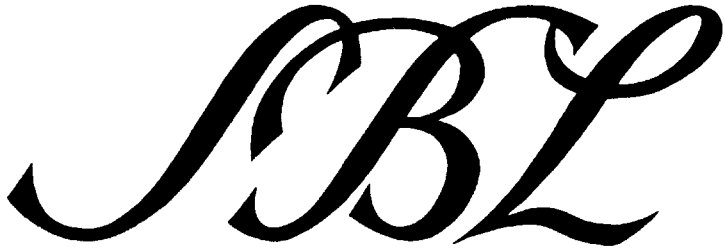


Journal of Biblical Literature

VOLUME 124, No. 3 Fall 2005

US ISSN 0021–9231

JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

(Constituent Member of the American Council of Learned Societies)

The *Journal of Biblical Literature* (ISSN 0021–9231) is published quarterly. The annual subscription price is US$35.00 for members and US$125.00 for nonmembers. Institutional rates are also available. For information regarding subscriptions and membership, contact: Society of Biblical Literature, Customer Service Department, P.O. Box 133158, Atlanta, GA 30333. Phone: 866-727-9955 (toll free) or 404-727-9498. FAX: 404-727-2419. E-mail: sblservices@sbl-site.org. For information concerning permission to quote, editorial and business matters, please see the Spring issue, p. 2.

The Greek, Hebrew, and transliteration fonts used in this work are available from www.linguistsoftware.com, 425-775-1130.

The JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (ISSN 0021–9231) is published quarterly by the Society of Biblical Literature, 825 Houston Mill Road, Suite 350, Atlanta, GA 30329. Periodical postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Society of Biblical Literature, P.O. Box 133158, Atlanta, GA 30333.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

JBL 124/3 (2005) 401–417

RITUAL LEGITIMACY AND SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY

JAMES W. WATTS
jwwatts@syr.edu
Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244

Western culture has traditionally drawn a dichotomy between rituals and texts, usually favoring texts over rituals. We tend to associate this bias particularly with Protestant polemics aimed at Catholic rituals, but it was already quite strong in the Middle Ages, as Phillipe Buc has shown.[1] The elevation of text over ritual has served to distinguish "true" religion from ritualized "magic" throughout much of Western history.

Contemporary scholarship has given new attention to ritual to reverse this traditional privileging of text. Theorists of ritual have tried to understand rituals for their own sake. Ronald Grimes, for example, declared, "Ritual studies, unlike liturgics, does not begin with a consideration of traditions and texts. It begins by attending to gesture and posture, the actual comportment of the body in interaction."[2] Ritual studies has therefore grown into its own subdiscipline within the study of religion.

The academic dichotomy between text and ritual remains entrenched, however, as witnessed by the different (sub)disciplines and their associated journals dedicated to each subject even within a given religious tradition. In this essay, rather than playing down either ritual or text in favor of the other, I want to point out and explain the interdependence of texts and rituals. That interdependence is readily apparent in contemporary religious liturgies and

A version of this paper was presented to a joint session of the Ritual Studies Section of the American Academy of Religion and the Pentateuch Section of the Society of Biblical Literature at the annual meeting in Atlanta in 2003. I appreciate the helpful comments and suggestions of those participating in that session, especially the respondent, Heather McKay.

[1] Phillipe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 6–7, 251.

[2] Ronald Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (rev. ed.; Studies in Comparative Religion; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 91.

governmental ceremonies that highlight the reading and manipulation of texts. For example, processions with Torah scrolls and Gospel books utilize texts as ritual objects, as do many political and judicial oath ceremonies. William Scott Green explored the historical origin of these practices and observed that scripture took the place of the lost temple in rabbinic Judaism. It was therefore sanctified as a religious object more than as a text.[3] Building on Green's work, Thomas Driver concluded:

> The point is not that scripture took the place of ritual, as some might imagine, but that ritual was modified so as to embrace the Torah texts and exalt them as sacred. . . . Ritual guides hermeneutics. In Judaism and in many other religions, certain rituals conceptualize the text and secure its place within the ordered world. . . . Among Protestants also, the scriptures are defined by the protocols (mostly unwritten and passed along by tradition) concerning their use. It is these protocols, not the scriptural words per se, that order Protestant life and give it the character that it has.[4]

Though Driver understates the role that some of the contents of scripture play in Protestant (and Jewish) life, his point is nevertheless well taken. The influence of ritual on beliefs about scriptures has received far too little attention in research.

The observations of Green and Driver leave open, however, the question of how texts and rituals came to be associated in the first place. What ritual benefit accrued from using texts in this way? I will argue that old texts were used in antiquity to validate the forms of important rituals. The rituals in turn lent their cultural influence to the texts that prescribed them. The textual authority of Western scriptures had ritual origins.

I. Scriptural Authority

The problem of how some texts acquired such a high degree of religious authority in ancient Judaism is complicated by the fact that interpreters tend to make a number of unexamined—and unjustified—assumptions about scriptural authority. The first is simply to take scriptural authority as a matter of course and not realize that the Jewish (and later Christian, Manichean, Muslim, Sikh, etc.) reverence for an authoritative book was unusual in the context of ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean religions.

The second assumption is that scriptural authority is an outgrowth of the

[3] William Scott Green, "Romancing the Tome: Rabbinic Hermeneutics and the Theory of Literature," *Semeia* 40 (1987): 147–68.

[4] Thomas F. Driver, *The Magic of Ritual: Our Need for Liberating Rites That Transform Our Lives and Our Communities* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991), 141–42.

text's status as "law." Because the first Jewish scripture, the Torah/Pentateuch, contains several codes of civil law and religious instructions, people easily conclude that the Bible gained its status by virtue of its legal authority. Contrary to modern conceptions of law, however, study of ancient Near Eastern law codes and legal procedures has shown that law codes were not cited as authoritative guides to legal practice. The Code of Hammurabi, for example, which was recopied and distributed through much of the Middle East in the second millennium B.C.E., is never cited, nor are its provisions followed in the many court documents that have survived from those same times and cultures.[5] Though the idea of law functioned as a pervasive social ideal whose normative claims should govern people's behavior, written collections of laws did not function as especially authoritative guides for such behavior.

Other models for the origins of scriptural authority have been identified in treaties, which were expected to be read publicly and their provisions followed,[6] and bureaucratic documents that, in Egypt at least, were consulted to guide the decisions of administrators.[7] Treaties did influence the literary form of the covenant in the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy, so these practices may indeed have had some influence on the Torah's authority. But unlike texts revered as scriptures in Judaism and later "religions of the book," the ancient use of treaties, bureaucratic records, and royal decrees did not usually emphasize the antiquity of the documents to be consulted and followed.[8] In fact, in

[5] As observed famously by F. R. Kraus, "Ein zentrales Problem des altmesopotamischen Rechts: Was ist der Codex Hammu-Rabi?" *Genava* 8 (1960): 283–96; see also Hans Jochen Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (trans. Jeremy Moiser; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1980), and the essays in *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law: Revision, Interpolation, and Development* (ed. Bernard M. Levinson; JSOTSup 181; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).

