-Assyrian coalition collapsed and only Damascus continued to oppose Assyria.

If Ahab and Jehoram of Israel were allies of Hadadezer during the 850s and 840s, neither of them is likely the aggressor in line 2 of the Tel Dan stele. One should think instead of a non-Israelite enemy, and Shalmaneser III appears to be a probable candidate. The annals of the Assyrian king confirm that in 845 B.C.E. he marched against Hadadezer and other Syro-Palestinian kings. According to most scholars, the king of Damascus died shortly after this campaign and Hazael rose to power in his place.[23] Much the same sequence of events would be reflected in lines 2–4 of the Tel Dan stele if line 2 reported Shalmaneser's attack against Hadadezer.[24]

In light of this proposal, the toponym Abel at the end of line 2 needs to be reconsidered. Although scholars often equate it with Abel-Beth-Maacah, this identification is not the only possibility. If the inscription here reports a battle between Shalmaneser III and Hadadezer in 845 B.C.E., one might expect a location farther north, either in the Beqa Valley or in the Anti-Lebanon mountain range. The Egyptian conquest list of Tuthmoses III mentions an Abel immediately after Damascus, thus suggesting the proximity of the two cities.[25] This Abel is probably the same as "Abila of Lysanius," the chief

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phia: Westminster, 1986), 252–54, 298–301; Pitard, *Ancient Damascus,* 114–25; and cf. Yamada, "Aram–Israel Relations," 615.

[20] Cf. Lipiński, *Aramaeans,* 374. He suggests that 2 Sam 10:15–19a originally related to a battle between Hadadezer and Omri.

[21] See Luckenbill, *Ancient Records,* 1:204–5, 239–41; *ANET,* 279–81; also Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions,* 47–52, 62–63.

[22] In their present literary context, the Elisha stories in 2 Kings 5–7 appear to depict hostilities between Jehoram and a king of Damascus, Benhadad. These narratives, however, like the battle stories in 1 Kings 20 and 22, probably related originally to the later period of the Jehu dynasty; see again Miller and Hayes, *History of Ancient Israel and Judah,* 254, 298.

[23] Cf. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus,* 132–38. He entertains the possibility of a Benhadad II ruling briefly between Hadadezer and Hazael, but the suggestion has not found wide acceptance.

[24] A summary inscription of Shalmaneser III (*KAH* 1:30) similarly links the Assyrian defeat of Hadadezer and his allies, the death of the Syrian king, and Hazael's usurpation of the throne in Damascus (see *ANET,* 280). As Pitard notes, however, the organization of this text may be geographical, and therefore it is unwise to draw chronological conclusions from it (*Ancient Damascus,* 134–37).

[25] See J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to West-*

city of the tetrarchy of Abilene in Roman times (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.5.1; 20.7.2). The site has long been identified as Suq Wadi Barada, on the ancient road leading from the southern end of the Beqa Valley through the Anti-Lebanon range to Damascus.[26] It was probably here or nearby that Hazael stationed his forces in 841 B.C.E. to check the advance of the Assyrian army.[27] The location would make equally good strategic sense for the last battle of Hadadezer against Shalmaneser four years earlier.

The above arguments assume that the report in line 2 refers to an actual event. Although the historicity of the line cannot be proven in the absence of clear corroborating evidence, it is a reasonable assumption as long as a plausible referent is at hand, namely, Shalmaneser's attack in 845 B.C.E. One might add, too, that the specificity of line 2—it locates the battle at Abel—contributes to the impression that the report here is historical.

The historicity of the claim in lines 3b–4a, on the other hand, is less certain. Did a king of Israel really invade Aramean territory "previously," that is, sometime before the death of Hadadezer? As I have argued, Ahab and Jehoram were allies of the king of Damascus from 853–845 B.C.E., and although Ahab or Omri could have attacked Aram-Damascus before this period, no clear evidence supports this guess. One might think of the war between Baasha and Benhadad ca. 890 B.C.E., although 1 Kgs 15:17–22 presents that conflict as a matter of Aramean forces invading Israelite territory. It is also conceivable that the Tel Dan stele reaches back to an Israelite attack in the tenth century B.C.E. (see 2 Sam 8:3–12 and 10:6–19).

Upon closer examination, the claim in lines 3b–4a appears vague, at least in comparison to the statements in lines 2 and 4b–13. Where and when exactly the previous Israelite incursion occurred go unsaid, and even the name of the Israelite king is withheld. If Hazael did not entirely invent the idea of a previous Israelite invasion—and such invention remains a possibility—he worded the accusation in such general terms that it could refer to any Israelite attack, even the most minor one, that may have taken place during the tenth or early ninth century B.C.E. Because of its vagueness, the claim would have been difficult to challenge as a blatant falsehood. Such is the way of skillful propaganda.

To conclude: The first section of the Tel Dan stele helps to advance two rhetorical strategies that are fairly common in royal inscriptions. On the one hand, the text strives to glorify Hazael's reign by contrasting it with the dismal situation of his predecessor(s). The historical datum of Shalmaneser's assault against Hadadezer at Abel might be adduced in line 2 for this purpose. On the other hand, the stele is concerned to provide

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ern Asia (Leiden: Brill, 1937), 115–19; also Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979), 159–63.

[26] See Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (2nd ed.; 3 vols.; Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1871), 3:478–84.

[27] The annals of Shalmaneser III report that in 841 Hazael "mustered his armies in great numbers, made Mount Saniru, a mountain peak at the front of the Lebanons, his stronghold," and there the Assyrian king attacked and defeated him (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records,* 1:243; *ANET*, 280). Lipiński locates the position of Hazael's army "at Mount Senir, on a summit in the foothills of the Antilebanon range . . . along the Barada river toward Damscus" (*Aramaeans,* 384).

a pretext for Hazael's own attack against Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah. The vague claim in lines 3b–4a about a previous Israelite invasion has a twofold effect: it continues the derogation of Hazael's predecessor(s), and it justifies Hazael's own aggression by presenting it as "payback" and thus as an essentially defensive measure.[28]

Stuart A. Irvine
sirvine@lsu.edu
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803

[28] For other examples of these strategies, see the Mesha and Kilamuwa Inscriptions (*ANET*, 320, 654); also Na'aman, "Three Notes," 98–99.

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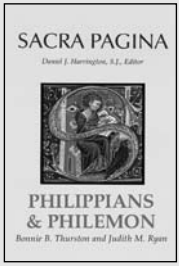

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[EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following review is a reassessment of Julius Wellhausen's seminal volume,* Prolegomena to the History of Israel, *one hundred and twenty years after its initial publication. The review continues our efforts to provide a forum for reengagement of significant past studies and issues, as well as to reintroduce such works and their concomitant reviews into contemporary discussion.*]

Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel, with a reprint of the article "Israel" from the* Encyclopaedia Britannica. Preface by W. Robertson Smith. Foreword by Douglas A. Knight. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994. Reprint of the first edition, Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885.

What does it mean to revisit a classic that all of us seem to know in some way or another? Even if it has been a while since we read the *Prolegomena,* at least we know what the name "Wellhausen" stands for in Hebrew Bible studies: the first moment when all that exciting biblical research in nineteenth-century Germany came together in a brilliant and stimulating synthesis. My guess is that more often than not we have read summaries of Wellhausen's argument, and any number may be found in the first-year Hebrew Bible textbooks that we either study or continue to use in our teaching. As one person commented to me recently, why would you bother reading Wellhausen's lengthy book when there are so many good summaries of it? Last year I had the opportunity to read through the *Prolegomena* and, yes, I admit that it was the first time I had actually read it carefully, from cover to cover.

So what does Wellhausen have to say to us now? What might a (re-)reading yield for us? I would like to highlight a number of areas: Wellhausen's anticlericalism, his concern for historical reliability, his underlying theological drive, and, finally, the points where he breaks out of the method for which he laid the foundation stone.

Let me begin by setting aside a few misconceptions of Wellhausen's work. His general argument is reasonably well known, or at least part of it is. Building on the work of H. Graf, Wellhausen argues that the Pentateuch comprises four sources—the Yahwist, Elohist, Deuteronomist, and Priestly writers and editors—each writing and/or

redacting at various proposed locations and dates. In the earliest text, that of the Yahwist, we find a wonderful storyteller: God is in close relationship with human beings, and religious commitment is a spontaneous thing. E has God retreat into the heavens somewhat, behind the veils of mystery and distance, and our walk on earth becomes a little darker. D operates with the stark doctrine of divine retribution for good or evil deeds; and P is concerned with order, the cult, and the right way to appease God.

Well, not quite, for the mantra of "JEDP" only appears in those summaries that draw the eye of harried teachers of biblical studies and equally pressed writers of introductions to the Hebrew Bible. In the all-important eighth chapter of the *Prolegomena*, Wellhausen contrasts JE and P, but speaks rarely if ever about the separate sources J and E, and passes lightly over D. In fact, the summary of the documentary hypothesis we find on p. 361 is a brief example of what he calls "source-sifting," tracing the inner development of the tradition through its intermediate stages all the way from J to P, but this is something *Wellhausen does not do* most of the time. Note this quotation:

> I differ from Graf chiefly in this, that I always go back to the centralisation of the cultus, and deduce from it the particular divergences. My whole position is contained in my first chapter: there I have placed in a clear light that which is of such importance for Israelite history, namely, the part taken by the prophetical party in the great metamorphosis of the worship, which by no means came about of itself. Again I attach much more weight than Graf did to the change of ruling ideas which runs parallel with the change in the institutions and usages of worship; this has been shown mostly in the second part of the present work. Almost more important to me than the phenomena themselves, are the presuppositions which lie behind them. (p. 368)

For some strange reason, at this point Wellhausen echoes Marx's famous "the ruling ideas of an age are the ideas of the ruling class." And for Wellhausen the ruling ideas of the Hebrew Bible are by and large those of the priests. In the end, the underlying motif, the passion that drives much of Wellhausen's work is a palpable hatred for priests and all things priestly. His great contribution is to argue that the Priestly material could hardly be the first or oldest source, but must be the last because the heavy hand of the priests lies over vast stretches of text. Wellhausen must have tired of standing at his desk and writing by hand "Priestly Code" on page after page, for in his eyes it is the bane of the Hebrew Bible, setting the agenda for that all-pervasive final editing of the Pentateuch and the very possibility of Chronicles. And those responsible for the Priestly Code, the coterie of priests sequestered away in that first ivory tower, are for him a somewhat grotesque bunch: senile (p. 353), unimaginative (p. 115), dogmatic and opinionated (p. 310), indeed rude, crude, and mechanical (p. 178), if not ascetic, cancerous, and parasitic (p. 342).

Now we could attribute Wellhausen's venom to the forceful stream of Enlightenment anticlericalism or to the Protestant abhorrence of all things papist, but it seems to me that there is another current that flows into these, namely, the curious legacy of the Romanticism that has been so strong in Germany. Romanticism is highly ambivalent. On the one hand, it valorized a whole new way of considering nature and spontaneity, part of the legacy of which is being recovered now. On the other hand, it fostered the baleful anti-Semitism that we find in Wellhausen's work. If the charge is well known, the passages are not so well remembered—phrases such as "Judaising of the past" (p. 223)

and sentences such as "It is not the case that the Jews had any profound respect for their ancient history" (p. 161) are part of this legacy. What we get, in the end, is a curious alternative narrative: not ancient Israel through to the early church and then later Christianity, but ancient Judaism through to the priestliness of the Roman Catholics.

Not only can Wellhausen not tolerate the priests as priests, but he has disdain for what they do with history. They falsify it, playing loose with the tradition, freely rewriting it as seems best to them so that it is nothing but fabrication, the genealogies included. The reason? They want to impose on that history the theological categories of theocracy, which is really just hierocracy, their own rule. For Wellhausen, Chronicles is the worst example of this, a creation out of whole cloth by conniving priests. Even though Wellhausen was happy, with Graf, to see layering and revisions of sources in the Hexateuch and Samuel–Kings, by the time we get to Chronicles we have the culminating moment of the Priestly revision and editing of the Hebrew Bible. "One might as well try to hear the grass growing as attempt to derive from such a source as this a historical knowledge of the conditions of ancient Israel" (p. 215). (I can never get out my mind the image of Wellhausen lying on the ground in one of Tübingen's university gardens, one ear to the ground and a copy of the Hebrew Bible open at Chronicles.)

However, if we shift gears and seek not the distortions and fabrications of history, but ask Wellhausen about historical reliability, we are in for a puzzle. It is worth dwelling on this for a moment, since what appear in today's biblical scholarship to be firm criteria for historical reliability often end up, like Wellhausen's criteria, being slippery as eels. Let us see how Wellhausen fares:

1. What is *earliest* is more reliable historically. The priestly texts, especially Chronicles, are obviously late and so out of touch with the time of the stories that they have no idea what was going on. Texts show their early nature in two ways: by being either profane or lively.
   a. "[T]he nearer history is to its origin the more profane it is" (p. 244). As far as the historical books are concerned, the less overtly theological a text is, the more it is historically reliable. When Yahweh is by and large out of the picture and the tussle of mundane and human cause and effect is primary, we have more reliable historical material: "History has to take account principally, if not exclusively, of the natural version, which is dry in tone and lets things speak for themselves, not overlaying the simple story with the significance of its consequences" (p. 244). The succession narrative of Solomon (2 Samuel 9 –2 Kings 2) is the best example, along with 1 Sam 14:52–2 Sam 8:18 on David and Saul.
   b. By contrast, *earthiness and liveliness* are the criteria of reliability, at least for the Hexateuch. Wellhausen has a soft spot for the Yahwist, whom he sees as transmitting the legendary in an enthusiastic way that reflects the life and the people. The Yahwist is not afraid of myth and marvel, as we find in the creation stories, nor of the legends of the patriarchs, who turn out to express many of the concerns and wishes, hopes and fears of the individual Israelite. Yahweh walks and talks with the people, and is in many respects one of them writ large (see, for instance, p. 320).
2. However, it often comes down to a matter of *feeling*: One text simply "feels" more reliable, in terms of transmitting factual historical information, than another. At this point the only response is: "To anyone who knows anything

about history it is not necessary to prove . . . " (p. 150). I suspect Wellhausen is on the right track here, for as R. G. Collingwood pointed out some time ago, ancient history draws together a meager amount of largely unrelated data by means of hunches and critical imagination into a narrative that makes some sense. Or, in Wellhausen's words, "Here it will never be possible to get beyond conjecture" (p. 144).

3. Finally, there is the *authentic testimony* of the prophets: "the chief, or rather the only, weight is to be attached to their authentic testimony" (p. 47 n. 1). And the reason for their authenticity? Not only were they profoundly ethical, the first proponents of that sublime ethical monotheism, but they were inspired, they heard God speaking to them directly, "theopneust" in fact, "independent of all traditional and preconceived human opinions" (p. 48). It seems even Wellhausen cannot escape theological categories for what was, especially in the context of nineteenth-century positivism, intended to be an entirely objective method. Indeed, "Theopneust" or "God-breathed" is a NT term (2 Tim 3:16).

It is not difficult to notice the tensions at work here, for Wellhausen never quite got the criteria sorted out. This is the reason that he never wrote an actual "history" of Israel (the *Prolegomena* was originally volume 1 of a two-volume history) apart from the rather flat *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article tacked onto the end of the English translation. The article falls back into paraphrasing sections of biblical text.