[6] See Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (2nd rev. ed.; AnBib 21; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1981).

[7] Donald B. Redford, "The So-Called 'Codification' of Egyptian Law under Darius I," in *Persia and Torah: The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch* (ed. James W. Watts; SBLSymS 17; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 151. Redford notes that this was especially the case during the first millennium B.C.E. in Egypt: "Osorkon, the high priest of Amun during the ninth-century civil war, could boast (probably quite honestly) that 'regular decisions in the Privy Chamber were taken [through] his knowledge of all the pol[icy decisions] which had accumulated throughout the generations of former kings.' [Footnote: punishment of the rebels was meted out 'according to a charter of the ancestors.'] Similarly the worthy Hory (ca. 800 B.C.E.) was 'skilled in the laws of the palace, the regulations of the ancestors'" (ibid.).

[8] A vivid depiction of the politico-religious use of a treaty text can be found in the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (thirteenth century B.C.E.), which depicts the Assyrian king making a legal case before the gods against his Babylonian rival: "I raise aloft, therefore, the tablet of oath between us, and call upon the Lord of Heaven [ ]!" (lines 150–51). "[Kashtiliash] was appalled on account of the appeal to Shamash and became fearful and anxious about what was laid before the

most such cases authority lay in the most recent treaty or decree (though it was common to appeal to old royal grants to justify land and tax claims).

Another apparently obvious source for scriptural authority lay in divinatory consultations of oracular/prophetic texts. The Zoroastrians of Persia, as well as the Greeks and Romans, gave great importance to the correct interpretation of oracles and literary texts by professional exegetes for purposes of divination. Their methods and results bear many similarities to the work of Jewish and Christian interpreters of sacred texts.[9] Though the influence of divinatory methods on later scriptural interpretation cannot be denied, such concerns cannot have been the source of the Bible's religious authority in the first place. The most obviously oracular books of the Hebrew Bible, such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, and other prophetic books, were not the first to achieve scriptural status. Nor do biblical narratives reflect any interest in ancient Israel in the reading and interpretation of oracular texts.[10] When they mention texts at all, they are rather concerned with the reading and application of Torah. The Bible's canonization began with the Torah, not the prophets as one would expect if divinatory concerns were the primary motive.[11]

Thus, neither individually nor together do laws, treaties, bureaucratic regulations, and oracular texts provide a sufficient explanation for the origins of scripture in ancient Judaism, though they all exerted some influence on the way in which scriptures came to be interpreted and used. The reasons for scripture's developing authority must be sought elsewhere. In antiquity, claims for the authority of old texts were more frequently made for *ritual* texts than for any others. Rather than law or diplomacy or bureaucracy or divination, the use of texts for and in ritual explains more plausibly the origins and development of book religion.

II. Ritual Accuracy and Ritual Legitimacy

Many students of ritual have noted that a concern with "doing it exactly right" typifies many ritual performances, though such concerns for accuracy in

---

gods. . . . 'You have entered in evidence against me an unalterable tablet with the seal impression of m[y forefather]s, They too have intro[duced evidence] before me, a [ ] whose wording cannot be changed!'" (lines 167–74; trans. Benjamin Foster, *From Distant Days: Myths, Tales, and Poetry from Mesopotamia* [Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1995], 185–87).

[9] See John F. A. Sawyer, *Sacred Languages and Sacred Texts* (Religion in the First Christian Centuries; London: Routledge, 1999), 152–61.

[10] The one exception is Jeremiah 36, which describes the scribe Baruch reading a scroll of Jeremiah's oracles in the Temple. But the text here was simply a stand-in for the prophet, who could not preach because he was under house arrest.

[11] The priority of the Pentateuch (Torah) in the history of canonization is undisputed, even if the rest of the history is less evident.

some aspects of a ritual do not preclude the freedom to improvise others.[12] But how does one know if one is doing it right? How can priests be sure that their tradition of performance is correct? How can participants know that the priests are competent? Concerns for correct performance generate an interest in validating the authority of the ritualists. In antiquity, old ritual texts provided one means of validating or invalidating ritual performances.

There are several explicit examples from different cultures and times of using old texts to revive ancient ritual traditions. Livy, the first-century Roman historian, described a Samnite ritual that was performed ca. 300 B.C.E.:

> A space, about 200 feet square, almost in the centre of their camp, was boarded off and covered all over with linen cloth. In this enclosure a sacrificial service was conducted, the words being read from an old linen book by an aged priest, Ovius Paccius, who announced that he was taking that form of service from the old ritual of the Samnite religion. It was the form which their ancestors used when they formed their secret design of wresting Capua from the Etruscans. (Livy, *History of Rome* 10.38)[13]

Livy emphasizes the antiquity of the rite that was being revived for this occasion. The priest read the old linen scroll aloud to ensure that the correct words were recited and to validate the accuracy and therefore the efficacy of the whole ritual. Livy does not provide sufficient information to allow us to evaluate the priest's honesty, but his use of the old book suggests that his authority to conduct this ritual or to conduct it in this way may have been contested. The rite required an oath of service in the Samnite army. Refusal meant execution as an offering to Jupiter, a threat actually carried out, according to Livy. So the ritual was clearly performed in the face of considerable social conflict, and reading the old book aloud helped the priest and his supporters to keep the upper hand.

[12] Sigmund Freud noticed the similarity in this regard between obsessive-compulsive behavior in individuals and the ritual behavior of groups ("Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices," [1907]; reprinted in *Readings in Ritual Studies* [ed. Ronald L. Grimes; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996], 212–17). Fritz Stahl went so far as to argue that ritual consists of nothing but close attention to repetitive actions ("The Meaninglessness of Ritual," *Numen* 26, no. 1 [1979]: 2–22). Cf. the more nuanced appropriation of these ideas by Jonathan Z. Smith ("The Domestication of Sacrifice," in *Violent Origins* [ed. Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987], 191–235). Others have documented the prevalence of ritual change and, frequently, the lack of standardization in ritual practice: see Ronald Grimes on the ubiquity of ritual criticism and innovation (*Ritual Criticism: Case Studies in Its Practice; Essays on Its Theory* [Studies in Comparative Religion; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990], 17–18), Roy A. Rappaport on the ritual criterion of invariance and the inevitability of both historical change and individual choice in all ritual performances (*Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 36–37, 124–26), and Buc on the textual reinterpretation of rituals in the Middle Ages (*Danger of Ritual*, 9–12, 249).

[13] Livy, *History of Rome* (ed. Ernest Rhys; trans. Rev. Canon Roberts; Everyman's Library; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1912).

The Samnite's use of a book to revive a ritual is reminiscent of a scene in Jerusalem approximately 150 years earlier, as narrated in the book of Nehemiah. Ezra took "the book of the law of Moses" that he had recently brought from Babylon and read it to the assembled people (Neh 8:1–12). As a result of this reading, the people discovered how to celebrate properly the festival of Sukkot (Booths or Tabernacles; Neh 8:14–17). The story claims that the feast had not been celebrated in this way since the days of Joshua, some eight centuries earlier (though Ezra 3:4 claims that the returning exiles celebrated Sukkot).[14] Again, the situation was highly conflictual, in this case having to do with the ethnic boundaries of the community and the legitimacy of mixed marriages. Ezra used the authority of the book to bring about a mass divorce and the expulsion of foreign wives and their children from the Jerusalem community (Ezra 9–10).[15]

Jerusalem had witnessed a similar scene two centuries earlier, when an old book was discovered in the temple.[16] According to 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles, King Josiah read it to the assembled people and on its authority ordered them to celebrate Passover properly, as it had not been celebrated since the time of the judges. In this assertion in 2 Chr 35:14, the Chronicler seems to forget that in this account (2 Chr 30), though not in 2 Kings, King Hezekiah had celebrated such a Passover two generations earlier. The amnesia here and in Nehemiah 8 (see above and n. 14) suggests that ritual books were conventionally associated with claims for reestablishing discontinued festivals. Josiah also celebrated a covenant renewal ceremony and launched an attack on various ritual objects and sacred sites that he regarded as foreign or idolatrous. The liter-

[14] Commentators take the reference here to the days of Joshua as involving only the manner in which the festival was celebrated; see David J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 186–88; Hugh G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word, 1985), 296–97. Perhaps the claim in Nehemiah 8 about Sukkot intentionally mimics the remark about Passover in 2 Kgs 22:23 to draw parallels between Josiah's and Ezra's book-based festival reforms.

[15] The chronological relationship between the reading of the Torah and the mass divorce is not clear because of the confusing arrangement of the Ezra materials in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra, at least, certainly presents the ban on mixed marriages as a commandment of God (Ezra 9:10–12), though the Pentateuch itself is not so clear on the issue.

[16] Unlike Livy ("old linen book") and Nehemiah ("the book of the *torah* of Moses, which YHWH commanded Israel" [8:1]), 2 Kings does not describe the age of this "book of the *torah*" (22:8). But Josiah's concern that "our ancestors did not listen to the words of this book" (22:13) and the narrator's claim that the Passover prescribed by the book had not been observed since the time of the judges (23:21–23) clearly are meant to indicate the book's antiquity. Gary N. Knoppers points out that the phrase "book of the covenant" (23:2, 21) connects this book to the Mosaic covenant at Sinai (*Two Nations under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies,* vol. 2, *The Rise of Jeroboam, the Fall of Israel, and the Reign of Josiah* [HSM 53; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994], 131 and n. 20).

ary context in 2 Kings 23 suggests that this took place as a result of reading the book, so in that case the book invalidated certain ritual practices while it validated others.[17] Here again a book is invoked in a situation of conflict, this time explicitly ritual conflict. The account of these events in 2 Chronicles 34–35, however, has the cultic reform precede the discovery of the book, which prompted the covenant renewal and Passover observances only.[18] Interpreters remain divided on the relative historical merits of the two versions.[19] But the link between the book and festival reform is explicit in both 2 Chronicles and 2 Kings, as it is in Nehemiah and Livy.

Thus, each of these three cases (Livy, Nehemiah, 2 Kings/2 Chronicles) presents a situation of ritual discontinuity lasting centuries. The gaps exceeded the life span of even the oldest ritual specialists and so raised the problem of ritual accuracy in an acute form for those proposing to revive the ancient rituals. Each ritual also took place in the context of considerable social conflict: over soldiers unwilling to fight in an upcoming war against the Romans in Livy's account, over the definition of the Jewish community in Jerusalem and intermarriage with outsiders in Nehemiah, and over correct ritual practice and sacred space in 2 Kings/2 Chronicles. Though in each case the ritual specialists were priests (led by a king in 2 Kings/2 Chronicles) who could claim positional authority to prescribe the manner of the ritual, they felt the need to buttress their authority in these extraordinary circumstances.[20] They used ancient books

[17] Knoppers argues that 2 Kings "employs the story of the torah scroll to justify and explain Josiah's unprecedented intrusion into the religious affairs of his people" (*Two Nations under God*, 2:139).

[18] Modern interpreters and historians have focused their attention primarily on the centralization of worship in Jerusalem and the destruction of rival sanctuaries and cult practices, because of the priority they receive in the text of Kings and also because of the effect such "reforms" probably had on the development of Israel's distinctive religious traditions, especially the Hebrew Bible itself (for a thorough review and evaluation of these issues, see Marvin K. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001]). King Hezekiah, however, initiated somewhat similar reforms almost a century earlier (2 Kgs 18:3–6), but no explicit reference to a book appears in that account (Hezekiah is said only to have "kept the commandments that YHWH commanded Moses" [v. 6]). Chronicles' version of Josiah's reform, as well as the parallels from Nehemiah and Livy, suggests that the book's role in this episode was primarily to validate the revival of the ancient rituals of covenant renewal and of Passover.

[19] Some have favored Chronicles' chronology (G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* [NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984], 602–6, who reviews the issue and research), but others have argued that Chronicles was entirely dependent on Kings (J. W. McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians* [Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1973]; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], 397–98) and many have noted how the stories have been shaped by the thematic interests of both writers (e.g., T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings* [WBC 13; Waco: Word, 1985], 315–21).

[20] Concern to understand the source of authority behind books and scriptures has led interpreters to emphasize the human authorities who manipulate the book. So, to cite a recent example, Hindy Najman remarked on 2 Kings 22–23 that "[t]he priest, scribe and king are ultimately sufficient to authorize a text, be it new or old" (*Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse*

to provide such reinforcement, because texts have the unique property of appearing to "speak" from the distant past. In each case, reading the texts helped sway many, though not all, of the assembled people to acquiesce to both the ritual and political agendas being advanced by the priests who controlled the texts.

III. Ritual Text and Ritual Performance

In all three cases described above, the public display and reading of the text played a key role in stimulating the ritual acts that followed. Some ancient texts mandated that they be used in this way. The text of the Samnite ritual has not survived, so we cannot know what its contents were like. But most interpreters think that Josiah's and Ezra's books corresponded more or less to Deuteronomy and the whole Torah (Pentateuch), respectively. Deuteronomy mandates public recitation of the book (Deut 31), and many pentateuchal passages command performance of their prescriptions as written. Jewish scriptures are by no means unique in this regard. In cultures across the ancient Near East and eastern Mediterranean, there is evidence that ritual texts mandated that their stipulations be followed exactly as written and that priests and kings were concerned to do so, even to the point that reading and manipulating the ritual texts became part of the rituals themselves.

A number of Egyptian texts mandate verbatim repetition of their contents. For example, the prayers of Pahery, on a stela in Pahery's tomb (Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. fourteenth century B.C.E.), request that those passing by make offerings and recite the prayer for the deceased also recorded on the stela: "say, 'An offering, given by the king,' in the form in which it is written; 'An invocation offering,' as said by the fathers, and as it comes from the mouth of god."[21]

---

in Second Temple Judaism [JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 29). It is true that books by themselves are mute and are made authoritative only by the people who read them and control their use. However, this sociopolitical observation reverses and obscures the claims of the stories themselves, in which priests and kings derive *their* authority from the book (which in 2 Kings is, in turn, validated by inspired prophecy). Thus, though Najman intended to reconstruct the conceptions of textual authority operating in Deuteronomy, her reconstruction (which also relegates the prophet to a later editor) actually reversed the rhetoric of authority in the text of 2 Kings 22–23.