The greatness of a work, however, may be measured not merely by the way it rearranges the coordinates of a field of study, but by the way it enables and sets the limits to that field of study. And it seems to me that the tensions relating to the criteria for historical reliability allow us to map the various positions in what I want to call the "history wars" in current Hebrew Bible studies. Let us take those coordinates as skepticism (for Wellhausen this is restricted to P), early equals reliable, authentic testimony, and feeling. To begin, the revisionists or minimalists take Wellhausen's skepticism regarding the reliability of the later P materials to its logical conclusion: the whole text is historically unreliable. Indeed to treat it as "history" is simply a genre mistake. The maximalists, by contrast, follow Wellhausen's first criterion: they argue for various reasons that the material is much earlier than allowed by the minimalists, and therefore that it is a more reliable guide to what actually happened; add the favorable interpretation of some archaeological artifacts and the argument is complete. In fact, this is where minimalists and maximalists agree: late material is unreliable, early material is reliable. It is just that for the former there is no early material, whereas for the latter there is. But, stirring up the battle lines and confusing the participants, theological conservatives take up Wellhausen's category of authentic testimony. The text is simply a more authentic testimony than any other history, so they follow it. Like Wellhausen in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article, they paraphrase the text.

So it may be argued that Wellhausen set the boundaries for our discussions today: skepticism (minimalists); early and therefore reliable texts (maximalists); authentic testimony (theological conservatives). But I think it is necessary to add one last category, namely, following one's hunch or feeling, which is what I suspect each of those who take up positions in the debate would admit over a drink at the bar. And if I were to remain within the confines of historical-critical concerns, this is the position I would take, following Norman Gottwald's Collingwood-inspired notion of "critical imagination" for any historical task with such an ancient text as this.

However, the key phrase in the previous paragraph is "were I to remain," for it seems to me that even if historical criticism was once the untranscendable horizon of biblical studies, it is no longer so. This point is worth making quite strongly: historical criticism does not actually read texts as texts. It reads them for the sake of constructing both a history of the literature of ancient Israel (the *Prolegomena*) and a history itself (the never completed volume 2). To put it differently, we can now see that historical criticism is a reductive exercise. It limits what you can do to two matters: the histories of Israel and its literature. What historical criticism does, it does extraordinarily well, but if we are going to realize our full potential as biblical critics then we need to expand our horizons.

Does this mean that we should discard Wellhausen and move on? By no means, for not only does Wellhausen show us how much we remain within the disciplinary confines he established, but he actually shows us another side. This is the Wellhausen I like most, the one who lets his imagination run. The following quotation is an excellent example:

> In the early days, worship arose out of the midst of ordinary life, and was in most intimate and manifold connection with it. A sacrifice was a meal, a fact showing how remote was the idea of antithesis between spiritual earnestness and secular joyousness. A meal unites a definite circle of guests, and in this way the sacrifice brought into connection the members of the family, the associates of the corporation, the soldiers of the army, and, generally speaking, the constituents of any permanent or temporary society. It is earthly relationships that receive their consecration thereby, and in correspondence are the natural festal occasions represented by the vicissitudes of life. Year after year the return of vintage, corn-harvest, and sheep-shearing brought together the members of the household to eat and drink in the presence of Jehovah; and besides these there were less regularly recurring events which were celebrated in one circle after another. There was no warlike expedition which was not inaugurated in this fashion, no agreement that was not thus ratified, no important undertaking of any kind that was gone about without a sacrifice. When an honoured guest arrives, there is slaughtered for him a calf, not without an offering of the blood and fat to the Deity. The occasion arising out of daily life is thus inseparable from the holy action, and is what gives it meaning and character; an end corresponding to the situation always underlies it. (p. 76)

This is simply great writing, and Wellhausen harnesses here the best of German Romanticism (although that is another argument) to bring his writing to life.

Allow me one more quotation, this time when Wellhausen reads a text as a literary critic. It remains one of the most lyrical passages I have read in biblical studies even in translation (it concerns Genesis 1–3):

> In the first account we stand before the first beginnings of sober reflection about nature, in the second we are on the ground of marvel and myth. Where reflection found its materials we do not think of asking; ordinary contemplation of things could furnish it. But the materials for myth could not be derived from contemplation, at least so far as regards the view of nature which is chiefly before us here; they came from the many-coloured traditions

> of the old world of Western Asia. *Here we are in the enchanted garden of the ideas of genuine antiquity; the fresh early smell of earth meets us on the breeze.* The Hebrews breathed the air which surrounded them; the stories they told on the Jordan, of the land of Eden and the fall, were told in the same way on the Euphrates and the Tigris, on the Onux and the Arius. The true land of the world, where dwells the Deity, is Eden. It was not removed from the earth after the fall; it is still there, else whence the need of cherubs to guard the access to it? . . . The mythic background gives it a tremulous brightness: we feel that we are in the golden age when heaven was still on earth; and yet unintelligible enchantment is avoided, and the limit of a sober chiaroscuro is not transgressed. (pp. 304–5; emphasis mine)

In the end, any intellectual discipline is a discrete and unstable collection of assumptions and methods shared by a certain group. It is a historically specific and highly contingent exercise—facts we forget at our own peril. At a time when most of Wellhausen's assumptions are either part of the status quo or even "old hat," it is worth remembering the controversies this book caused. Indeed, Wellhausen's innovation and the ruckus he generated remind us that any discipline that throws the wagons in a circle is lost. Wellhausen inspires us instead to live our discipline to the fullest by being open to new developments and questions.

Roland T. Boer
Monash University, Victoria, Australia 3800

Identifying Biblical Persons in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions of 1200–539 B.C.E., by Lawrence J. Mykytiuk. SBL Academia Biblica 12. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2004. Pp. xix + 327. $150.00/$42.95. ISBN 9004127240/1589830628.

Lawrence Mykytiuk's new monograph will provide much relief for all those who are interested in questions of biblical historicity but who are critical of "maximalist" or "minimalist" prejudices concerning the historicity of the biblical accounts. The main body of the book comprises five chapters and is a slightly revised version of Mykytiuk's 1998 dissertation. It claims to include all Hebrew inscriptions from the pre-Persian era that turned up before October 1997 and in which names occur that can possibly be identified with persons named in the Hebrew Bible. It also discusses the Aramaic text on the Tel Dan stela and the Moabite Mesha Inscription. Other Northwest Semitic inscriptions as well as the Hebrew inscriptions that were published between October 1997 and July 2002 are listed and briefly discussed in the appendices. The inscriptions include some longer texts on ancient monuments as well as very short texts on personal seals or impressions from personal seals on jar handles and bullae.

The book omits inscriptions that do not name persons that can be identified with persons named in the Bible. Neither does it discuss the controversial King Jehoash Inscription, which was made known to a broader public as late as January 2003. However, the continuing debate about this possible forgery demonstrates how important it is to apply a sound method for making identifications. Therefore, Mykytiuk's endeavor to describe "*the first comprehensive system* for evaluating potential identifications in Northwest Semitic inscriptions" (p. xii) is more than welcome.

Previous studies treat only a small number of inscriptions and generally do not presuppose a method to evaluate the proposed identification of the persons named in the inscriptions with persons named in the Bible. In ch. 1 Mykytiuk tries to establish an appropriate set of criteria for determining identifications. He demonstrates that some identifications by pioneer archaeologists such as W. F. Albright are now known to be erroneous. Some of these mistakes were due to limited information and the absence of a sound methodology. There was not enough caution in the vocalization of the names; identifications were readily made even if additional identifying marks, such as patronymics and titles, were lacking, and the significance of the titles was sometimes misjudged. In the case of some provenanced inscriptions, the original dating of the layer where they had been uncovered proved to be wrong and thus the proposed identification was impossible. Also, the importance of paleography was not yet fully recognized. Fortunately, Nahman Avigad and others gradually became more aware of the potential risks when trying to identify persons named in the inscriptions with biblical figures. However, Avigad did not describe all the factors that determine the credibility of an identification.

Mykytiuk tries to make his own list of criteria as comprehensive as possible, but he admits that the criteria may have to be revised when "new" inscriptions present new problems. For now, he distinguishes eleven criteria. The first question is whether the inscriptional data are reliable. In Mykytiuk's view, an identification is most convincing if the inscription has been excavated under controlled conditions (1) and if the exact find spot is known (2). If the artifact looks genuine but was purchased on the antiquities market, a nineteenth-century date of purchase tends to confirm the authenticity of the inscription. The pioneers' knowledge of paleography was not yet sufficient to determine exactly when certain letter shapes were used. This means that the risk of forgery must be considered only for unprovenanced inscriptions that turned up during the twentieth or twenty-first centuries (3).

The date of the person as calculated using the data of the inscription must be in agreement with the date of the person in the biblical account. The date of the inscription can be assigned on the basis of stratigraphy (if the find spot is known), paleography, linguistic features, and the historical content in the inscription, as well as by means of highly technical methods, such as Carbon-14 dating (4). Also, the language in which the inscription is written must agree with the language expectation raised by the biblical account: a Hebrew king is expected to have written in Hebrew, a Moabite king in Moabite, and so forth (5). The validity of the identification depends also on the sociopolitical classification of the inscription. What does the text reveal about its social, political, ethnical, religious, and cultural context (6)?

The chance of confusing two different persons must be reduced as much as possible. An identification is most convincing if the name of the person is clearly legible and if its spelling is in agreement with at least one biblical spelling of this name. If the spelling or the form is different, it must be reconcilable on the basis of similar orthographical or formal variations in the Hebrew Bible or in Northwest Semitic inscriptions (7). Also, the available data on family and associates may increase the likelihood of an identification with a biblical figure. However, the combination of a name and a patronymic alone is not sufficient for a secure identification (8). If the biblical information about the person is in agreement with the title (9) and other information about the person in the inscription (10), the credibility of the identification also increases. In some cases, an identifica-

tion can be regarded as certain "on grounds of singularity." According to the biblical account, there was only one Israelite king who bore the name Omri and only one king of Judah whose name was Hezekiah. So if a genuine Hebrew inscription refers to kings bearing these names and if all other data permit it, the identification with these biblical monarchs is quite certain (11).

In ch. 2 Mykytiuk applies his set of criteria to a number of proposed identifications. In the case of the eighth-century seal with the text *lʿbdy ʿbd hwšʿ*, "of Abdi, minister of Hoshea," it is "on grounds of singularity" that Mykytiuk accepts the identification of this Hoshea with the biblical King Hoshea, who reigned over the northern kingdom approximately 732/1–722. Expert opinion substantially supports the authenticity of the seal even though it surfaced on the antiquities market.

In the case of the bulla with the text *lbrkyhw bn nryhw hspr,* "of Berekyahu, son of Neriyahu, the scribe," the identification of Berekyahu with Jeremiah's scribe Baruch (Jer 32:12ff.) is possible in view of paleography and is not contradicted by the fact that the biblical form of the name is always *brwk.* In the Hebrew Bible, the spelling of the name of his father can be both *nryh* and *nryhw.* The title "scribe" corresponds completely with the biblical account, and it is unlikely that there was more than one person who fit the description during the time suggested by paleography. Mykytiuk concludes that the identification is virtually certain. Though the bulla was purchased on the antiquities market, experts are inclined to affirm its authenticity.

In most cases the seals and bullae include only a name and a patronymic. Mykytiuk concludes: "This evidence, which is massive, shows that Avigad's requirement of a third mark in order to make a secure ID can be seen as a modern addition. . . . more than 2,500 years later, we lack the information found in the original social context which evidently enabled the ancients to make secure IDs with only two specific identifying marks" (p. 73). In the Old Babylonian city of Sippar, society or the government may have exercised controls to avoid letting more than one individual have the same combination of name and patronymic. It is dubious whether a similar system was found in Judah and Israel, but Mykytiuk argues that it is likely that some kind of a central registry, or regional registries, existed there. However, the possibility that within a certain period the combination of a name and a patronymic applied to more than one person cannot be excluded. If an inscription consists of no more than a name and a patronymic, an identification cannot be more than a reasonable assumption.

In cases where only a name is found, the identification remains extremely doubtful, even if the authenticity of the inscription is certain and its dating matches the proposed identification. If a name is hardly readable or partially missing, the identification is even more hypothetical.

Chapters 3 and 4 cover only inscriptions supplying identifications that are certain or quite plausible. Chapter 3 treats the identifications furnished by the provenanced Hebrew inscriptions as well as the Mesha Inscription and the Tel Dan stela. Chapter 4 discusses the unprovenanced Hebrew inscriptions.

There can be no doubt concerning the authenticity of the famous Mesha Inscription, which was first observed at, or near, its original location in 1868. In 1869 some Bedouin broke it in pieces, but with the help of paper squeezes and sketches most of the upper portion was restored in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Mykytiuk's careful analysis demonstrates that it is completely justified to identify the Moabite King Mesha and the Israelite King Omri with the biblical kings Mesha and Omri. Even the difficulties in dat-

ing Mesha's revolt against the Omrides do not cast any doubt on these identifications. The paleography of the inscription suggests a ninth-century date, which agrees with the biblical account. Also, both the inscription and the Bible depict King Omri as a victorious military leader.

In the fragmentary text of the Tel Dan stela, especially the expression *bytdwd* calls for discussion. Mykytiuk's extensive discussion of the evidence leads to the common interpretation "house of David" and the identification of *dwd* with the biblical King David. The inscription dates from the mid-ninth to the mid-eighth century and is the report of an Aramaic king about his successful war against the Israelites. However, Mykytiuk does not attempt to identify the king of Israel and the king of Judah whom the Aramaic king claims to have defeated, even though their names are partially preserved. His main conclusion relates to King David: "David's existence and his status as the founder of a dynasty now stand documented both in an excavated inscription and in the Bible" (p. 132).

The now lost but undoubtedly authentic seal with the inscription *lšmʿ ʿbd yrbʿm,* "of Shema, minister of Jeroboam," was excavated in Megiddo. Though other scholars ascribe a date in the late tenth or early ninth century, Mykytiuk argues that paleography suggests a date in the mid-eighth century and that the stratigraphy permits this later dating. He rejects the identification of *yrbʿm* with Jeroboam I and identifies him with the eighth-century King Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 13:13ff.).

The bulla with the text *lgmryhw* [*b*]*n špn,* "of Gemaryahu, son of Shaphan," was excavated with some other bullae in the City of David. The paleography of the bullae suggests a date between 630 and 586 B.C.E. Mykytiuk demonstrates that the identification with the biblical figures Shaphan and his son Gemaryahu (Jer 36:10) is extremely likely in view of the find spot as well as the rareness of the personal name Shaphan.

The bulla with the text *lʿzryhw bn ḥlqyhw,* "of Azaryahu, son of Ḥilqiyahu," belongs to the same group as the Gemaryahu bulla and must date to the same period. Both of the names in the inscription are common, but the find spot and the date of the bulla indicate that the identification with the biblical high priest Hilkiah and his son Azariah (1 Chr 5:39; 9:11; Ezra 7:1) is very plausible.

Chapter 4 treats eight unprovenanced inscriptions from the antiquities market. However, in the case of the two seals that were purchased as early as the mid-nineteenth century, forgery can be excluded. The inscription on the first reads *lʾbyw ʿbd ʿzyw,* "of Abiyaw, minister of Uzziyaw," and its script is dated to the mid- or late eighth century. Despite the different spelling of the name, the identification of Uzziyaw with the biblical Uzziah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 15:13ff.), is extremely plausible. The other seal contains the text *lšbnyw ʿbd ʿzyw,* "of Shubnayaw, minister of Uzziyaw." Paleography suggests a date in the first half of the eighth century. As the biblical account indicates that Uzziah, king of Judah, reigned from about 788/7 onward, the identification with this king is again very plausible.

Mykytiuk's caution and consistency become apparent in his treatment of six unprovenanced seals and bullae that turned up in the twentieth century. In the case of the seal with the text *lʾšnʾ ʿbd ʾḥz,* "of Ushna, minister of Aḥaz," already purchased in or before 1940, he doubts whether it is authentic despite its relatively early discovery and even though expert opinion stands on the side of authenticity. The paleography of the inscription suggests a date in the late eighth century, when Ahaz, son of Jotham, was king of Judah.

Mykytiuk stresses that the authenticity of the seal of Abdi and the bullae of Berekyahu (see ch. 2), the bulla of Yehozaraḥ (*lyhwzrḥ bn ḥlq*[*y*]*hw ʿbd ḥzqyhw*), the seal ring of Ḥanan (*lḥnn bn ḥlqyhw hkhn*), and the bulla of Yeraḥmeʾl (*lyrḥmʾl bn hmlk*) is not beyond question, even though virtually all experts assume that they are authentic. The names of the seal owners and those in the patronymics and titles can be identified with the biblical figures King Hoshea, King Hezekiah, Hilkiah the high priest, Baruch the scribe, his father Neriah, and Jerahmeel (Jer 36:26).

In ch. 5 Mykytiuk concludes that ten identifications are beyond doubt: Mesha, Omri, David, Jeroboam II, Shaphan, Gemariah, Hilkiah, Azariah, and Uzziah (the latter name on two unprovenanced seals). These ten identifications of nine persons include five kings, two high government officials, and two high priests. If the unprovenanced inscriptions discussed in ch. 4 could be proven authentic, the total number of certain identifications would rise to seventeen.

Appendices B and C offer an extensive list of proposed identifications, many of which appear to be extremely dubious. The collection includes a number of names from Northwest Semitic inscriptions that were not discussed in chs. 1–5. In the case of *blʿm,* "Bileʿam," named in the Tell Deir ʿAlla inscription, the author argues that the identification with Balaam named in the book of Numbers is virtually certain. Appendices B and C also list inscriptions published between the beginning of October 1997 and July 2002, such as the unprovenanced bullae with the text *lʾḥz yhwtm mlk yhdh,* "of Aḥaz (son of) Yehotam, king of Judah," and *lḥzqyhw ʾḥz mlk yhdh,* "of Ḥizqiyahu (son of) Aḥaz, king of Judah." The identification of the kings named in these inscriptions with the Judean kings named in the Bible is certain, provided the inscriptions are authentic. In appendix E, Mykytiuk defends André Lemaire's reconstruction *bt*[*d*]*wd,* "house of David," in line 31 of the Mesha Inscription, and, as in the case of the Tel Dan stela, he identifies *dwd* with the biblical King David. An extensive bibliography and an index of modern authors and editors conclude the book.

Though the nature of the book is quite technical, Mykytiuk's style is pleasant and no more difficult than necessary. He is able to form his own opinion even about very technical matters such as the development of the Hebrew letter shapes. The application of his criteria to inscriptions that were previously discussed by many others leads to new and well-balanced insights that will certainly play a role in the future debate about the historicity of the biblical accounts.

Mykytiuk's caution with regard to the inscriptions that turned up on the antiquities market is fully justified. According to the Israel Antiquities Authority, the controversial Jehoash Inscription as well as some of the unprovenanced bullae that surfaced in or after 1997 are forgeries. Only scientific research can determine how substantial such claims are. Therefore, Mykytiuk is completely right when insisting that the most reliable technical means should be used to test the age and authenticity of the unprovenanced inscriptions. If the indictment by the Jerusalem court against the supposed forgers will not produce more clarity, only such highly technical tests can provide the definite answer to the question whether the artifacts are forgeries or extremely important witnesses to the existence of persons named in the Bible.

The author appears to be visionary when stating that "antiquity is still not a complete guarantee of genuineness; even ancient items can be altered to become fakes" (p. 39). The ossuary that reputedly held the bones of James, Jesus' brother, possibly

dates from the first century C.E., but (part of) the inscription may have been carved in only recently. Also, in the case of the ivory pomegranate, once considered one of the most precious items in the collection of the Israel Museum, only scientific examination can provide the definite solution to the riddles. Recently the director of the museum claimed that the pomegranate itself dates back as early as the Bronze Age but that the inscription, *lby[t yhw]h qdš khnm,* "of the temp[le of Yahw]eh, holy to the priests," is a modern addition.

Mykytiuk's positive assumption that both the stela from Tel Dan and the Mesha Inscription contain the expression "the house of David" may come as a surprise, but convincing alternatives are lacking. His treatment of the biblical evidence is well balanced. If a Hebrew seal or bulla contains the name of a king and if according to the biblical account there was only one king bearing that name in the period to which the inscription must be dated, the author regards the identification as certain. This complete acceptance of the biblical chronology of the kings may also come as a surprise, but in my view it is fully justified as long as there is no evidence that contradicts it. Also, Mykytiuk recognizes that even the most certain identifications do not prove that the persons named both in the Bible and in the inscriptions really carried out the activities that the Bible ascribes to them. The most that we can say is that these persons were in a position to do what the Bible says they did.

Mykytiuk's well-founded study deserves to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the interpretation of both the Hebrew Bible and the Northwest Semitic inscriptions. It should be read by all those who are interested in the preexilic history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Paul Sanders
St. Stanislas College, Delft Rijswijk, The Netherlands 2282 GE

Poor Banished Children of Eve: Woman as Evil in the Hebrew Bible, by Gale A. Yee. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003. Pp. xii + 298. $24.00 (paper). ISBN 0800634578.

Gale Yee has written a ground-breaking book. She relocates feminist criticism of the Bible within general ideological criticism, in which analysis of gender must be forged into a single method with analysis of class, race, and colonialism. She draws impressively on the social sciences to understand women's roles, particularly their social power, in societies resembling ancient Israel. She demonstrates her proposed method by readings of four sections of the Hebrew Bible.

Yee deals with advanced work in both ideological criticism and the social sciences, and her book will probably have its initial impact mostly with colleagues and with graduate students. But she opens it to a wider readership by clear writing and excellent use of summaries. Notes and bibliography are full and helpful.

After a programmatic introduction comes a chapter (2) on ideological criticism, based heavily on Terry Eagleton's *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), with use also of Michèle Barrett and Fredric Jameson. The treatment here, of the dialectical relation between structures of governing ideas, their material grounds, and their cultural products (such as texts), is generally excellent. Yee offers a particularly detailed "materialist theory of literary production" (pp. 20–23).

There follows an even better chapter on the social sciences. Its first section, on historical "modes of production" in Israel, lays out a scheme that has become widely accepted: a "familial" mode before the monarchy, "native-tributary" during times of independence under monarchy, "foreign-tributary" under the great empires, and "slave-based" (late and of marginal importance). The remaining sections of ch. 3, on Israelite kinship systems, "honor and shame," "women's informal power," and "women's separate world," I found the most enlightening part of the book. Yee draws heavily here on field studies, especially from the Arab world.

Each of the remaining four chapters (4–7) submits a biblical text first to an "extrinsic" analysis—including analysis of mode of production and of society and family—followed by an "intrinsic" analysis of specific textual issues. Yee chooses texts from widely different periods. She relates Genesis 2–3 to the transition from a familial to a monarchic (native-tributary) mode of production. She sees Hosea 1–2 as coming substantially from Hosea's own time during the independent monarchies. Her other two texts belong to the foreign-tributary mode: Ezekiel 23 comes from Babylon at the time of the exile, Proverbs 1–9 from postexilic Yehud under Persian colonial domination.

The extrinsic analyses in these chapters offer a wealth of excellent insights, such as: the regulation of sexuality and privileging of nuclear family over larger kin-group in emerging states (pp. 64–67); the relation between "agribusiness" in Hosea's time and the "Yahweh-alone" movement that he spearheaded (pp. 84–85, 92–95); the application of recent trauma studies to Ezekiel and his exiled community (pp. 112–17; this I particularly recommend); and the complexity of the definition of "foreign" by the returned exiles (the *gôlâ* community) and the economic implications of "foreign" marriages (pp. 140–46). Yee uses current research to identify the specific impact on women of each of these social processes.

The intrinsic analyses seem to me to constitute the only weakness in a strong book. This is due to Yee's reading method, a method based on a true and vital insight but employed here one-sidedly. She believes that the gender dynamics in each of her texts function as a "symbolic alibi" for quite different dynamics, mostly political and economic but also psychological, in the male creators of the texts. In Genesis 2–3, for example, gender struggle symbolizes and displaces the class struggle behind the establishment of monarchy, while the women in Ezekiel 23 function to ease the experience of "emasculation" in defeated and deported leaders.

I do not doubt the existence or importance of such extratextual and textual processes. Creators of texts use all manner of symbolization, translation, distortion, and the like between different areas of experience, in order to minimize discredit to themselves. At levels more or less conscious, they "pass the buck" to others as plausibly as possible. When men create the texts, women mostly become the scapegoats. Yee's basic thesis is sound, that images of woman as evil, throughout the Bible, are generated largely by male compensatory mechanisms. So despite my strictures, I applaud her demand that full weight be given to such processes in any future reading of these and other texts.

Yet I was rarely persuaded by her particular readings. The "message" of each text turned out to be more or less an allegory of the mode of production out of which it emerged. Most convincing was Yee's reading of Ezekiel 23, since the trauma literature makes the psychological processes there rather clear. Least convincing was her reading of Proverbs 1–9, where the "other woman" was found to symbolize various categories of women disadvantageous for males of the *gôlâ* community to marry. I grant much of

Yee's argument—that control of male sexuality is vital for a society needing to narrow and protect its boundaries; that casting doubt on the virtue of its women is a stock way of separating another group from one's own—but I do not see how I (or anyone in the *gôlâ* community) am supposed to *know* that avoiding compromising oneself with someone else's wife (in the text) "symbolizes" choosing the most advantageous wife (outside the text).

Though Yee presents accurately the theory of Eagleton and the others, her reading method does not truly reflect theirs. The conceptual apparatus outlined in ch. 2, particularly the "materialist theory of literary production," scarcely reappears at all in the textual chapters. The first paragraph on p. 25 outlines a reading program that well encapsulates the work of these theorists (e.g., "read the text backwards . . . by examining the nature of its pretextual 'problems' in the light of their textual 'solutions'"), but I cannot find this program at work in her biblical readings. In the end, Yee integrates social sciences much better into her work than she does ideological criticism.

Though she insists on Marxian dialectic, she is not dialectical enough. The problem lies in always putting the extrinsic analysis first. This results in the reading being shaped not by the text but by categories emerging from the extrinsic analysis—particularly perilous when the extrinsic analysis is itself so dependent on textual readings. I believe that processes of symbolization and the like invariably leave their traces in the text itself and that ideological critics have evolved methods powerful enough to "read" these traces prior to any extrinsic analysis. But (unlike many literary critics of the Bible) I do not argue that intrinsic analysis should always precede extrinsic—this would be equally undialectic. One needs to find a style of doing both together. Yee might have made a start by putting the intrinsic analysis first in two of her chapters.

For me, Jameson provides the best model for the sort of reading that Yee attempts (*The Political Unconscious* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981], 74–102). Like her, he links any text with its historical mode of production. But he employs a third "horizon" to mediate these two: the horizon of all the recoverable products, including other texts, sharing the historical circumstances of the given text. I believe there would have been great gain if Yee had chosen not four disparate texts but multiple texts from the same Israelite social formation (e.g., the postexilic reconstitution of Judaism).

Finally, a complaint—not against Yee but on behalf of the consumer. Why must we have full citation in notes of information contained in the bibliography? If presses are demanding this, they should stop. Page 177 (only the most extreme of very many examples) contains *nothing but* such redundant information. Books are dear, and price depends critically on length. A sensible citation system would shorten this one by twenty-five pages.

David Jobling
St. Andrew's College Saskatoon, SK S7N 0W3 , Canada

Jeremiah 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, by Jack R. Lundbom. AB 21B. New York: Doubleday, 2004. Pp. xvi + 649. $45.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0385411138.

A commentary in the superlative Anchor Bible series may justly be expected to meet the following expectations: it should adjudicate highly technical philological and

syntactical questions regarding the original text and relevant variants in other ancient versions; it should provide an intelligible close reading of the biblical text as a whole, such that the commentator's overarching theories and reading strategies are visible both in the broad view and in local instances of interpretation; it should demonstrate rigorous engagement with key theoretical and exegetical proposals of other scholars who have done important work on the relevant biblical material; and it should offer fresh insight into the meaning and rhetorical power of the text. By these lights, Jack R. Lundbom's learned volume, the second in his three-volume set on Jeremiah, is a valuable contribution to the series even if it may best be considered an invitation to further conversation rather than a definitive authority on the book of Jeremiah.

Lundbom focuses on literary artistry as a means of rhetorical suasion in the text of Jeremiah, offering cogent readings and intelligent discussions on every page. To understand better the many aspects of Hebrew poetry and prose that command Lundbom's attention, readers should consult the helpful section on rhetorical criticism in vol. 1 of his commentary. There he describes Jeremiah's skillful use of repetition (anaphora, epiphora, inclusio, alliteration, and other sorts), accumulation, tropes (including metaphor, simile, euphemism), diverse forms of argumentation (arguments from lesser to greater, rhetorical questions, exaggerated contrasts), paronomasia, hyperbole, irony, and drama (including apostrophe and alternation of speakers). The structure of the commentary suggests that Lundbom is interested also in questions of audience—for each biblical passage, there is a section entitled "Message and Audience"—but here the commentary stops well short of a sophisticated discussion of the notion of audience. Lundbom seems to construe "audience" simply as those who were historically present when oracles were delivered and those who may have encountered the written text later. Lundbom does not address higher-level questions regarding ways in which a complex piece of literature may construct the audience(s) it envisions, which may in fact be multiple implied audiences constructed for diverse rhetorical purposes. (Lundbom's brief section "Finding the Audience" in vol. 1 provides a rudimentary discussion of some rhetorical effects on audiences but gives no orientation to the complexity of the notion of audience as such in contemporary rhetorical criticism.) The question of audience(s) in Jeremiah is a fascinating and important one, not least because of the searing internecine disputes clearly described in the book, so it is surprising that this commentary does not address the notion of audience in more detail.

The hermeneutical position of the commentary is staunchly historicist. Lundbom steadfastly refuses to address himself to questions concerning ideological constructions of the personae of the prophet and other figures in the book of Jeremiah, politicized notions of diaspora and home, and the possibility of fictive elements or submerged agendas in the book. Further, although many scholars have worked hard to elucidate divergent theological and political interests evident in the book of Jeremiah, Lundbom argues for a thoroughly unified theological message, repeatedly rejecting even well-pedigreed suggestions of discontinuity. His position may be summarized as follows. Material in the book of Jeremiah is almost all attributable to the historical Jeremiah or Baruch. Nothing remotely resembling large-scale later redaction has taken place in the book, although we may discern the occasional moving or shaping of material by Baruch (or "another compiler" like him, that is, some "colleague and friend" of Jeremiah [p. 254]). Here it would seem that Baruch was very busy indeed, for Lundbom identifies

the following as mid-level collections that were organized independently and then brought together into the final form of the book of Jeremiah: a first edition comprising Jeremiah 1–20; an appendix to the first edition, chs. 21–23, including a "King Collection" and a "Prophet Collection"; the oracles against the nations (OAN); a "Zedekiah Cluster" of chs. 24 + 27–29; a "Jehoiakim Cluster" of chs. 25, 26, 35, and 36; and the Book of Restoration in chs. 30–33, itself having undergone at least two stages of expansion before reaching its final form. This literary activity is under no circumstances to be confused with a theory of Deuteronomistic redaction in later times. Per Lundbom, the MT of Jeremiah should not be characterized as generally expansionist, even though a few MT plusses are demonstrable, because such a text-critical theory would presuppose wholesale later redaction; rather, the LXX reflects a badly flawed *Vorlage* and has suffered from haplography on a scale more catastrophic than many text critics have realized.

A minor note of criticism may be registered here. Lundbom's frequent appeal to LXX haplography is the only major theoretical point he makes in the text-critical notes. Missing is any sustained engagement with more comprehensive theories accounting for variants in the Jeremiah text traditions, aside from Lundbom's statement, "I . . . do not believe the claims made for two editions" (p. 239). This lack of deeper engagement means that students of Jeremiah will not be able to consult this commentary for guidance on the larger text-critical issues, which is disappointing given that text-critical problems constitute a lively and important area of historical research in Jeremiah studies.