[21] Trans. Miriam Lichtheim (*Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* [3 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973, 1976, 1980], 2:20), showing the citation of the first lines of the prayers (the first written on the stela, the second not and apparently conveyed by oral tradition "as said by the fathers . . ."). Other translations: "Ye shall say the *htp-di-nsw* exactly like that which is in writing, the invocation in the speech of the ancestors, like that which emerged from the mouth of god. . . . it is to be done as it should be, as that which is according to the *hpw* [law, customary rule, prescription] attested on this stela" (Redford, "So-Called Codification," 139, who notes that in many contexts, "like that which conforms to the law" parallels "like that which is in

Other Egyptian texts link exact repetition of spells and prayers with detailed ritual instructions, such as an Osiris ritual from the Ptolemaic period (third–first centuries B.C.E.). It records an elaborate liturgy and then ritual instructions that begin, "Now when this is recited the place is to be completely secluded, not seen and not heard by anyone except the chief lector-priest and the *setem*-priest."[22]

Even more than specific recitation instructions, texts from many ancient cultures prescribe the details of various rituals. These include instructions for the proper sequence of rites, for the performance of individual rituals, for the amounts of offerings for various rituals, and for the celebration of special festivals. In some cases, we have clear indications of how such texts were used. The texts from Ugarit (thirteenth–twelfth century B.C.E.) contain not only a number of rituals but also lists of gods and former kings that were used literally to "check off" that the rites were performed for the deities and ancestors in the proper order. The cuneiform equivalents of check marks remain in the margins of the tablets.[23] One Ugaritic omen text, a lung model, specifies the need to eat the sacrifice *dbh k . sprt,* "in accordance with the documents."[24] Some Hittite texts witness to acute concerns to perform rituals exactly as "is written in the old tablets" and "on account of the old tablets, they do it in exactly that manner."[25] Hittite kings cited their examination of written documents as proof of their ritual fidelity: "And whatever I, My Majesty, discover now in the written records, I will carry out."[26] During a long-drawn-out plague, searches of archives turned up old ritual and treaty texts whose provisions had fallen into abeyance. When oracles confirmed that failure to follow these texts had brought the plague on

---

writing" [p. 140]); "Just so, may you recite the offering prayer in the manner found in the writings, and the invocation offering as spoken by those long dead just as it came from the mouth of God" (John L. Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: An Anthology* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001], 176–77). Several lines later, reward is promised for the recitation: "Goodness is yours when you perform it, for [you] discover [that it earns] you favor" (p. 177).

[22] "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature,* 3:116–21.

[23] Dennis Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (WAW 10; Atlanta: SBL, 2002), 12–13, 200.

[24] RS 12.277, line 9; trans. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit,* 130; see also Moshe Weinfeld, "Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against Their Ancient Near Eastern Background," in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 99.

[25] Weinfeld, "Social and Cultic Institutions," 98–99; cf. Itamar Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (WAW 11; Atlanta: SBL, 2002), 83. A large number of Hittite ritual tablets like those referred to here have been discovered. For translations of representative samples, see *COS* 1:60–70, 83, or *ANET,* 346–61.

[26] Singer, *Hittite Prayers,* 83. The Hittites apparently regarded texts as interchangeable with oral tradition as a means to validate rituals, for the passage goes on to state: "When I consult a venerable old man, [as] they remember [each(?)] requirement and report it, thus I shall carry it out."

Hatti (cf. the oracular check performed on Josiah's law book in 2 Kgs 22:13–20), the rituals were reinstated and offerings were made to compensate for the treaty violations.[27]

Other evidence for the use of such texts is the fact that inscriptions at or near temples often contained instructions on how to make offerings and especially how much to offer. For example, city authorities in Carthage in the late fourth century B.C.E. set up the so-called Punic Tariffs to regulate the amounts of temple offerings.[28] Such public inscriptions were clearly intended to regulate the ritual practices of the general public, not just priests. Greek legal sources confirm the public function of such inscriptions. Thus a speech by the orator Lysias ca. 400 B.C.E. accused Nicomachus of falsifying legal inscriptions that he was supposed to transcribe:

> I am merely claiming that he should obey the code established and patent to all and I am surprised at his not observing that, when he taxes me with impiety for saying that we ought to perform the sacrifices named in the tablets and pillars as directed in the regulations, he is accusing the city as well: for they are what you have decreed. And then, sir, if you feel these to be hard words, surely you must attribute grievous guilt to those citizens who used to sacrifice solely in accordance with the tablets. But of course, gentlemen of the jury, we are not to be instructed in piety by Nicomachus, but are rather to be guided by the ways of the past. Now our ancestors, by sacrificing in accordance with the tablets, have handed down to us a city superior in greatness and prosperity to any other in Hellas; so that it behooves us to perform the same sacrifices as they did, if for no other reason than that of the success which has resulted from those rites. (Lysias, *Against Nicomachus* 17–19)[29]

In ritual matters, the Greeks and Romans and many other cultures usually regarded the ancient local traditions as normative for that place.[30] Old texts provided a public means of validating the accuracy of those local traditions.

It is harder to come by explicit descriptions of rituals that actually incorporated the display and public reading of their ritual texts. The clearest examples are biblical: Moses and Joshua (Exod 24; Deut 31; Josh 8:34–35) as well as Josiah and Ezra read books of laws to public assemblies. These early books presumably included ritual regulations like those in the finished Pentateuch, such as the provisions regarding offerings and the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 1–7; 16, which are addressed formally to "all Israel." Such public instructions, therefore, appeared not only on monumental inscriptions but also on scrolls

[27] The Second Plague Prayer of Mursili §§3–6; trans. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 58–59.

[28] Trans. Dennis Pardee, *COS* 1:98.

[29] *Lysias* (trans. W. R. M. Lamb; LCL; London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930).

[30] For a recent discussion, see Sawyer, *Sacred Languages*, 152–53.

that could be carried about and read aloud. In addition, other kinds of ancient texts were used or even designed for ritual application: execration texts were covered with curses and then smashed to put them into effect; prayers were written in letter form and deposited in temples;[31] offensive letters could be displayed before the deity to plead for protection or revenge against the writer (2 Kgs 19:14–19).