Two substantive critiques of the volume may be offered in the spirit of collegial dialogue and might, in fact, be welcomed by the author. First is the fact that Lundbom is pointedly dismissive of the two chief obstacles confronting any simple historicist understanding of the book of Jeremiah: the hermeneutical position that texts are inescapably and thoroughly shaped by ideologies that affect how personae, events, and voices within those texts are constructed (ideological criticism), and the hermeneutical position that later editing may have manipulated the traditions of Jeremiah in directions not anticipated by the historical prophet or first compiler (redaction criticism). Lundbom is clearly intent on not giving those two scholarly theories any traction whatsoever in his commentary. He chooses not to engage their chief proponents in any detail, dismissing their ideas briskly and singling out Robert P. Carroll and William McKane at least six times (inaccurately) as the "only scholars today" who maintain certain ideological-critical positions that he finds untenable. Lundbom characterizes readings of McKane as "contrived" and "convoluted" and those of Carroll as "imagination" and "fantasy" "not to be taken seriously," with a tone that some may consider to constitute a breach of scholarly courtesy. Yet Lundbom's protestations of coherence in some Jeremiah texts will seem strained to some. For example, of the notoriously disrupted text of Jeremiah 25, Lundbom offers the unlikely opinion that "the chapter has its own integrity, and can be taken, in the MT at least, as an essential unity" (p. 239).

Many intelligent readers have articulated a perception of heavy-handed politics and clear discontinuities within the book of Jeremiah. One may fairly point to weaknesses of particular scholarly strategies for interpreting the fierce intra-Judahite polemics and literary tensions that are so obviously a central part of the Jeremiah tradition, but one cannot with credibility dismiss those readerly experiences of ideological motivation and textual disjuncture out of hand as imaginary. Now, it may have been pre-

cisely Lundbom's goal to conduct his readers through the book of Jeremiah without their ever having extended contact with ideological criticism and redaction criticism. My view would be that the scholarly discussion is set back several decades by this decision and that novices to Jeremiah studies are particularly ill-served, since they will not gain an adequate sense of the fuller hermeneutical conversation on these crucial issues. But given Lundbom's lack of sympathy with ideological criticism and his overt exasperation with the recent dominance of redaction-critical theories regarding the Deutero-Jeremianic prose, an objection that he does not engage these flourishing areas within Jeremiah scholarship may simply confirm that he is trying valiantly to redefine the terms of the discussion.

My second major critique is that significantly more fruit remains to be harvested from rhetorical criticism than Lundbom has demonstrated here. Lundbom's observations about rhetoric not infrequently function descriptively rather than analytically. Chiasms and other forms of repetition are noted and sometimes adduced as evidence for the delimitation of a particular unit of text, but often left unexplored is their specific force in particular literary contexts as means of persuasion, as performative of a function of closure, heightening, or reversal. Readers will not find here a coherent picture of how hyperbole works in the book of Jeremiah as a whole, an analysis of ways in which various forms of repetition may heighten the rhetorical effect of some key theological concept running through the book, or the like. Rather, Lundbom often provides simple description of the presence of rhetorical features (catchwords or chiasms here, *accumulatio* there) rather than incisive analysis of their effects even locally, much less writ larger throughout the book that he insists is so coherent literarily. Even given the constraints of the genre of commentary, one might have hoped for more attention to coherences and changes of diction across the book. My critique amounts to a call for an even more full-bodied rhetorical criticism, so on a positive note Lundbom's work may fairly be credited with having stimulated more interest in the subject about which he clearly is passionate.

Indeed, further research should explore in more depth the intersections of rhetorical criticism with diachronic views of the multivocality of the book of Jeremiah. As noted, Lundbom chooses not to engage closely the rigorous diachronic work of many scholars who have tackled problems related to the provenance and ideological force of the prose of Jeremiah. His position is uncompromising: redaction-critical approaches are wrongheaded in their basic assumptions of later editorial work and can only distract from an appreciation of the artistry of Jeremiah's and Baruch's handiwork. In this, Lundbom has redrawn some old, rigid hermeneutical battle lines: readers who are sensitive to the literary and theological power of the book of Jeremiah will understand that the material is traceable to two figures, Jeremiah and Baruch (or someone just like him); all other readers–with McKane and Carroll as representative scapegoats–are gravely misguided in their notions about redactors and the potential lateness of texts. But these are not our only choices. That diachronic issues could have significant bearing on complex rhetorical purposes of the text is a possibility that Lundbom does not address–he seems to view redactional analysis as the intractable natural enemy of a literary sensibility attuned to the elegance of tropes in Jeremiah, the power of the prophet's diction, and rhetorical artistry in the book as a whole. Other interpreters may be far more optimistic: there are important opportunities here for scholars to take up the rich promise of rhetorical-critical method and apply it to a more sophisticated, multivalent model for the final form of the book of Jeremiah.

Lundbom's work thus presents a valuable challenge to those of us who maintain that ancient literature can be both rhetorically powerful and compositionally multivocal, historically authentic in several important senses while yet ideologically shaped in complex ways that give the lie to simplistic representationalism. Welcome indeed would be an analysis of the book of Jeremiah that looks unflinchingly at the discontinuities and disjunctures of that tumultuous text on literary, text-critical, and ideological levels, while also bringing to bear the kind of exegetical attentiveness to rhetorical artistry that Lundbom has urged in this fine and provocative commentary.

Carolyn J. Sharp
Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT 06511

Reading the Latter Prophets: Toward a New Canonical Criticism, by Edgar Conrad. JSOTSup 376. London: T & T Clark, 2004. Pp. xii + 287. $69.95 (paper). ISBN 0567084523. $140.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0826466524.

Over the past two decades Edgar Conrad has contributed several books and articles to the study of Hebrew prophetic literature. His two commentaries, *Reading Isaiah* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) and *Zechariah* (Readings; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), have provided helpful examples of his particular approach. The present volume not only provides further insights into Conrad's approach but also reveals continuing developments in his hermeneutic.

The first two chapters set the tone for the volume as Conrad argues for a semiotics of reading based on the approach of Umberto Eco (ch. 1) and then for a new approach to form criticism (ch. 2). The first chapter provides insights into Conrad's personal hermeneutical journey, a journey that is described in dialogue with Hermann Gunkel and James Muilenburg. Although appreciative of these two giants of research, Conrad highlights their weaknesses and ultimately leverages the semiotic theory of Umberto Eco to argue for a balanced text-reader approach. One will find fascinating parallels between Conrad's journey and that of Eco himself in the same period. Both have an initial attraction to radical reader response, which is then tempered by later reflection on text limits. In the second chapter Conrad reveals his approach to history and the relationship between history and the text of the prophets. Again, honestly expressing his own journey hermeneutically, Conrad sides with the "minimalists" in the enduring debate over the use of the Bible for reconstructing the history of Israel. For Conrad, historical-critical approaches are deeply ideological and linked to a triumphalist ideology where Israel is at the center. Conrad's approach is antitriumphalist, a view where the Bible is not only one sacred text among many but where reconstruction of history of the prophets and their lives is impossible. Lest he be accused of being antihistorical, Conrad does admit interest in history. That interest, however, is focused on the prophets as books that "are textual constructions of whatever the real world was at the time these books were composed" (p. 38). This final point leads Conrad to his proposal for a new form criticism, one that focuses on "the way some ancient author (scribe) or group of authors (scribes) constructed prophetic worlds by producing prophetic books" (p. 43), and it is this world that he seeks to enter as a reader.

In the following chapters Conrad shows the results of approaching the text with his

particular hermeneutic. The first couple of chapters are more global in character, dealing with issues related to the Prophets (Former and Latter) as a collection. Chapter 3 ("Ordering Prophetic Books") consists of interaction with both Brevard Childs and Philip Davies on the role and genesis of canon, and in the process Conrad justifies his reading of the prophetic books in their present form and in the order identified in the rabbinical sources (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, The Twelve). In ch. 4 ("Opening Prophetic Books") he focuses attention on the role that superscriptions play in prophetic books (both Former Prophets and Latter Prophets), in particular, the codes they provide for the reader. The focus is not merely on the way these superscriptions provide signals for reading the individual books, but more so on how they provide a signal for reading the Prophets as a canonical division that takes the reader on a journey from the time of Moses to that of Darius, a journey that is rooted, however, in the world of words where the temple is often the center of activity.

The remaining chapters of the book provide more focused attention on sections of the Latter Prophets, employing intertextual strategies to bring the various books under discussion into conversation and highlight key themes. Chapter 5 reads Amos and Jeremiah together, both of whom are identified by Conrad as "unconventional prophets" whose words emerge in visual imagery and are brought to the temple from the outside. This trend of reading one of the larger prophetic scrolls in light of one of the prophets of the Twelve is found also in ch. 6, which reads Ezekiel in light of Jonah, two prophets who share the distinction of being prophets in a foreign land. In ch. 7 Conrad reads the major scroll of Isaiah in conjunction with what he calls the other prophets of vision, prophets whose vision is closely linked with the temple: Joel, Micah, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. These prophets are more concerned with the future, initiating a period of waiting as they announce comfort and consolation; thus, in the prophetic collection "their role is seen as moving the history beyond the time of destruction to the time when Zion/Jerusalem will be rebuilt." In ch. 8, having brought various books from the Book of the Twelve in conversation with the larger scrolls of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, Conrad finally deals with the Book of the Twelve as a unit and grants more attention to those prophets among the Twelve which had not been mentioned (Hosea, Haggai–Malachi). He concludes that the Book of the Twelve is distinctly (though not exclusively) northern in focus. Hosea is thus a fitting introduction, not only because of its northern tone, but also because as a literary unit it stands out from the other prophetic books. Joel–Zephaniah all emulate genres of prophetic books found in the major prophets. The Book of the Twelve ends with the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who are focused on period of temple restoration.

Reading the Latter Prophets is a very helpful book for tracing key hermeneutical shifts in the study of prophetic literature over the past century. By not providing an exhaustive history of research and instead focusing on key conversation partners, Conrad has made his book accessible to a breadth of readership. His honest personal reflections on his journey through three decades of scholarship not only provide an example of the very hermeneutic he is espousing (with reader sensibilities) but invites others to reflect on their own hermeneutical journey. Such vulnerability is to be applauded.

Four issues need to be addressed, however, as we consider the validity of Conrad's approach. It is obvious that his early dalliance in radical reader-response theory was dissatisfying for Conrad and led him (following Eco) to the more solid ground of textual limitation where reader and text are in conversation. Throughout the book, however,

there is a constant concern to communicate that he has not abandoned the "historical" dimension in his hermeneutic. One may say that he "protesteth too much"; that is, there appears to be a deep sensibility that one must have a secure foothold in history in order to have some controls in the interpretive enterprise. Interestingly, Conrad consistently finds this historical dimension and control in the scribal community responsible for the final form of the text. It is interesting that, having undermined the historical-critical enterprise of uncovering the original author and its historical context, he appears quite confident that he is able to make comments about a historically situated scribal community. For instance on p. 38 (in a paragraph that begins with the protest: "This disagreement with the practice of historical-critical inquiry does not mean that I have no interest in history"), in an attempt to shift the focus from the reconstruction of the world of some legendary prophetic figure to that of the text, Conrad claims: "What we find in prophetic books are textual constructions of whatever the real world was at the time these books were composed." Here we see Conrad making a historical claim that he denies other historical critics. That is, he displays just as much confidence in the ability to discern a "real world" as other historians; he has just shifted the focus from author to final redactor (or, as he calls it, scribal community). Thus he admits: "I am assuming that prophetic books are something like a collage that has been organized and given an organizational unity by a scribal community" (p. 62); and "The way some scribe(s) in the past ordered materials is important" (p. 91).

A second problem is his choice of a particular canonical order, especially considering that the order of the books in the text is so important to much of Conrad's reading of the Latter Prophets. He does this because he wants to "pay attention to the order of prophetic books as they have come to us," that is, to "understand these books as a whole, as they are" (p. 61). Of course, the question here is what he means by "as they are" or "as they have come to us." The order he cites is the one from rabbinic sources and one that does not always agree with the actual scribal traditions that have now come to us (see his own admission on p. 244 n. 1). It would seem more consistent to have chosen a particular and extant manuscript or manuscript tradition and then perform his interpretive enterprise on that tradition in which the order and shape of the biblical text would be the same. This would entail a slightly different agenda, for he would need to unpack the world of the scribal community of that particular manuscript, rather than an imagined scribal community that first assembled the book as a whole.

Third, Conrad focuses considerable attention and energy on the superscriptions in the prophetic books, arguing that they provide keys for reading the books; that is, they serve "as codes addressed to a Model Reader signaling how to read the collection that follows" (p. 65). Nine of the fifteen books of the Latter Prophets begin with superscriptions with a historical reference, signaling the importance of historical location for the reading of the material recorded in the book that follows. Conrad notes this aspect but is only willing to leverage this historical data as relative data within the canon; that is, the superscriptions show that the Latter Prophets continue the story of the Former Prophets. In many cases, however, these superscriptions appear to signal a very particular historical context that is important for understanding the prophetic messages contained within the book. Those responsible for the creation of this book were so concerned with this historical context that they recorded it at the outset. Books such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and especially Haggai and Zechariah show careful attention to precise dates using not only years of a king's reign but also precise day and month. The

superscriptions as reading codes lead us back to the historical-critical task that Conrad tries to abandon (see my reference to Conrad in "Terrifying the Horns," *CBQ* 67 [2005]).

Finally, in his closing chapter Conrad makes the claim: "Because my own community of interpretation is not a theological one, although I learned my historical criticism in a Christian community, I do not feel compelled in my work to read these texts from the perspective of either Judaism or Christianity" (p. 269). This comment is interesting and helps the reader understand further the hermeneutical journey and social location of Conrad as he writes. However, one wonders if a reader can truly understand a textual form and order that was honed within a deeply Jewish context by adopting a hermeneutical stance that is opposed to that context? If Conrad wants to work with a rabbinic order and access a model reader and possibly a model author, is this possible when one is reading against the grain of the very tradition presupposed by this ancient text? In the same way that historical critics were guilty of taking a text and reshaping it according to their own conventions of reading against the grain of the text in historical ways, is not this new reader critic doing precisely the same thing by refusing to read within the bounds of a model reader conceivable to an ancient Jewish scribal community?

None of these issues, of course, is somehow limited to the work of Edgar Conrad, but rather all are topics that need to be addressed within the broader context of hermeneutics in the twenty-first century. What I find in Conrad's work is a daring admission of his own hermeneutical journey, a courageous act that one hopes will bear fruit in the emerging generations of interpreters of Bible and religion.

Mark J. Boda
McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON L8S 4K1, Canada

Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period, by Gary T. Manning Jr. JSNTSup 270. London: T & T Clark, 2004. Pp. xii + 240. $130.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0567080862.

This monograph is a revision of Gary T. Manning Jr.'s doctoral dissertation, which he completed in 2003 under the supervision of Marianne Meye Thompson and David Scholer at Fuller Theological Seminary. Manning's thorough investigation of the use of Ezekiel in John's Gospel and in Second Temple literature not only alludes to the title of Richard B. Hays's excellent *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), but it also builds on two of Hays's central observations about Paul's use of Scripture. Hays in *Echoes of Scripture* demonstrated that Paul frequently invoked the wider contexts of passages he cited; Manning in *Echoes of a Prophet* argues that allusions to Ezekiel in John and Second Temple writers are normally "intended to recall the entire passage from which the allusion is drawn." Like Hays, Manning seeks to show that attention to this wider context will shed light on the writings of those who allude to Ezekiel. While Hays argued that Paul's use of Scripture was more "ecclesiocentric" than "christocentric," Manning maintains that both concerns are common to John and several Second Temple Jewish readers of Ezekiel.