The Egyptian ritual called "Opening the Mouth" provides more concrete evidence of how ritual texts were sometimes used. This rite for (re-)vivifying divine statues and, in Egypt, also the dead, is known to us in variant forms from both Akkadian and Egyptian sources. In the Egyptian version, one of the officiants at the rite is, according to David Lorton, "the *chery-hebet* or 'ritualist,' whose title literally means 'the one who holds the ritual' (i.e., the papyrus on which the words of the ritual are written)."[32] Several tomb paintings, reliefs, and papyri illustrate this official presiding over the ceremony, open scroll in hand.[33]

Jewish traditions, too, show developments in the ritual use of ritual texts. Ezra ritualized the public reading of the Torah (Neh 8) by surrounding it with blessings and responses, obeisances, and a hierarchical arrangement of the assembled people. The *Letter of Aristeas* (second century B.C.E.) depicts King Ptolemy doing obeisance before Torah scrolls and, once the new Septuagint Greek translation has been completed, describes how the ceremony unveiling the translation concluded with public curses on anyone who might dare alter any part of that work (*Let. Aris.* 177).

In summary, texts were used in a variety of cultures to establish correct ritual performance and to legitimize the ritual practices of priests, kings, and temples. Thus, the idea of enacting written instructions, that is, "doing it by the book," involved first of all doing rituals. There is also some evidence that texts began to be manipulated and read as part of the rituals themselves. Therefore,

[31] William W. Hallo, "Letters, Prayers and Letter-Prayers," in *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies* (ed. Y. Gutman; Jerusalem: Perry Foundation, 1981), 17–27.

[32] David Lorton, "The Theology of the Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," in *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Michael Dick; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 149.

[33] The Papyrus of Ani (Nineteenth Dynasty, ca. 1295–1186 B.C.E., from Thebes; in the British Museum, EA 10470/6) shows a figure holding up an open scroll while the ceremony is performed. A tomb painting from the New Kingdom shows "artisans applying the finishing touches to two anthropoid sarcophagi" while "a man holds an open papyrus on which the words 'performing the Opening of the Mouth' are written" (Lorton, "Theology of Cult Statues," 158; a photo of the painting appears in Eberhard Otto, *Die Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* [Ägyptische Abhandlungen 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960], vol. 2, fig. 13). Moses was depicted in a similar pose in the synagogue at Dura-Europos (third century C.E.). Perhaps the Pompeian mural in the Villa of the Mysteries of a boy reading (first century C.E.) represents a similar situation in a Roman ritual.

as texts validated the accuracy and efficacy of rituals, rituals elevated the authority of certain texts to iconic status.

IV. The Developing Authority of Torah

In the case of Judaism, the Torah's *ritual* authority seems to have preceded its authority in other matters. A chronological summary of a series of incidents involving books or references to books illustrates the widening scope of the Torah's authority.

According to 2 Kings, Josiah's reading of a "book of law" in ca. 620 B.C.E. stimulated changes in cult furnishings, the monopolization of the most important rituals by the Jerusalem temple, and the revival of the celebration of Passover (2 Kgs 22–23). However, despite the long-standing critical consensus that Josiah's law book was more or less the biblical book of Deuteronomy, 2 Kings offers no indication that Josiah acted on Deuteronomy's extensive civil and criminal legislation. In fact, the king's active enforcement of ritual mandates actually contradicts Deuteronomy's restrictive view of kingship.[34]

The book of Ezra reports that, in ca. 535 B.C.E., the returning exiles built an altar in Jerusalem and celebrated Sukkot (the Feast of Tabernacles) "according to what is written in the Law of Moses, the man of God" (Ezra 3:3, 5). In 520, they installed the priests and Levites according to the Torah (Ezra 6:18). Here again, Torah regulated the affairs of religious festivals and personnel only.

In the following century, however, Ezra reformed the Jerusalem community's marriage practices on the basis of a "book of the law of Moses" (Ezra 9:11–12 with specific reference to Deut 7:3). Was this the first attempt to mandate the book's legislation beyond temple and ritual matters? Was Ezra the innovator who turned a ritual book into a law book? Perhaps, but other episodes from the same period suggest uneven developments, at the very least. Nehemiah legislated against debt slavery without reference to Torah laws (Neh 5:1–13). The only laws mentioned explicitly in the historical review in Nehemiah 9 are the Sabbath commandment (9:14) and laws against idolatry and blasphemy (9:18, 26). The communal covenant of Nehemiah 10 emphasized separation from neighboring peoples, no intermarriage, Sabbath and sabbatical years (including cancellation of debts), tithes and offerings to the temple, a wood offering (not in the Torah), and so on. So only the issues of intermarriage and separation from foreigners seem to depart from the pattern of invoking the Torah's authority for ritual and temple matters only—and ritual concerns probably motivated these as well. Note that the priests and Levites

[34] See Knoppers, *Two Nations under God*, 2:164–69.

lead the lists of those who divorced their foreign wives (Ezra 10:18–23), that Nehemiah "drove away" a grandson and brother of high priests because he had married into the royal family of Samaria (Neh 13:28), and that the book of Nehemiah concludes by emphasizing that Nehemiah "purified the priests and Levites of everything foreign" (13:29–30).[35] An explicit reference to Numbers grounds the exclusion of Ammonites and Moabites from the community (Neh 13:1–3), but Nehemiah must "purify" the temple room after expelling Tobiah the Ammonite from it (v. 9), which suggests again cultic concerns behind the policy of exclusion. After all, Leviticus describes the separation of holy and common, clean and unclean, as a chief task for ritual specialists, the priests (Lev 10:10). So the ritual purification of both temple and community focuses naturally on priests and seems to motivate Ezra's and Nehemiah's use of Torah as well. Once again, they used an old text to validate their ritual practices.

Within a few decades of these events, Persian authorities mandated Torah-orthodox Passover instructions for the Jewish community in Elephantine, Egypt. The letters from Elephantine suggest that, at the end of the fifth century B.C.E., the Jerusalem hierarchy extended the Torah's ritual instructions, at least those regarding the date of Passover, to other Jewish cult centers outside Jerusalem. The Elephantine letters, however, show no awareness of an authoritative text, only of the Jerusalem priesthood's expertise in such matters. The Elephantine community also appealed to the Jerusalem priests and elders for support for their temple rebuilding project, but they received help only from Persian governors in Judea and Samaria. Perhaps the failure of the Jerusalem hierarchy to respond to this request reflects their desire to centralize Jewish worship in Jerusalem alone, something mandated by Deuteronomy.[36] The Persian authorities limited the Elephantine temple's offerings to non-animal offerings, which perhaps also reflected Jerusalem's wish to monopolize animal sacrifice.[37] But even if written Torah was informing these decisions, its authority was not invoked in any of the extant correspondence.

The brother of Jerusalem's high priest was installed in a new Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim in the late fourth century, according to Josephus

[35] References in Ezra and Nehemiah to the actions and roles of priests, and especially high priests, are nevertheless sparser than one would expect in a society presumably centered on its temple. On this, see Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 152–74; she argues that the priests' authority was limited to the temple, noting, however, that this literature depicts the Jerusalem priests, and especially the high-priestly family, unfavorably because of their intermarriage with non-Jews (p. 163).

[36] Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 181–82.

[37] The letters are translated by Bezalel Porton, in *The Elephantine Papyri in English* (ed. Bezalel Porton; Leiden: Brill, 1996), texts B13–14, B17, B19–21.

(*Ant.* 11.8).[38] The Samaritans also claim the Torah as their scripture. Though Josephus does not link the two, I wonder if the priest and the book traveled to Mount Gerizim together. Both would have served to authorize and validate the rituals of the Samaritan temple on the basis of Israel's ancient traditions. Subsequent controversies between Samaritans and Jews often centered on whose temple and priesthood accorded better with the Torah of Moses.[39] Nevertheless, Josephus made no mention of written Torah at the time of the temple's founding.

By the second century B.C.E., however, wider applications of the Torah's directives appear in much of the surviving literature. Thus, the book of Tobit (ca. 200 B.C.E.) describes not only the tithe of the first fruits but also a marriage contract being conducted "according to the law of Moses" (1:8; 7:12–13). 1 Maccabees (ca. 100 B.C.E.), like the book of Ezra, is careful to note compliance with Torah directives in the cleansing and restoration of the temple in 164 B.C.E. (1 Macc 4:47, 53). It maintains that the Maccabean revolt (167–164 B.C.E.) began over the question of compliance with Torah in making sacrifices (1 Macc 2:15–50). But similar compliance with Torah directives is noted in military matters as well (1 Macc 3:109). The principal legal (*halakic*) concerns of the books of Maccabees revolve around sacrifices, altars, Sabbath restrictions, circumcision, and food laws (*kashrut*), the latter clearly involving affairs far beyond the temple and its priests. The book of Judith (second century B.C.E.) is notable for highlighting Judith's observance of rules regarding fasting and purity (8:2–7; 9:1; 10:5; 12:2, 7–9, 19; 16:18). She seems to act in accord with Torah regulations, but unlike the story of Tobit, this narrative never refers to written laws. So the source of Judith's knowledge could have been oral teachings. The story of Susannah (ca. 100 B.C.E.), however, tells us explicitly that Susannah was trained in the law of Moses (v. 3). When Daniel proves her accusers to be liars, the community executed them "according to the law of Moses" (v. 62). This story thus explicitly applies written Torah to an issue of criminal law for the first time. It is also in the literature of this time that we first find references to the Torah scrolls themselves becoming the targets of attacks

[38] The historicity of Josephus's account has been questioned on grounds of chronology and also because it looks as though he adapted from Neh 13:23 a story of intermarriage between the ruling family of Samaria and the high priestly family to serve as anti-Samaritan polemic (see Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 174; Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 222 n. 5). Samaritan traditions agree that they share a priestly lineage with Jews, but they date the split in priestly lines much earlier, to premonarchic times when Eli established a sectarian (that is, Jewish) priesthood (see *The Samaritan Chronicle, or The Book of Joshua the Son of Nun* [trans. Oliver Turnbull Crane; New York: John B. Alden, 1890], ch. 43).

[39] Josephus, *Ant.* 13.3; see Pieter W. van der Horst, "Anti-Samaritan Propaganda in Early Judaism," in *Persuasion and Dissuasion in Early Christianity, Ancient Judaism, and Hellenism* (ed. Pieter W. van der Horst et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 25–44, esp. 31–32, 37–39.

on Jewish ritual practices (1 Macc 1:56-57). What is privileged by ritual may also be desecrated and destroyed as a symbolic means of undermining communal identity. So in the practices and literature of the second century B.C.E., we find clear signs that the authority of Torah was extended beyond the ritual realm to criminal and civil matters, and that Torah scrolls had become symbols of Jewish identity and practice.

Perhaps a better way to put it is this: at that time, the ritual authority of the Torah was extended beyond the temple to other aspects of daily life, which, by falling under the Torah's precepts, were ritualized as well. The sectarian halakah (legal interpretation) of the Qumran scrolls and related materials provide the best examples of this tendency.[40] The Qumran *Temple Scroll,* likely also a late-second-/early-first-century B.C.E. composition, literally extends the purity laws of the temple to the whole city of Jerusalem. Though the scroll deals with other concerns as well, especially the king, its principal interest remains in temple rituals, purity requirements, and the proper performance of festivals. The sectarian literature's interest in civil procedures seems limited to repeating the Torah's provisions with little amplification, except when it comes to regulating the internal life of the sectarian community itself, as in the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document.* These documents add many rules of behavior and disciplinary procedures to the biblical mandates. However, when we remember that the sectarians conceived of their communities as reproducing the conditions of purity and holiness expected of the Jerusalem temple but not achieved there, these community rules appear once again to be extensions of the rules of the sanctuary. The temple's rules were applied to people insofar as they are (or should be) within the extended temple community.

Several recent studies have argued that concerns for ritual purity in late Second Temple Judaism were far more widespread than the example of the Qumran Essenes might suggest. Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that bathing and hand washing were not primarily focused on temple rituals but were common Jewish practices both in Judea and in the Diaspora.[41] My argument that the Torah's authority originated in temple ritual and was only gradually extended beyond it does not dispute this possibility any more than it challenges the widespread practice of criminal law in ancient Judaism. It simply

[40] E.g., the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19), the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), and the *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) from Qumran; closely related are the *Damascus Document* and *Jubilees.* For translations of the Qumran material, see Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996). For a brief survey of halakah at Qumran, see Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 489–502, 526–30.

[41] See the review and analysis by John C. Poirer, "Purity beyond the Temple in the Second Temple Era," *JBL* 122 (2003): 247–65.

points out that mere references to purity practices, as in the book of Judith, were not necessarily meant to invoke the written Torah; they may simply reflect traditional practice as taught by elders and priests. The invocation of written scripture to reinforce or to reform such practices outside the temple seems to have become common only in the Judaism of the second century B.C.E. and later.

V. Conclusion

This article can only sketch broad patterns of practice and outline developments in the ritual use of texts and the textual authorization of rituals in antiquity. Much more detailed research remains to be done on how texts were used to justify ritual practices and how rituals elevated the authority of texts in various cultures and time periods. This initial survey, however, suggests that, more than any other factor, it was the authority of the Jerusalem temple's ritual traditions that established the Pentateuch's prestige. That authority was grounded in the assertion that the priests were practicing the ancient ritual traditions for that local cult. The validity of that claim was defended by invoking a book that claimed to be much older than the disruptions in cult practice caused by the destruction of the first temple and the Babylonian exile. As in other cultures of roughly the same time period, ritual and text supported each other: the prestige of the temple elevated the status of the book, which in turn guaranteed the legitimacy of the temple's rites.

Only when the ritual authority of the Torah was generally recognized did its other materials (civil and criminal laws, stories) gain special "scriptural" status. This development finds no clear parallel in other ancient cultures. It came about because the Torah's rhetorical structure combined lists of ritual instructions with criminal laws, narratives, and sanctions. It did so to persuade Jews to accept it as the Torah of the Jerusalem temple and community.[42] Once that was achieved, claims for its authority gradually increased in scope as various groups expanded the definition and geographic boundaries of the temple community.

Thus, the origin of the religious authority of Western Scriptures derived primarily from the use of old texts and books for validating rituals. The idea of Scripture was grounded first and foremost in the ritual use of texts. The traditional dichotomy in Western, especially Christian, traditions between text and ritual disguises the fact that the authority of the Scriptures originated in ritual concerns and continues to be maintained by ritual practices.