Echoes of a Prophet begins with a helpful discussion of recent research on the NT use of the OT and a well-articulated statement of methodology for identifying allusions: the probability of an allusion is strengthened by verbal parallels— especially those that

are used in corresponding ways and that appear uniquely in the two passages under discussion. In the case of passages that allude to several biblical texts at once, Manning argues that it is possible in some cases, at least, to disentangle these "combined allusions" and identify their sources. Supporting evidence for allusions includes structural parallels between two texts, additional allusions to the same subtext by the same author, and, perhaps most important, "resonance" within the wider contexts of two texts—that is, when two texts "deal with similar themes and ideas." Once the presence of an allusion has been established, its function must be determined by asking how it "advance[s] the narrative or theology of the passage" and analyzing how the alluding phrase or image is reconfigured in its new context. Despite Manning's (problematic) claim to focus "on meaning as resident in the text itself" rather than on authorial intention, it becomes apparent as the study gets under way that, for Manning, probable allusions are those that are likely to have been intended by the author.

Manning's lengthy chapter on the use of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls (ch. 2) and his shorter treatment of the use of Ezekiel in other Second Temple literature (ch. 3) serve as a comparative background against which unique elements in John's use of Ezekiel may be identified. Yet because Manning interacts closely with the relevant primary sources, these chapters may be read with profit even by those concerned primarily with Second Temple literature. Unfortunately, Manning's study of the primary sources is completed without significant interaction with important secondary literature on issues such as realized eschatology at Qumran or connections between the Teacher of Righteousness and the *Hodayot,* about which Manning forms conclusions in his study. Also troubling is Manning's discussion of the Greek text of Ben Sira 49 because the Hebrew is "now mostly lost except for a few fragments among the DSS." Most of Ben Sira is, in fact, extant in Hebrew—including Ben Sira 49.

Manning finds that the Dead Sea Scrolls consistently take Ezekiel's wider context into account and distinguish between statements in Ezekiel that refer to events in the past and statements still awaiting fulfillment. Thus the epithet "builders of the wall" typologically applies a passage about false prophets in Ezekiel's day to the Pharisees (Ezek 13:10; CD iv.19, viii.12); the 390 years of *Damascus Document* i.5–6 is also a typological reapplication of the 390 days of Ezek 4:4–5 that signifies not the continuation of exile, but a new exile experienced by the community. In a similar way, the liturgical use of imagery from Ezekiel's throne vision in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 12 (4Q405 20 ii 1–14) betrays the community's conviction that God had once again abandoned the Jerusalem temple and that his presence dwelt in their midst instead. Allusions to the restoration oracle of Ezekiel 36 within the *Hodayot* express a realized eschatology, but the fact that the speaker of 1QH xxi 10–11 refers to a "heart of stone" without mentioning a new heart of flesh suggests that the new covenant was not fully realized.

Manning discovers fewer noteworthy allusions to Ezekiel in other Second Temple literature: some texts allude to Ezekiel's throne vision; a few mention Ezekiel's vision of dry bones; and Manning suggests that the imagery of the shepherds in Ezekiel 37 is taken up in the vision of *1 Enoch* 85–90. Still, Manning maintains that these texts "tend to use allusions with sensitivity to their meaning and context."

Chapter 4 focuses on allusions to Ezekiel associated with John's good shepherd (John 10) and true vine (John 15) discourses. As the good shepherd of John 10:14 and the "one shepherd" of 10:16, Jesus is linked to the *divine* good shepherd of Ezekiel 34. But since both Ezek 34:24 and 37:24 also present David as Israel's one shepherd, the

allusion constitutes an implicit presentation of Jesus as the Davidic Messiah. Theological development becomes apparent as John applies Ezekiel's prediction of the regathering of the flock of Israel to the reconstitution of Israel around the community of Jesus' followers—including Gentiles (cf. John 10:16; Ezek 37:21–24). Manning acknowledges that John's vine imagery is indebted to other biblical passages as well, but verbal and thematic parallels convince Manning that Ezekiel's vine parables form the most prominent biblical subtext of John 15:1–17. Branches that do not bear fruit (John 15:6)— such as Judas—correspond to the unfaithful vine of Israel that will be burned (Ezek 15:1–8). Jesus, on the other hand, is the Messianic cedar-vine of Ezek 17:22–24, and his fruit-bearing branches consist of his messianic community of followers.

A second chapter on John investigates minor allusions to Ezekiel. According to Manning, the mention of "heaven opened" in John 1:51 does not merely echo Ezek 1:1 but implies that John believed Ezekiel saw the preexistent Christ as the glory of God. An allusion to Ezekiel 37 in John 5:25–28 suggests that John understood Ezekiel's vision of dry bones messianically as a symbol of national restoration provided by Jesus' gift of life in the present, as well as a statement about final resurrection. The present fulfillment of Ezekiel's vision will include the coming of the Spirit if, as Manning argues, Jesus' breathing on his disciples (John 20:22) alludes a second time to Ezekiel 37 (specifically, 37:9). In addition, the "rivers of living water" that flow "out of his belly" (John 7:38) alludes, in part, to the cleansing water that flows from the temple (Ezek 47:1), and birth by water and Spirit (John 3:5) echoes Ezekiel's reference to sprinkling clean water and the gift of a new spirit (Ezek 36:25–27). Finally, building on a proposal by George Brooke, Manning suggests that the 153 fish in John 21:11 may refer to the many fish swimming in the clean water flowing from the temple (Ezek 47:10). If some of these proposed echoes seem farfetched, it is at least in part because space does not permit a summary of the often intriguing evidence adduced in their favor.

In a concluding chapter Manning observes that John and Second Temple writers share several common tendencies in their use of Ezekiel. They often combine allusions to Ezekiel with related allusions to other passages; repeated references to the same oracle (though not necessarily to the same verse) are frequent; it is also common for the language of the source passage to be modified as it is reapplied in its new context.

Manning notes that the contexts of source passages in Ezekiel tend to share "thematic similarities" with the wider contexts of passages from which an allusion is made and argues that Paul's ecclesiocentric reading of Scripture was not distinctive to the apostle or even distinctively Christian, for John "as well as *1 Enoch, Psalm of Solomon* 17, and the *Hodayot,* are all interested in both the Messiah and his community." John's reading of Ezekiel around the motifs of life and the Spirit is distinctive, however. John also alludes to a wider variety of oracles in Ezekiel than most Second Temple writers. Indeed, John himself "does not use any other OT source so comprehensively."

Studies that explore intertextual echoes frequently combine new insights with a nagging sense that arguments for the proposed echoes have been taken too far. Manning's contribution is no exception. Sometimes Manning discerns a conscious echo when common language is more likely. To take one example, the opening of heaven first appears in a visionary context in Ezek 1:1, but references to an open heaven in the New Testament indicate that the term had become a common way of introducing visions (cf. Acts 10:11; Rev 4:1; 19:11); a deeper meaning derived from the context of Ezekiel 1 should not be read into John 1:51. In other instances where later writers do draw on lan-

guage or imagery from Ezekiel, the significance that Manning finds in the allusions remains speculative. For example, because the phrase מדבר העמים ("wilderness of the people") occurs in *War Scroll* i.3 and in no other passage in the MT aside from Ezek 20:35, Manning suggests that the community believed the prediction of Ezek 20:35 had been fulfilled at its founding. Similarly, Manning argues first that the imagery in *1 Enoch* 89–90 recalls Ezekiel 34 and then claims that *1 Enoch*'s presentation of Judas as a ram represents a messianic interpretation of Ezekiel 34. While I am sympathetic to the idea that early Jews and Christians interpreted Scripture in context rather than atomistically, it is not enough simply to suggest how a writer *might* have understood the wider context of Ezekiel. Since the relationship between two different passages may often be plausibly construed in different ways, more evidence is required if one wishes to demonstrate that a writer is not simply employing biblical language without regard for its context.

These reservations aside, Manning's work remains a valuable contribution to scholarship on intertextuality in early Judaism and early Christianity. I, at least, found many of his suggestions about the use of Ezekiel in John and Second Temple literature illuminating. Although not all his proposals are equally compelling, in the end this book does for careful readers what it should by driving them back to the primary sources equipped with new questions and with an eye for details that they might otherwise overlook.

David Miller
Briercrest College, Caronport, SK S0H 0S0, Canada

Bound by the Bible: Jews, Christians and the Sacrifice of Isaac, by Edward Kessler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. xii + 222. $75.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0521835429.

In this volume, which is based on his doctoral dissertation, Edward Kessler of Cambridge Centre for Jewish-Christian Relations in the United Kingdom presents an investigation of Jewish–Christian relations during the "formative period," that is, the first six centuries of the first millennium of the common era, prior to the Muslim conquest of Palestine (635 C.E.). He attempts to demonstrate how the expounding of the *Aqedah* story (Gen 22:1–14) by Jews and Christians influenced each other in a compelling two-way encounter. Based on a study of this story, he examines whether there was some sort of exchange or interaction between Jews and Christians, and to what extent they are bound by the common Scripture, Hebrew Bible/OT.

In the introduction, Kessler details the methodological problems that should be challenged and the criteria that he proposes in response. He critically reviews three previous approaches of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the examination of Jewish–Christian relations in late antiquity, which failed to achieve scholarly consensus. Therefore, Kessler suggests a fourth: the study of Jewish-Christian biblical exegesis, which is supplementary to the earlier three: "A study of biblical interpretation can shed light on Jewish–Christian relations because both Jews and Christians lived in a biblically oriented culture . . . because, to a certain extent, Jews and Christians shared a common Bible" (pp. 18–19).

The main section of the book comprises seven chapters. The first six examine

interpretations of Gen 22:1–14 (pp. 37–152). They follow the order of biblical narrative, verse by verse. Each chapter opens with the text translated into English, MT, and LXX (in that order), and follows with a review of writers such as Philo and Josephus, and with a survey and analysis of the early Jewish and Christian interpretations. In addition, Kessler checks some liturgical writings, that is, *piyyutim* (Jewish religious poetry), and *kontakia* (Christian hymns that deal mostly with biblical stories). These writings reflect interpretation of the biblical narrative, though the texts are from a much later period (ca. tenth century) but have much earlier roots. Chapter 7 brings another dimension: it discusses artistic interpretations (pp. 153–74) and is accordingly accompanied by thirteen illustrations from Jewish and Christian art as well as archaeological discoveries. This section ends with a detailed conclusion (pp. 175–83).

In a short epilogue (pp. 184–88) Kessler reviews some recent exegesis of the *Aqedah* story in order to show to what extent this story affects Jewish–Christian connections. Indexes of primary and secondary sources (pp. 189–211), of subjects and authors, and of ancient texts conclude the volume (pp. 212–22).

The main issue that this reviewer quibbles over is Kessler's core presumption. His starting point is that Jews and Christians share a sacred text: they are bound together by the Bible. In this book he inquires if they also share a "common exegetical tradition" (p. 6). This assumption, however, is not self-evident. This is not only because the Jews reject the Christians' NT and the latter reject the Jewish "Oral Torah," as the author correctly stresses, but mainly because of several other important differences between the two—differences that, unfortunately, Kessler overlooks. Thus, one must admit that Jews and Christians dispute not only about the name of that part of the Bible which they share, that is, "Mikra," "Tanach," "Hebrew Bible" *versus* "OT" (and this is not an unimportant issue), but even—or mainly—about the extent of it. They dispute whether to include or exclude books such as Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Ben Sira/Jesus the Sirach, and Baruch. They dispute the content of some of those books, for instance, the additional texts to several compositions such as Daniel (chs. 13–14). They also dispute the order of the books and their locations. Thus, for instance, the place of the books of Ruth, Lamentations, and Daniel, on the one hand, and the place of the whole complex of the prophetic writings, on the other, is different in the Hebrew Bible from what it is in the Christian OT. All these dissimilarities reflect deep theological diversities. Moreover, even about the common texts that are included in both Jewish and Christian corpora, there is not only a different interest (Torah *versus* Prophets) but also a very bitter controversy about the "correct" meaning and religious validity of even the same textual version (either MT or LXX). While the Christians consider their OT to be the first part, which relates the preparation (*Vorgeschichte*) for the following and the most important part of their *Biblia*, the NT, the Jews consider the Hebrew Bible as the one and *only* most important Holy Scripture of their religion (the rabbinic writings are considered secondary compared to the Tanach). Moreover, there is a deep gap between the Jewish attitude toward the Hebrew Bible as a living authoritative Scripture the commandments of which every Jew must follow, especially as expressed in the "Written Torah" and interpreted and conceptualized in the "Oral Torah." Christians, on the other hand, believe that with the arrival of Jesus all the Torah's commandments became irrelevant and that they are not obliged to follow them whatsoever (e.g., Rom 10:4; 13:10). They interpret various OT texts—stories as well as law—essentially allegorically. Thus, for instance, according to Christianity the law of circumcision (Gen 17) applies spiritu-

ally—to the heart—rather than to literal circumcision of the flesh (Rom 2:29). The Jews are still waiting for the biblical messianic promises such as in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Hosea, on the one hand, while the Christians consider the OT to be a cluster of "promises" (*Verheissungen*) that were, in fact, fulfilled by the appearance, life, and death of Jesus Christ (*Erfüllung*).

Consequently, the common texts of Hebrew Bible/OT generally are not used as a starting point for better mutual understanding and acceptance between the two traditions, but on the contrary, the Scriptures deepened the dispute, animosity, and conflict between the sister religions over thousands of years (see I. Kalimi, "Die Bibel und die klassisch-jüdische Bibelauslegung: Eine interpretations- und religionsgeschichtliche Studie," *ZAW* 114 [2002]: 594–610).

Indeed, as Kessler details in his prologue to the book, in the last generations, especially since the time following the Holocaust (*Sho'ah*), there have been several positive actions from both sides, Christian and Jewish, particularly in the United States and some (but not all) Western European countries. These groups attempt to change the situation and build new and better understanding, mutual acceptance, and respectful approaches to each other. But was it really the case also in the "formative period"? Isn't Kessler somehow imposing, anachronistically, his hopes upon the tragic history of Jews and Christians and attempting to color it favorably? Did the classical rabbis really see Jesus as a "great brother" as formed by Martin M. Buber? Could they—the monotheistic believers that proclaim three times a day "Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is alone!" (Deut 6:4)—consider one, even a fellow Jew, to be a biological son of God? Indeed, Jews and Christians share, in spite of all, a great number of common biblical texts. But did they really share also the interpretation of these texts? Is the interpretation of the common text binding Jews and Christians or just the opposite? Thus, for instance, does the interpretation of Genesis 22 by Barnabas: "[Jesus was the fulfillment of] that which was foreshadowed in Isaac, who was sacrificed upon the altar" (7:3) bind Jews and Christians or, contrarily, divide them?

Furthermore, there is disagreement on very fundamental issues such as: Who is "Israel" of the Hebrew Bible/OT? Jews, of course, see themselves as direct descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve Israelite tribes. On the other hand, Christians see themselves as legitimate heirs of the "biblical Israel." Consequently, Christians consider themselves a "new Israel," "Israel in spirit," while existing Jews are "heretic/Talmudic Jews." Christians make deliberate changes in the biblical text in order to sustain this theological perspective. Thus, for example, they change the original Hebrew text of Jer 2:3: "Israel *is* holy for God," and write: "Israel *was* holy for God" (see I. Kalimi, "The Place of the Book of Esther in Judaism and Jewish Theology," *TZ* 59 [2003]: 193–204). According to Christianity, the Scriptures as well as the covenant and God's promises were applied to Christians and them only, not to the Jews (*Barn.* 4.6–8; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*; Augustine, *PL* 42:51–64; and others). Now, how do these Christian theological concepts of rejection and replacement go together with the approach of *Bound by the Bible*?

It seems that Kessler ignores the entire bitter history of Jews and Christians and their disputes over the interpretation of the common text—Hebrew Bible/OT—as well as the fundamental theological issues, while attempting to "color the past" according to some blessed new direction in the present and his wishful thinking.