[42] For a full exposition of the rhetorical effect of the Torah's contents, see James W. Watts, *Reading Law: The Rhetorical Shaping of the Pentateuch* (Biblical Seminar 59; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

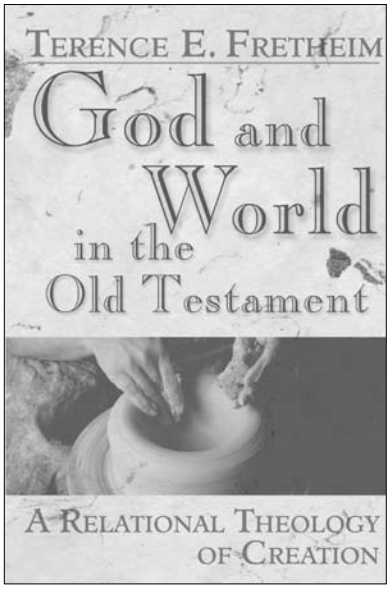
Ironically, the Torah's particular emphasis on ritual offerings no longer applies in either Judaism or Christianity. Because of historical changes in both traditions, they no longer recommend the literal application of many of the ritual instructions. Therefore other aspects of Torah and Bible, such as the stories and the moral laws, came to be considered more central to the message of scripture. Hence the many attempts, ranging from ancient halakah and allegory to modern literary analysis and structuralist anthropology, to interpret the Torah's ritual regulations in terms of ethics and theology.[43]

This development began almost as soon as the Torah's civil laws and narratives gained authoritative status, long before the Roman's destruction of the Second Temple rendered much of the ritual instruction moot. Philo of Alexandria described the Sabbath observance in an Essene synagogue in the early first century C.E.: "Then one, indeed, takes up the books and reads them, and another of the men of the greatest experience comes forward and explains what is not very intelligible, for a great many precepts are delivered in enigmatic modes of expression, and allegorically, as the old fashion was" (*Good Person* 7.82).[44] Here the need to do the ritual correctly had already expanded into a need to understand the ritual text correctly and the ritual's meaning as interpreted through that text. Eventually, for many communities that treasure Scriptures, understanding the text and its meaning was enough, and many of the rituals mandated in the text fell into disuse. Instead, rituals *of* the text arose that reinforced its iconic place at the center of worship.

[43] This tendency is pervasive throughout the commentary literature from antiquity to the present. Contemporary examples include, among many others, Jacob Milgrom, who expounds at great length on "the ethical foundation of the dietary system" found in Leviticus (*Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 3A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1991], 704–42; Mary Douglas, who has revised her famous comparative theory of impurity (*Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966]) to make an exception for priestly legislation in the Torah, which she describes as "philosophical doctrines in the forms of rules of behaviour" (*Leviticus as Literature* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999], 39); and Terence Fretheim, who argues that "law is a God-given means by which the creation can be made whole once again" (*The Pentateuch* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1996], 126). They base their claims on detailed examination of pentateuchal texts, and a critical analysis of their conclusions would require similar textual analysis, something this article makes no attempt to do. Here I am simply pointing out the strongly felt *need* within the religious and academic traditions to interpret the ritual regulations of Scripture in theological and ethical ways.

[44] *The Works of Philo* (trans. C. D. Younge; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 689–70, as revised by Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Text and Traditions: A Source Reader for the Study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1998), 283. The Qumran *Rule of the Community* (1QS 6:7–8) described it this way: "The Many shall be on watch together for a third of each night of the year in order to read the book, explain the regulation, and bless together" (trans. García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 9).

The Creator God, the Created World, & Our Role in Creation



God and World in the Old Testament: A Relational Theology of Creation,
by Terence E. Fretheim.

Terence Fretheim presents here the Old Testament view of the Creator God, the created world, and our role in creation. With "The Beginning," he demonstrates that creation is open-ended and connected. Then, from every part of the Old Testament, he explores the fullness and richness of Israel's thought regarding creation: from the dynamic created order to human sin, judgment, and environmental devastation, to salvation, redemption, and a new creation.
CA5-0687342961. Paper, **$29.00**

Terence E. Fretheim is Elva B. Lovell Professor of Old Testament at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Published by
Abingdon Press

Cokesbury
Resources for the Christian Journey
store, web, phone
Cokesbury.com | 1.800.672.1789

JBL 124/3 (2005) 419–450

EVOCATIO DEORUM AND THE DATE OF MARK

JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG
john.kloppenborg@utoronto.ca
The University of Toronto, Toronto ON M5S 1H8, Canada

The date of the Gospel of Mark is generally set a few years either side of the destruction of the Second Temple on the 9th of Av, 70 C.E.[1] The grounds

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Gabrielle Gustafsson for providing me with a copy of her Uppsala dissertation, to Eve-Marie Becker for a pre-publication copy of her *Habilitationsschrift*, and to William E. Arnal (University of Regina), Dan Bahat (Ben Gurion University), Scott Brown (University of Toronto), Eve-Marie Becker (Universität Erlangen), Leslie Hayes (Claremont Graduate University), and Ian Henderson (McGill University) for helpful comments and criticisms. A version of the paper was read at the 2004 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, University of Winnipeg.

[1] A few much earlier dates have been proposed: Charles Cutler Torrey argued that Mark 13:14 refers to Caligula's proposed desecration of the temple and concluded that it must have been penned before Caligula's assassination in January 41 C.E. (*Documents of the Primitive Church* [New York/London: Harper & Brothers, 1941], 31–33); similarly Günther Zuntz, "Wann wurde das Evangelium Marci geschrieben?" in *Markus-Philologie: Historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium* [ed. Hubert Cancik; WUNT 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984], 47–71). On the belief that Peter came to Rome in 42 C.E. (Eusebius, *Chronikon*; see *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* VII of *Eusebius Werke* [ed. R. Helm; GCS Eusebius 9; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956], 179) and following Clement's view that Mark composed the Gospel while Peter was alive, J. A. T. Robinson speculates that the Gospel was written ca. 45 C.E. (*Redating the New Testament* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976], 112–17; similarly Willoughby C. Allen, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* [Oxford Church Biblical Commentary; London: Rivingtons, 1914], 5–6). Adolf von Harnack conjectured that Mark should be dated prior to the death of Paul on the grounds that Luke, supposedly Paul's companion, knew Mark's Gospel: "Tradition asserts no veto against the hypothesis that St Luke, when he met St Mark in the company of St Paul the prisoner, was permitted by him to peruse a written record of the Gospel history which was essentially identical with the gospel of St Mark given to the church at a later time; indeed, the peculiar relation that exists between our second and third gospel suggests that St Luke was not yet acquainted with St Mark's final revision, which, as we can quite well imagine, St Mark undertook while in Rome" (*The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels* [New Testament Studies 4; London; Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911], 133). This would put Mark in the 50s. Bo I. Reicke argues similarly: the Synoptic predictions about the destruction of Jerusalem do

for this dating vary. Earlier commentators tended to place considerable stock in the patristic testimony, which claimed that the author of the Second Gospel was a companion of Peter, which in turn implied a date for the Gospel either during Peter's lifetime or shortly after his death—in any event, before 70 C.E.[2] More recent scholarship has insisted on internal evidence of date, with attention mainly falling on Mark 13. There is no strong tendency apparent: although perhaps the majority hold that Mark looks back on the destruction of the Second Temple,[3] a few recent commentators, usually combining patristic testimony with internal evidence, hold that Mark ought to be placed shortly before 70 C.E.[4]