Kessler attempts to show that alongside these Christian teachings there also devel-

oped an "admiration for Judaism." By study of an exegetical encounter he tries to tell us a "story of a two-way encounter and existence of a more mutually beneficial relationship" (p. 19). As an example he points out that "the willingness by Christians to order the Hebrew Bible in a canonical form recognized by Jews demonstrates a common biblically oriented culture, shared by Jews and Christians. In other words, the Christian canon is itself indicative of Jewish influence" (pp. 19–20). This reviewer does not agree. First, the Christians did not include "the Hebrew Bible in a canonical form"; rather they include what they name the OT with all the differences mentioned above. Second, the inclusion of the OT in the Christian Bible is not due to their "good will towards Jews" and thus it does not reflect a genuine positive attitude toward Judaism. The inclusion is part of "replacement theology" as detailed above, and the result of some historical circumstances that I have related elsewhere: "they are somehow connected theologically to each other presumably sometime in an early stage of Christianity, when the Jewish-Christians accepted the new religious direction but simultaneously associated it with their original heritage" (see I. Kalimi, *Early Jewish Exegesis and Theological Controversy: Studies in Scriptures in the Shadow of Internal and External Controversies* [Jewish and Christian Heritage 2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002], 147–48). In fact, as of today the relationship between the OT and the NT remains an unresolved problem in Christianity. Through generations many Christian theologians were and are questioning this connection repeatedly. Thus, the inclusion of the OT, owing to some historical circumstances and Christians' needs, does not prove there was a positive encounter between the Jews and Christians. The decisive points are the place of the OT in the Christian canon, their attitude toward it, and its interpretation and conceptualization—all issues that are distinctively different from those of the Jews.

Certainly, there are some exceptions to the frequent hard and hostile lines of the church toward Jews and Judaism, as Kessler demonstrates—for instance, from *Adversus Iudaeos* sermons of John Chrysostom. However, these exceptions prove the antagonistic relationship that generally existed and mainly defined the relationship between the Jews and Christians, indubitably in the period on which Kessler concentrates. Generally speaking, the common holy texts not only did not bind the Jews and Christians in this and other periods, but just the opposite—they created a bitter controversy and separation that increased continually and escalated resulting in the horrible tragic history that dominated the last two thousand years.

Now, there is some overlap in Jewish and Christian interpretation of the very common texts. Kessler is aware of the limitations of such an overlap and asks "whether and to what extent Jews and Christians encountered each other on the level of biblical interpretation" (p. 6). He strives to show "the possibility of an exegetical encounter that exists because the Jews and Christians share a similar and somehow overlapping heritage . . . some interpretations *may offer* [italics mine] examples of mutual awareness, influence and even encounter" (pp. 6–7). Elsewhere Kessler explains what he means by the expression "exegetical encounter": "a Jewish interpretation either influenced, or influenced by, a Christian interpretation and vice versa. The term does not imply that Jewish and Christian exegetes met to discuss their interpretations (although this is a possibility); rather, an exegetical encounter indicates awareness by one exegete of the exegetical tradition of another, revealed in the interpretations" (p. 8). Thus, by examining Genesis 22, especially the Palestinian rabbinic tradition and the work of the Greek fathers, Kessler

attempts to show existence of such encounters in late antiquity. He repeatedly stresses that the extent of the encounters still influences Jewish–Christian connection in the present, since the study of the Bible and its Jewish and Christian interpretation is becoming more and more popular in contemporary dialogue between the two" (pp. 5, 7, 24). This is not an easy task, and Kessler makes a great effort, despite all above-mentioned problems, to find at least some encounters, though very limited, between Jews and Christians.

There is much to say on various particular issues of this book. Owing to the limitations of space, I offer the following few remarks.

Kessler correctly states that the story of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac is an important passage for Jews and Christians from an early time. However, since the story is related to the temple mount already in various sources of the Hebrew Bible (Gen 22:14; 2 Chr 3:1) in order to enhance the sanctity of it as a place chosen for sacrifices in the patriarchal era, it is inaccurate to say that it became important for Jews "as early as the third century CE" (p. 5).

One of Kessler's reasons for choosing Genesis 22 as a central case study is: "Genesis 22 was an important and controversial story for both Jews and Christians from a very early period" (p. 30). He brings two examples for this argument, and the second one is: "Pseudo-Philo also mentions that the biblical story is a source of controversy and attacks those who 'malign' God (*LAB* 32:4)." A careful reading of this source, however, does not prove Kessler's claim. *Liber Antiquatitum Biblicarum* 32:4 says: "the Most Powerful hastened and sent forth his voice from on high saying: 'You shall not slay your son, nor shall you destroy the fruit of your body. For now I have appeared so as to reveal you to those who do not know you (variant: 'to reveal myself to those who do not know me'), and have shut the mouth of those who are always speaking evil against you." From the context of this paragraph it emerges that "those who are always speaking evil against you (= Abraham)" relate, most probably, to "all the angels were jealous of him, and the worshiping hosts envied him," that was mentioned earlier in v. 2 (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 55.4). Thus, it has nothing to do with Jewish–Christian controversy on Genesis 22.

Kessler understands the rabbis' emphasis on Isaac's superiority (pp. 42–43) as follows: "in order to explain why Isaac was chosen, rather than Ishmael, as the designated heir of Abraham . . . [t]he interpretation . . . legitimizes his [= Isaac's] election. . . . [T]hese were necessary interpretations to rabbis compelled to explain why the biblical command of Deuteronomy 21.15–21 . . . was not applicable in the case of Isaac" (p. 43). I doubt this very much. Since Isaac's election as Abraham's only heir was by God, even prior to his birth (Gen 17:19, 21; 21:12), there is no need whatsoever for rabbis to legitimize it. There was also no need for the rabbis to explain why the Deuteronomic command was not applicable in the case of Isaac, since God commanded in Deuteronomy that God preferred Isaac over Ishmael (again, even before Isaac's birth). Thus, the divine preference for Isaac in spite of the command in Deuteronomy enforces Isaac's election and makes it more evident than any supposed rabbinic explanation.

At the end of his volume, Kessler puts together a good list of primary and secondary sources (pp. 196–211), though there is some inconsistency in his citations. Moreover, some studies are mentioned in the bibliography but are missing completely from the book's text and footnotes as well as from the index of authors. Thus, the reader does not have a clear idea about what Kessler used, which opinions, assumptions, and

interpretations he accepts and assimilates in his writing, and which authors he disagrees with. Furthermore, Kessler overlooked several important studies on the topic under review, both monographs and articles, which would enrich and sharpen his reading and insight. To mention just a few of them from the last decade, M. M. Caspi and S. B. Cohen, *The Binding (Aqedah) and Its Transformations in Judaism and Islam: The Lambs of God* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical Press, 1995); L. Kundert, *Die Opferung/Bindung Isaaks:* Bd. 1, *Gen 22,1–19 im Alten Testament, im Frühjudentum und im Neuen Testament* (WMANT 78; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1998); idem, *Die Opferung/Bindung Isaaks:* Bd. 2, *Gen 22,1–19 in frühen rabbinischen Texten* (WMANT 79; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1998); G. Steins, *Die 'Bindung Isaaks' im Kanon (Gen 22): Grundlagen und Programm einer kanonisch-intertextuellen Lektüre. Mit einer Spezialbibliographie zu Gen 22* (Herders Biblische Studien 20; Freiburg i.Br./Basel/Vienna: Herder, 1999); and idem, "Abrahams Opfer [Gen 22]—Exegetische Annäherungen an einen abgründigen Text," *ZKT* 121 (1999): 311–24.

While ch. 7 is an important addition that supports Kessler's arguments, the illustrations are mostly in very poor condition and therefore not helpful to the reader. At least the frescoes from Dura Europos remained and are available mostly in good condition. They could be provided in much better shape. Kessler, who invested so much time and energy on this book, as well as his readers, who paid so much money, deserve much better qualitative visual designs than this respectful publisher provides here.

All in all, the Jewish–Christian dialogue must intensify its search for better understanding, mutual and respectful acceptance of Jews and Christians by each other in spite of their many differences, and unique interpretation and conceptualization of the common texts. Despite the above-mentioned criticisms, this is a readable—though sometimes repetitive—book for the academic and layperson and makes a contribution to the study of *Aqedah* and to its Jewish-Christian mutual exegesis in the first six centuries of the common era.

Isaac Kalimi
Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, Chicago, Illinois 60605

Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part 1, *Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE,* by Tal Ilan. TSAJ 91. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002. Pp. xxvi + 484. €159.00 (hardcover). ISBN 3161476468.

Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity is a more than welcome reference tool for the scholar of ancient Judaism and a superb addition to the literature on Judaism in the crucial period of its formation. The real scope of this lexicon becomes evident when the reader is informed that it took twenty years to collect the data; this shows not only the extensive nature of any such a project but also the enormous number of available primary sources related to Judaism in late antiquity. This lexicon replaces other onomastica or shorter collections, such as the names of female synagogue leaders, as well as the scattered information in Zunz's nineteenth-century work on Jewish names and the slim pickings in articles, dictionaries, and notes, which we, the scholars of ancient Judaism, have relied upon for so many years. The book under review is designated as volume 1; however, only by reading through the personalized *Entstehungsgeschichte* or elaborate

"birth narrative" of the book, from a seminar paper to the present volume, are we informed that the second volume is a desideratum.

In her lexicon of Jewish names, definitions of Jewishness are painstakingly avoided; Ilan takes the more inclusive approach of listing the names of those people who have some Jewish background, function, or identity, including non-halakic Jews. Ilan thus avoids the pitfalls of uncertain backgrounds or patronyms. Useful statistics provide information about the occurrences of names in different languages as well as the division of the population according to languages. We gather from these tables the surprising fact that Greek and Semitic-Hebrew names occur with similar frequency, which is another piece of evidence that emphasizes the profound influence of Greco-Roman culture upon Judaism. Additionally, the data collected by Ilan point to the rich and extremely diverse cultural identification of the Jewish population in the Land of Israel in this time period. The sources utilized to compile the lexicon and the statistical data are impressive: Ilan searched apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Greek and Roman historians, as well as rabbinic sources and inscriptional evidence found in the rich material cultural artifacts from this time period. The names are in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Coptic, Persian, and several other languages; for example, Ilan refers to the possible Egyptian origins of several names, such as Ani (pp. 361–62) and Totefet (p. 385). The names are systematically categorized as either male or female, as biblical or relating to the above-mentioned linguistic and cultural groups. Rarely do we encounter names that are used for both males and females, as, for example, the Persian name Pazatas, which refers either to the daughter of R. Hiyya or to an Amora. Similarly, a name could change its gender specification from a Persian male name to a Semitic name of a queen (e.g., Sadain).

If we focus on a familiar Hebrew name, Jacob, we find forty-five different males with this name who made it into Hebrew literature or inscriptions, such as on an ostracon from Masada. The eighty-nine footnotes to these forty-five people named Jacob include several short discussions of agreements or disagreements with other scholars. There are eighty women with the name Mariam, among them Maria, as found in the NT. We gather from this massive evidence that Mariam was a popular female name under the Hasmoneans. In the Latin category of names, the Roman general Antonius, who ruled over Palestine from Egypt (40–30 B.C.E.), is referred to by the English form of the name, Anthony (p. 327). Common biblical names utilized in the period of 330 B.C.E.–200 C.E. include Ishmael (pp. 177–78), which is surprising, because, as Ilan notes, the rejected firstborn son of the biblical Abraham would have been an unlikely role model to name one's children after. Nevertheless, there are thirty-one individuals named Ishmael. Ilan also differentiates between names and nicknames; for example, in references to such names as Kushi and Dwarf. Among the rare names mentioned in this lexicon we may refer to Holiqopri; there is only one person with this name in the corpus of texts investigated by Ilan. Mishnah *Makš.* 1:3 reads: "If one shook a tree and it fell on another tree, or a branch and it fell on another branch, and there were seeds under them or vegetables connected to the ground, the School of Shammai said: This falls under the law of 'if water be put [upon the seed],' but the School of Hillel said: It does not fall under that law 'if water be put [upon the seed].' R. Joshua said in the name of Abba Jose Holiqofri, a resident of Tivon. . . ." The name Holiqopri remains somewhat of a mystery. Ilan has to rely upon the information contained in the dictionaries, which relates this

name to Cyprus; additional information could not be found in spite of the systematic effort she made. Another singular name that we find in the lists compiled by Ilan is Likhlukhit, which is found in the Babylonian Talmud (*Ned.* 66b). Ilan writes: "This name is invented only for the purpose of the story in which she appears and explains itself" (p. 422). This name means "repulsive" and "thick nauseating substance," or, in the extreme, it could imply "being soiled." The talmudic passage gives the following explanation: "She is fittingly called Likhlukhit, since she is repulsive through her defects." This name and the woman connected to it—the perpetual underdog, victimized female—have somewhat of an afterlife in the haggadah (see the collection of classical Jewish folktales by M. J. Gorion), the Brother Grimm's fairy tales, and the Walt Disney character Cinderella.

The lexicon has an indispensable orthographic index of names that contains variant spellings for some of the names that previously led to confusion. Ilan presents the reader with a clear, systematic approach to the sources and the categorizations of the Jewish names that she established. Reading the entries under each name has a certain entertainment value, because the author provides rich and varied information about the names and about the people who were given these names. Most of the name bearers were real people, although some names are fictitious owing to the fact that they were inventions of the authors, especially the names in the Christian apocrypha. Some tighter editing of the English passages would have benefited this book. Above all, this book will replace the other available onomastica; it is an indispensable tool for researching Jewish names in the Land of Israel during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The *Lexicon of Jewish Names* belongs in every Judaic research library.

Rivka B. Kern-Ulmer
Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA 17837

Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria: Philo's "Therapeutae" Reconsidered, by Joan E. Taylor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. xv + 417. $99.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0199259615.

Not every book represents the publication of a research process spanning three continents. This book does (among other places, Harvard, Copenhagen, and Waikato, New Zealand), and the result is a learned, open-minded, messy hybrid that dares to say things about Philo, gender, and Alexandrian Jewish philosophy that may be deemed not "within the true" in one or the other of these more local settings.

The book is divided into two parts, of which the first, "Philo's 'Therapeutae' Reconsidered," deals with various aspects of Philo's literary construct, the Therapeutae, and their possible historical counterpart. The second part, "Women and Gender in *De vita contemplativa,*" focuses, as the title indicates, more narrowly on the representation of women Therapeutae and gender issues in the text.

Chapter 1 focuses on method. Taylor briefly situates her work in some modern scholarly debates over rhetoric versus history, over the possibility of recovering ancient women, and over theory of history in the postmodern era. She refutes the common argument that *De vita contemplativa* (which is also the only surviving text from the ancient world describing the Therapeutae) shows so many traits of literary and rhetori-

cal composition that Philo has probably just made it up. Taylor nuances such views by stating that if Philo merely wanted to construct an ideal community, he would not have situated it in the neighborhood of his primary audience but rather on a far-off island. Concerning the presence of women in this philosophical group, Taylor states that they rather seem to pose a rhetorical problem for him: they need to be "explained." Had Philo had a choice, it would have been far easier for him to describe this ideal philosophical community as consisting of men only.

In ch. 2 Taylor asks why Philo wrote *De vita contemplativa.* Taylor works from a historical empirical perspective by establishing as much evidence of a historical context for the work as possible, from Philo's other works and from other sources. It is in this constructed context that she sees the rationale behind Philo's rhetoric and the target audiences that may have found it persuasive.

In ch. 3 she discusses the name Therapeutae, its rhetorical nature as well as the identity of the group behind the name. Of particular importance is her insistence that this is a cultic term, which leads to her exploration of why, then, Philo used this word in the context of contemplative philosophers (p. 62). Because of the (wrong) sectarian connotations that have stuck with the term in research, Taylor announces her redesignation as "the Mareotic group," named after the lake they lived near to. Chapter 4 then situates the group geographically and socioeconomically within Alexandrian society and maps its internal hierarchical structure.

Chapter 5 widens the scope a bit and analyzes how Judaism was conceptualized as a philosophy in the Greco-Roman world. Taylor points out how the discourses of cult and philosophy were converging in the Hellenistic-Roman periods. Judaism was widely seen as a philosophy in Alexandria and elsewhere. An appreciation of this is necessary in order to understand Philo's rhetorical construct and to trace the group's perception of themselves.

In ch. 6 Taylor discusses the radical allegorical method that the group applied in their reading of Scriptures and the links between allegorical interpretation and degrees of asceticism. Chapter 7 continues by linking *De vita contemplativa* and *De migratione Abrahami* and argues that the "extreme allegorizers" in the latter are strikingly similar to the Therapeutae in the former. Both groups share a solar calendar that dropped the celebration of the usual Jewish feasts and conformed all festivals to a regular pattern based on the cosmic power of the number 7. Taylor takes the links between cult and philosophy, allegory, asceticism, and calendar as indications of the wider cultural context in which the Mareotic group took shape.

Part 2 of the book is more focused on issues of women and gender. It starts with ch. 8, an analysis of paradigms or stereotypes of women in Greco-Roman discourse on the practice of philosophy. Taylor presents material that makes a strong case for believing that some Jewish women in Alexandria had formal training in scriptural interpretation and lived according to the paradigm of "philosophers."

Chapter 9 looks at Philo's construction of women and of sex in *De vita contemplativa.* Women philosophers were a suspicious category in Greco-Roman literature, so Philo had to persuade his readers that the Mareotic women were neither "Sexy Babes" in relation to the men nor "Stuck-up Bitches" (p. 228). He had to thread his argument carefully in order to represent the women as having masculinized minds, although not as having abolished their gender distinctions altogether: thus they are represented as virtu-

ous and celibate "mothers" of the group. Philo needs the "women" to talk about sexuality, procreation, and the body.

Chapter 10, "Gendered Spaces," asks how the group defined and gendered their spaces (subdivided into public, private, and personal in terms of clothing). Gender only becomes critical for Philo when men and women meet: in the *semneion,* which is physically divided, and in the *symposion,* where men recline to one side of the room, women to the other. During the festival they mix in the middle of this room. Then the space is ritually transformed into the vestibule of the holy sanctuary of the temple in Jerusalem. Taylor points out the oddity in this, since women were not permitted into the inner realms of the Jerusalem temple. She takes this as another indication of the group's "extreme allegorizing and denial of physicality" (p. 306).

Chapter 11 explores dimensions of the group's spirituality, focusing more precisely on how a radical allegorical understanding of gender and traditions of women's (Miriam's) singing and prophecy came together in a form of ecstatic, mystic worship that Philo compares to Bacchic worship—with the difference that the Therapeutae represent a "sober drunkenness" (p. 314). Taylor argues that the group appears to have preserved lost ritual traditions that also surface in later writings and in a fragment from Qumran. She again argues that the group perceived their cultic ecstasy as a figuration of the temple.

To the main chapters are added a conclusion and three appendices containing, respectively, Taylor's translations of *De vita contemplativa, De migratione Abrahami,* and the epitome of Chaeremon's work on Egyptian priests.

This overview is schematic. As Taylor points out (p. 20), with her self-consciously "messy" approach there is no neat "rhetorical" part and another "historical" part. One of the strengths of the book is exactly the way it treats history and rhetoric as not opposing approaches to ancient texts but as approaches that can be exploited to the maximum simultaneously. Taylor tries to strike the difficult balance between, on the one hand, taking *De vita contemplativa* seriously as a text (as rhetoric), and, on the other, taking seriously that textual meaning never "takes place" in a vacuum. The easier and cleaner options are to read "the text in itself," to focus only on the gender structures in the text without asking for possible historical references, or to read the text as a descriptive historical source (as Taylor reminds us, a road taken surprisingly often). The notion that Philo got it "wrong" or is "mixing up" information is a variant of the latter. Taylor's approach could be summed up in her statement: "Philo has woven his utopia with threads of reality, but in such a way as to keep us at times from seeing either the individual threads or aspects of reality he finds unimportant, useless, or problematic" (p. 11). In her approach to rhetoricity and historicity, Taylor is clearly indebted to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's seminal essay "The Rhetoricity of Historical Knowledge: Pauline Discourse and Its Contextualizations" (in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi* [ed. Lukas Bornkamm, Kelly del Tredici, and Angela Standhartinger; Leiden: Brill, 1994], 443–69).

Having said this, the only thing I find strange in the book is Taylor's axiom, repeatedly stated, that what Philo described was true. On the other hand, I can see why she needs this axiom in order to persuade skeptical scholars that a group like the one Philo describes may in fact have existed. Is this axiom also the yoke that harnesses rhetoric and history so they can pull together so successfully?

At any rate, the main contribution of the book is exactly the way it brings together different perspectives and research in different fields in order to illuminate one particular text and a group it refers to. The book can be seen as an attempt to place the Therapeutae properly back into a first-century Alexandrian Jewish context rather than configuring them in light of later Christian monasteries or in light of Qumran materials (as Philo's unsuccessful attempt at describing the Essenes).

Moreover, the book is another example of how entry through the gates of gender criticism may in fact lead to new and striking insights into unexpected places, such as the spatial organization of the Jerusalem temple and its replication in Alexandria and elsewhere. I found the discussion of the convergence of cult and philosophy particularly valuable. Maybe Philo did not use the wrong word when he described Judaism as a philosophy but rather modern people have very limited ideas about what "philosophy" meant in the ancient world.

Jorunn Okland
University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK S1O 2TN

Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels, by Wayne C. Kannaday. SBL Text-Critical Studies 5. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2004. Pp. xiii + 274. $130.00/$39.95. ISBN 9004130853/1589831012.

That the early Christians were engaged in textual wars with pagan critics is by now well known. What has scarcely been explored, until now, is the degree to which early Christian scribes participated in these wars in the process of reproducing—copying—early Christian texts. This study succeeds in filling this gap. Kannaday's study, a revision of his doctoral dissertation under the direction of Bart D. Ehrman, is a compelling one: he argues, quite conclusively to my mind, "that scribes engaged in the work of transmitting the canonical Gospels did indeed, in some cases, modify their exemplars under the influence of apologetic interests" (p. 57). To build his case for "scribal apologetics" (p. 139), Kannaday focuses his attention on the textual traditions of the NT Gospels and proceeds in successive chapters to show how the precise arguments made by pagan critics and Christian apologists can be found in variant readings throughout the Gospels.

The opening chapter introduces the various subfields that will be united in the volume: the field of NT textual criticism and the field of early Christian apologetics. Specialists in either of these fields will find little new here, but including this material (which may well be a remnant of its once-dissertation status) allows the volume to reach a much broader audience. Kannaday offers brief introductions to the works of pagan critics (e.g., Pliny, Tacitus, Seutonius, Lucian, Apuleius, Marcus Cornelius Fronto, Celsus, Porphyry) and early Christian apologists (e.g., Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Melito, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix). Particularly helpful in this first chapter is Kannaday's overview of the new directions taken in the field of NT textual criticism: while the seeds of this "new direction" were sown a century ago by the works of J. Rendel Harris and others, Kannaday is right to highlight how the work of his mentor, Bart Ehrman, (and others) has sought to redirect the focus away from establishing the "original" text of the

NT and toward exploring how the transmission of the NT intersected with the historical dynamics of the second, third, and fourth centuries.

Chapter 2 ("Antiquity, Harmony, and Factual Consistency") brings the reader to the evidence itself. In a pattern that will repeat itself for the next three chapters, Kannaday begins by highlighting a particular theme in the controversies between Christians and their pagan opponents and then demonstrates how the theme is apparent in the textual traditions themselves. Here the subject is the pagan attacks on the apparent novelty (i.e., newness) of Christianity and their criticisms of the inconsistencies in Christian Scriptures. Kannaday shows how Christian apologists and scribes worked to prove the antiquity of the Christian faith and modified the Scriptures so as to make them more consistent. Many of the variants Kannaday treats here and elsewhere, of course, have been studied by other NT textual critics, but Kannaday offers plausible, and often highly compelling, explanations for the cause of the variants. For example, in his lengthy treatment of a variant at Mark 1:2 (Does the text read "in Isaiah the prophet" or "in the prophets"?), Kannaday suggests that, although scribes may simply have wished to omit errors—and hence preferred the more general reading "in the prophets" since what follows is not simply a prophetic passage from Isaiah—there may well have been an additional motivation at work: "it is reasonable to posit apologetic interests as the momentum behind this scribal alteration. Certainly the effect of the change served apologetic interests, as the correction buttressed a vulnerable spot in the text that had already been exploited by an antagonist [i.e., Porphyry]" (p. 75).

Chapter 3 ("Jesus According to the Scribes") explores how scribes modified their texts in passages that were ripe for pagan criticisms of Jesus himself: passages treating his crucifixion (e.g., Matt 27:35; Luke 23:32; Mark 15:28), depictions of Jesus as a revolutionary (e.g., Matt 10:34; 9:13), claims of his lowly status (e.g., Mark 6:3), images of him as magician (e.g., Mark 6:2 and 1:34), and his anger (e.g., the well-known variant at Mark 1:41). Kannaday here wishes to show "an effort on the part of scribes to depict a Christ less vulnerable to stock criticism and more palatable to the pagan populace" (p. 104). The conclusions of this chapter are stated more confidently than the suggestions of the former chapter; indeed, "the student of the scriptures will recognize modifications that can be classified accurately, in terms of activity, as deliberate, and, in terms of motivation, as apologetic" (p. 139).

In the fourth chapter ("Fanatics, Fools, and Females: Scribes in Defense of the Followers of Jesus"), Kannaday explores the criticisms leveled against Christians—charges of their extremism, uneducated and gullible nature, and the large number of women among them—and how Christian scribes responded. Until this point in the book, Kannaday has acknowledged the problem of intentionality and of determining motivation–for example, how do we know what precisely motivates a scribe to make a change even if we can determine that the change was deliberate and not the result of some mechanical error?—but in this chapter the problem surfaces again and somewhat weakens Kannaday's claim. For a number of variants that Kannaday treats here (e.g., at Mark 9:29, where some manuscripts claim that Jesus' exorcism is the result of prayer and others add "and fasting") the modifications to the text seem to reflect an ascetic interest in the text more than an apologetic interest. Kannaday himself acknowledges this point, rightly claiming "that some features of asceticism correspond closely to apologetic argumentation" (p. 151) and, further, that "the line between ascetic and apologetic themes draws quite thin" (p. 152). But if what Kannaday wishes to argue is a point about

precise motivation, then this line becomes important; on the other hand, Kannaday's point could just as well be put in terms of the functionality of the text: the variant reading functions to produce both an ascetic and apologetic reading. In the remainder of the chapter, especially the section on textual changes that intersect with claims about Christian women, Kannaday brings to light many new and compelling variants.

The final chapter on variant readings ("When Quire Meets Empire") focuses on variant readings in the "kingdom" language of the Gospels, the exoneration of Pilate, and the secrecy motif. Here one finds some lengthy sections that do not seem inherently necessary (e.g., a seven-page excursus on the causes of Christian persecution), but when Kannaday arrives at the discussion of the variants, his treatment is again careful and compelling. In particular, Kannaday identifies a pattern in the textual tradition of the Gospel of Luke where certain witnesses work to modify ambiguous "kingdom" language (which may have been used to fuel criticisms against Christianity as being anti-empire) by rendering it in theological terms rather than leaving it open for a political interpretation.

In sum, this book is important reading for students of NT textual criticism as well as early Christian apologetics. The relatively minor weaknesses (e.g., some rehearsals of previous scholarship, a few editorial errors [pp. 65, 90, and especially in the scriptural index]) do not detract from Kannaday's contribution. Indeed, even the problem of intentionality (or, better, determining scribal motivations) is at least acknowledged by Kannaday throughout the volume. Although at times Kannaday is quite forceful in his use of the language of intentionality and of precise motivation (e.g., "these readings attest to alterations of the canonical Gospels effected by copyists who, in their work of transmitting them, edited their exemplars with apologetic interests clearly and consciously in mind" [p. 240]), at other times he is content with merely suggesting the plausibility of "scribal apologetics." Indeed, these questions surrounding intentionality are important for all students of history; Kannaday's thoughtful and intelligent study serves to engage us further with the intersection of texts, history, and the work of scribes.

Kim Haines-Eitzen
Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853

Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles, by Dennis R. MacDonald. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. Pp. x + 224. $38.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0300097700.

In this book Dennis R. MacDonald provides a detailed argument in affirmation of the question. Although he frequently addresses the real and perceived objections of his critics, it is probable that the only serious critics to his basic premise would be those who hold that the NT writings, and specifically the Lukan writings, are *sui generis.* His premise, that the NT writings fit within the broader literary spectrum of the Hellenistic world, is not inherently objectionable.

The main issue behind MacDonald's book is the idea that many writers of the ancient world imitated the stories attributed to Homer. As he states at the beginning of his introduction, "no ancient intellectual would have doubted that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* informed the composition of prose" (p. 1). Furthermore, not only did the works

of Homer "inform" prose composition, but the writers of the ancient world actually imitated these works (p. 2).

The book is organized around four parts, with an introduction and conclusion. In his introduction, MacDonald, whose earlier work *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) covers the same general theme, designates six criteria for his examination of literary imitation: accessibility, analogy, density, similar sequencing, distinctive traits, and interpretability. After addressing the objections raised by critics of his earlier efforts, MacDonald contrasts his approach with that of Marianne Palmer Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), who views the Lukan material as "a prose epic modeled after not the *Iliad* but Vergil's *Aeneid*" (p. 7). By employing these criteria to study four episodes in the Acts of the Apostles, MacDonald hopes to "prove . . . that four passages in the New Testament not only imitate Homer, they notify their readers that they do so." MacDonald hopes this evidence might "prod others to keep the epics in mind when studying early Christian texts" (p. 14).

The bulk of the book consists of four parts where the six criteria are applied to four episodes in Acts: the visions of Cornelius and Peter (10:1–11:18), Paul's farewell at Miletus (20:18–35), the selection of Matthias (1:15–26), and Peter's escape from prison (12:1–23). Each part consists of chapters of varying length that deal with elements of MacDonald's argument. Typically MacDonald retells the stories from the NT and the *Iliad,* highlighting their basic similarities and the first two criteria. The second pair of criteria are often discussed as MacDonald provides columns of text that highlight the density and similar sequencing of the stories. The last chapter discusses the fifth criterion to determine whether other sources might have been used by the author of Acts, and the final criterion is summarized at the end of that chapter.

The first episode is what MacDonald considers the "most significant" passage, the visions of Cornelius and Peter told and retold in Acts 10:1–11:18. These visions are compared with the dream of Agamemnon, which is sent by Hera. The discussion of the visions and dream is given the most detailed and extensive treatment, entailing nearly one-third of the entire manuscript. It is also the most compelling of the four treatments. MacDonald should be given credit for making a complex and detailed argument so easy to follow. His consistent utilization of parallel columns and individual treatments of similar motifs are a real benefit to the reader. The English texts are MacDonald's own translation; he provides the Greek and Latin in the appendix in their own parallel columns. The five chapters of part 1 are substantiated by 212 citations in the endnotes, whose location is a definite plus in helping the reader follow the argument. The "result" of the study, or criterion 6—interpretability—is clearly stated as "a threefold emulation: the virtues of Cornelius exceed those of Agamemnon; the vision to Cornelius was truthful . . .; and the result of the two visions was the removal of hostility between East and West, not deadly warfare" (p. 64).

In Paul's farewell to the Ephesian elders, MacDonald argues against the traditional view of patterning Paul's speech on the Jewish testamentary literature. By patterning this speech on Hector's farewell speech to his wife Andromache given near the gate of Ilium, MacDonald sees Luke again emulating the story from the *Iliad* to "serve a new interpretation of heroism" (p. 102).

At only eighteen pages, part 3, the selection of Matthias, is the briefest study and, perhaps, the weakest case. At the very least, however, because of MacDonald's detailed

research, it is highly insightful into the practice of selection by lots in the ancient Hellenistic and Jewish worlds.

Part 4 demonstrates that MacDonald has used some editorial skill in selecting the order of presentation of these episodes. The escape of Peter functions as a conclusion to the first half of the Acts narrative (p. 144) and to this study. Criterion five, distinctive traits, is important throughout the study to MacDonald's assertion of imitation throughout the study but is highlighted in this segment. In addition to Homer's account of Priam's escape from Achilles, MacDonald introduces another Hellenistic escape story to demonstrate the subtlety of imitation in the classical world. The story of Alexander's escape from Darius in the *Alexander Romance* is used to illustrate an imitation of Homer based on the descriptions of the rivers crossed by each hero. In Peter's escape, the link is between Cassandra and Rhoda, who share two qualities in common: their descriptions as unpersuasive clairvoyants (p. 143) and the association of their names with a rose (p. 144).

MacDonald's study demonstrates the growing revival among many in the academic community of the relevance of the Hellenistic corpus as an interpretive tool for the NT texts. He demonstrates a resurgent interest among many biblical scholars to rediscover their classical roots and the classical texts that were known to the NT's initial audience. Our scholastic forefathers a century ago were well versed in the entire Greek literary corpus, and their contributions to the field were immense as a result. MacDonald should be commended for this challenge to his colleagues to return to their roots in hopes of finding new insights.

Does the New Testament imitate Homer? is not without its challenges. MacDonald is accustomed to critics who question his criteria. There will be some who question his method as well. It is MacDonald's underlying premise that by using a "scientific" method of analysis his study can be fully documented and his conclusion stand as fact: the NT did imitate Homer. However, his focus is entirely on the authorial side of the textual model, the side that is most difficult to prove. There will be some critics, focusing on the reader side of the model, who will ask for more discussion of his sixth criterion, interpretability. This criterion is the weakest section of his argument and serves as a springboard for further discussion in this area: If the New Testament literature utilizes Homeric stories, then what result does that recognition have for its interpretation?

A second area to note is MacDonald's agenda. Not only does he seek to challenge form critics, all the while using an adapted version of their method, but he also seeks to challenge "conservative scholars" who defend Luke's historical reliability (p. 146). In his singular attention to Luke's readers, MacDonald claims, "it is we, his readers, who have been naïve. He not only wrote up stories, he made up stories in the interest of advancing his understanding of the good news of Jesus Christ" (pp. 146–47). Alternative conclusions can be drawn from his evidence of the imitation of Homeric material and its use in ancient literature; not all imitation is necessarily fictional.

Dennis R. MacDonald has provided a book based upon meticulous research, documentation, and argumentation that challenges the standard approach to the narrative texts of the NT and should stimulate debate, not only in the study of Acts and its narrative texts, but throughout the broader analysis of the NT as well.

Stan Harstine
Friends University, Wichita, KS 67213

That We May Be Mutually Encouraged: Feminism and the New Perspective in Pauline Studies, by Kathy Ehrensperger. New York/London: T & T Clark, 2004. Pp. 304. $39.95 (paper). ISBN: 056702640X.

Over the last three decades there has been a revolutionary shift of thinking in Pauline Studies, especially due to feminist criticism, post-Shoah theology, and the so-called New Perspective on Paul. Yet—and this is the starting point of Kathy Ehrensperger's work, which was originally submitted as Ph.D. thesis at the University of Wales, Lampeter, UK (2002)—interaction between these different strands of research in theology and biblical studies has been minimal. While traditional male scholarship appraises Paul as "the first Christian theological thinker of a law-free Gentile church" and is hardly aware of feminist interpretations, similarly, feminist research on Paul conceives of the apostle "as the father of misogyny and dominating power" (p. 1), thereby often uncritically reapplying "hermeneutical patterns of traditional mainstream/*malestream* interpretation" (p. 2). Ehrensperger holds the view that "relating insights of research . . . would lead to illuminating and fruitful interactions and new insights for each of these theologies and would prove especially relevant for understanding Paul from a radical new perspective" (p. 1). In particular, she asserts that Paul presents "a theology of mutuality in the context of relationships of people who are different" (p. 194), as is already indicated by the title of her study, a quotation of Rom 1:12.

The book is divided into two parts: Part 1 focuses on "Hermeneutics and Presuppositions," whereas in part 2 Ehrensperger examines "Paul in Contemporary Studies and Theologies." Part 1 is opened by a short "Introduction" (pp. 1-4) that summarizes the outline and main arguments of the study. It is followed by a survey of "Changing Perspectives" (ch. 2, pp. 5–42) in different areas of Pauline research. Ehrensperger illustrates the changes in philosophies and hermeneutics (Jacques Derrida, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Walter Benjamin), which paved the way for postmodern, postcritical, and post-Shoah approaches in biblical interpretation. The most important hermeneutical consequences include the shift from a dominating notion of hegemony to an emphasis on diversity and difference. Although feminist theologies were prominently involved in this hermeneutical paradigm shift, they often unconsciously transmitted patterns of anti-Judaism—a problem of which, however, feminist research has increasingly become aware. The following overview of the history of research in Pauline studies highlights, first, that only with the emergence of the so-called New Perspective on Paul (esp. the works of E. P. Sanders and James D. G. Dunn) did scholars seek to overcome the anti-Jewish tendencies in many analyses of Paul. Second, Ehrensperger demonstrates that feminist research on Paul and his letters has been gradually increasing during the last years and thereby has been "sensitive to avoid the trap of anti-Judaism" (p. 39), but "feminist approaches to Paul have hardly yet taken into account the shift in Pauline studies" (p. 27).

Chapter 3 examines the origins of apparent contradictions in Paul and analyzes whether they can be resolved by relating them to "Different Perspectives" (pp. 43–120) on Paul. The Pauline letters are usually interpreted as expressions of Western rational logic, which is mainly based on Greek philosophy, which has had a predominant influence on our tradition of interpretation. Although Hellenism affected the cultural context of ancient Judaism in the Diaspora as well as in Palestine, Ehrensperger states that "its influence did not annul the basic Jewish shaping of, and commitment in, Jewish literature of that period and Jewish biblical interpretation" (p. 92). Central to Hebrew pat-

terns of thinking is that the "Hebrew Bible is about the relationship between God and human beings, and of human beings with each other and with creation. . . . In this mental mode, it is almost impossible to separate form from content, body from soul and spirit" (p. 62). As Jews lived in different cultural settings, they developed different forms of Judaism and specific patterns of interpreting the Scriptures. An overview of types of interpretation in the Pharisaic movement, in the Qumran community, in apocalyptic literature, and in Jewish Hellenistic literature (Philo, Josephus, Wisdom of Solomon) provides, for Ehrensperger, the "clues of where to locate Paul and his way of thinking in this spectrum and how to understand his letters" (p. 68). The next section of this chapter concentrates on feminist theories and theologies as an alternative to the contemporary dominant (male) discourse. Ehrensperger accentuates that these fields of research prominently deal with the issues of particularity/identity, diversity/difference, and relationality/mutuality, which are considered important aspects to illuminate "new theological discourses beyond hierarchies and domination" (p. 120).

The second part of the book is opened by a chapter on "Paul—Beyond the New Perspective" (pp. 123–60). Here Ehrensperger seeks to view Paul not from our traditional Western Enlightenment modes of rational thinking but from within his own first-century Jewish context. Against the best intentions, scholars of the New Perspective still "adhere to the anti-Jewish pattern of particularistic Israel versus universalistic gospel" (p. 124). Recent scholarship—critical both of the traditional and of the New Perspective on Paul—emphasizes the need to consider the context of Paul and his letters. Ehrensperger discusses four aspects of these current approaches: (1) the contextuality of Paul's statements; (2) rhetorical perspectives; (3) the Jewish texture of Paul's way of thinking and acting; and (4) the political dimension of Paul's message. The emerging image of Paul differs fundamentally from traditional ones: "It is the portrait of a man who is part of a movement of men and women inspired by the vision of the dawning age to come in the Christ-event. They are in vivid interaction and dialogue not against, but with, each other within this movement, which is part of first-century Judaism under the conditions of Roman domination" (p. 160).

In ch. 5 (pp. 161–76) Ehrensperger analyzes three feminist commentaries on Romans—by Elizabeth Castelli, Elsa Tamez, and Rosemary Radford Ruether—and pays special attention to the hermeneutical presuppositions on which these interpretations are based. She demonstrates that all three of them are not radical enough in their critique of traditional patterns of "malestream" interpretation, but rather remain within their hermeneutical boundaries. "We end with an image of Paul as an anti-Jewish misogynist . . . as a lonely fighter, who tries to replace Jewish particularism with an overarching universalism" (p. 176).

In her own analysis of Romans 14–15, presented in ch. 6, "'That We May Be Mutually Encouraged' (Rom 1:12)" (pp. 177–94), Ehrensperger tries to interpret Paul from a feminist perspective in dialogue with the strands of research "Beyond the New Perspective," thus to locate Paul rather within first-century Judaism than in opposition to it. She concentrates on "three key issues that are jointly emphasized in recent feminist theory and theology as well as in recent Pauline studies: universalism and/or particularism, hierarchy and/or mutuality, sameness and/or diversity" (p. 179). She underscores the importance throughout Paul's letter to the Romans of the issue of the relationship between people who are different, between Jews and Gentiles or between the strong and the weak. Romans 14–15 is then not an appendix but serves as a "prime example of

the particularity of Paul's theology" (p. 181). "Here Paul is clearly advocating the right of people who are different to remain different: he is advocating diversity rather than uniformity in Christ" (p. 199). Paul does not "formulate consistent, conceptualized theological arguments; instead, he responds to contextual issues in daily life that determine the parameters of the discussion. We thus find a Paul who, rather than writing timeless theology in Romans, is relating his theological thinking to a particular social context in a process of negotiation" (p. 200). Ehrensperger's study results in a perspective on Paul which considers him as an important dialogue partner in the search for a theology beyond anti-Judaism and misogyny, beyond force and domination, namely, a theology of mutuality.

The "Conclusions" (pp. 195–202) instructively present the general idea of Ehrensperger's study, namely, to relate seemingly different areas of research in order to improve our understanding of Paul's theology. The book is concluded by a bibliography (pp. 203–33) and a joint index of subjects and authors (234–44).

Ehrensperger has produced an accessible book on Paul that provides a fine survey of current feminist and Pauline research. It is a highly recommended study, not only because of her appealing thesis that Paul is a theologian of "mutuality." This thesis, of course, will have to be subjected to further scrutiny, especially as it has to be confirmed by further Pauline statements within Romans as well as throughout the Pauline letter corpus, for example, with regard to more polemical letters such as Galatians. Most important, however, is Ehrensperger's attempt to relate and reconcile areas of research that have so far remained unconnected in scholarship. This may not only help to economize our exegetical work, but may also provide us with fresh insights as a result of these new perspectives. Thus, it is to be hoped that Ehrensperger's work will stimulate fresh research into Paul.

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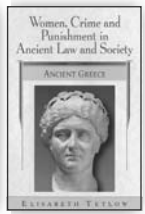

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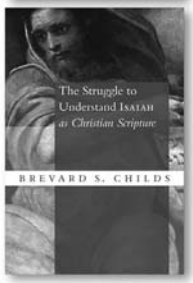

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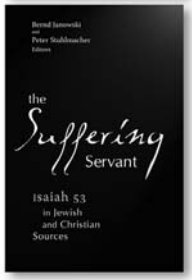

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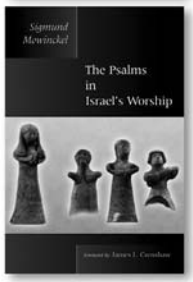

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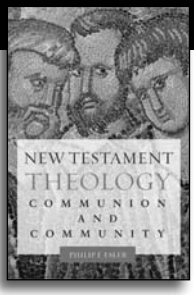

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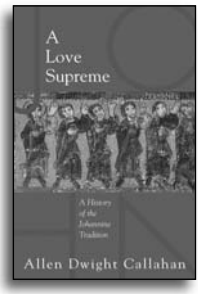

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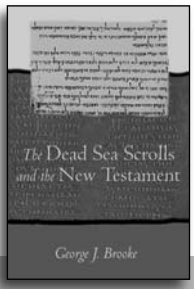

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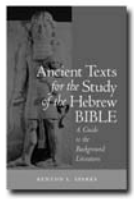

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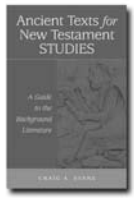

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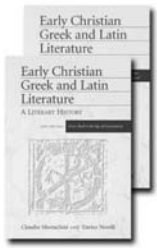

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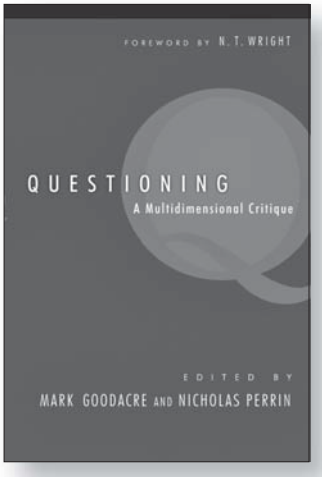

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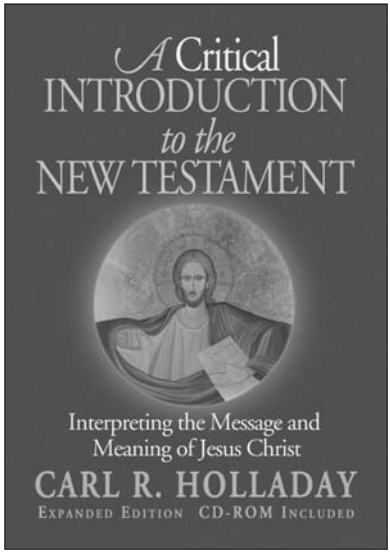

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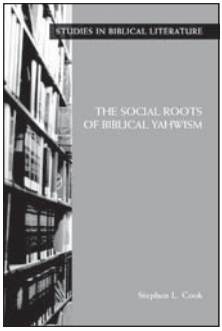

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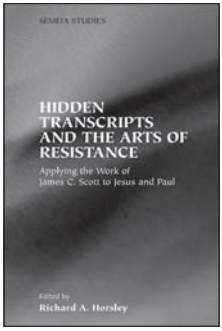

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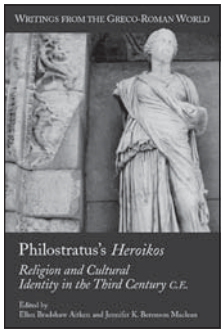

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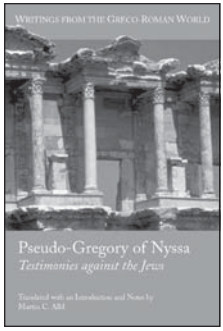

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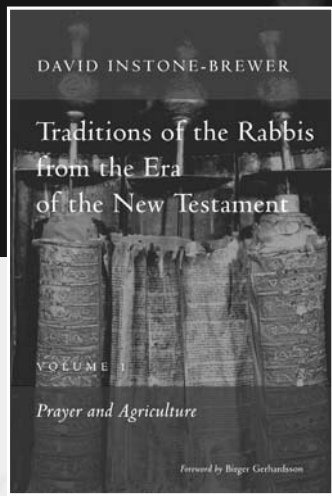

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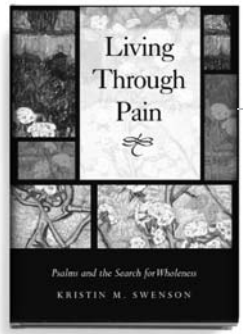

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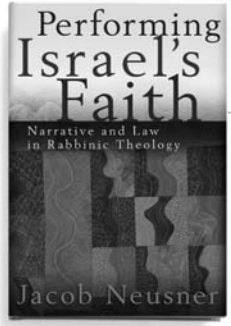

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