---

not betray knowledge of the actual events; and if Acts is dated ca. 62 C.E., then Mark (Matthew and Luke) should be dated before 62 C.E. ("Synoptic Prophecies on the Destruction of Jerusalem," in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of Allen P. Wikgren* [ed. David E. Aune; NovTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1972], 121–34, here 133–34). This early date is followed by Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 1041–42. N. H. Taylor, who argues that Mark 13 was formed during the Caligula crisis (in 40 C.E.), holds that Mark was not composed later than 62 C.E. ("The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Transmission of the Synoptic Eschatological Discourse," *HvTSt* 59, no. 2 [2003]: 283–311).

[2] E.g., Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* (London: Macmillan, 1952), 31–32 and the authors cited there. More recently, E. Earle Ellis dates the Gospel between 50 and 60 C.E. on the strength of patristic testimony ("The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* [ed. Frans Van Segbroeck et al.; 3 vols.; BETL 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1992], 801–15).

[3] E.g., Adolf Jülicher, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. Janet Penrose Ward; London: Smith, Elder, 1904), 324; James Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (3rd rev. ed.; International Theological Library; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1918), 227; Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (THKNT 2; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), 25; Nikolaus Walter, "Tempelzerstörung und synoptische Apokalypse," *ZNW* 57 (1966): 38–49, here 43; Rudolf Pesch, *Naherwartung: Tradition und Redaktion in Markus 13* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1968), 218–23; John R. Donahue, *Are You the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 10; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1973), 131–32; Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (rev. English ed.; trans. Howard C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 98; Philipp Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 347; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2; Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder, 1976–77 [2nd ed., 1977–80]), 1:14; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (EKKNT 2; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978–79), 1:34–35; Walter Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (ÖTKNT 2; Gütersloh: Mohn; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1979), 61; Dieter Lührmann, *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 6; Joel Marcus, "The Jewish War and the *Sitz im Leben* of Mark," *JBL* 111 (1992): 460. Morton Smith puts the Gospel ca. 75 C.E. on the basis of Mark's reports of conflict with the Pharisees, which Smith argues reflects the period after the revolt when reorganized Pharisaic groups came into conflict with the Jesus movement (*Jesus the Magician* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978], 29, 155).

[4] William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 17–21; Martin Hengel, *Studies*

The pertinence and reliability of patristic testimony are much in question, but in any event do not take us back much earlier than Clement of Alexandria and Irenaeus at the end of the second century.[5] The best place to begin is with the internal references. Several texts are routinely cited that point to a *relatively* early dating, but none of these permits us to narrow down the date to one side of 70 C.E. or the other. Mark 9:1 and 13:30 predict that some of Jesus' contemporaries will live to see the *parousia,* predictions that, given a mean life expectancy of forty years, would point to a date not too much later than 70 C.E. Such indications of date are not very strong, however, since Matthew, usually dated in the 80s, has taken over the two Markan predictions almost unchanged. If Matthew was able to tolerate failed or obviously failing predictions, then so might Mark.[6]

Likewise, details such as the explicit naming of Alexander and Rufus as the sons of Simon of Cyrene (15:21) or Mark's unelaborated references to "the high priest" (14:53) and Pilate (15:2), in contrast to Matthew and Luke, who identify the high priest as Caiaphas (Matt 26:3, 57; Luke 3:2) and Pilate as "the governor" (Matt 27:11; Luke 3:1), presuppose an audience that does not need explanations for these persons.[7] Or again, Mark's presentation of Jesus' opponents,

---

in the Gospel of Mark (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 1–30; Robert Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (WBC 34A; Dallas: Word, 1989), xxix–xxxii; E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), 16–21.

[5] Patristic references are divided between reports that Mark wrote while Peter was yet alive but that Peter did not endorse the Gospel (Clement, *Hypotyposeis* in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.5–7; Clement, *Adumbrationes ad. 1 Pet. 5:13* [*ANF* 2:573]) and those which claim that Mark was written after Peter's death (Anti-Marcionite Prologues; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.1.1 [*apud* Eusebium, *Hist. eccl.* 5.8.2–4]), with Clement's Mar Saba letter to Theodore holding that Mark composed a first edition while Peter was in Rome, and a second "more spiritual Gospel" after his death (Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973], 446). The genesis of these confused reports appears to be attempts to reconcile the fact that a Gospel associated with Peter was in circulation, but without any collateral tradition of Petrine endorsement (Clement in *Hypotyposeis* in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.15.1–2 contradicts the statement in 6.14.5–7 by claiming that Peter became aware of Mark's work "by revelation" and "authorized the scripture for concourse in the churches"). The connection between Mark and Peter, however, goes back to Papias's "elder" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15), though Papias says nothing of the circumstances under which Mark wrote, and it is not even clear that Papias's "Mark" is the Second Gospel. It is not clear that the connection between Peter and Mark is based entirely on inferences drawn from 1 Pet 5:13, whose pseudepigraphical status renders any conclusions highly precarious. But the unlikelihood of any direct connection between Peter and the author of the Gospel of Mark is manifest once one considers the unflattering manner in which Peter is depicted in Mark's Gospel. For a careful discussion of the patristic evidence, see C. Clifton Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter* (Studies on Personalities of the New Testament; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

[6] Moffatt, *Introduction*, 212.

[7] Hengel, *Studies*, 9.

which, unlike Matthew's account, distinguishes between scribes and Pharisees (Mark 2:15) and, unlike Matthew (3:7; 16:1), restricts the Sadducees to the environs of Jerusalem, reflects a greater awareness of the religious topography of Judea prior to the first revolt.[8] These data, however, point only to a *relatively* early date for the Gospel and do not permit any greater precision.

The key texts for the dating of Mark come down to Mark 13:1–2, the prediction of the temple's total destruction, and Mark 13:14, the cryptic remark about "the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not stand" (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ).

I. Mark 13:14

The significance of Mark 13:14 for dating is made particularly difficult to gauge owing to the facts that (a) the verse is reusing a much older topos, and that (b) there is a strong possibility that Mark himself has redacted an earlier apocalypse of which Mark 13:14 was a part. The phrase τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως is clearly indebted to Dan 9:27, where Daniel described the erection of an altar to Baʿal Šemayim or Zeus Olympos by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 B.C.E. (cf. 1 Macc 1:54–56). The author of this portion of Mark 13:14 is not rehearsing the events leading to the Maccabean revolt, but instead reuses Daniel's phrase to anticipate some event in his immediate future or to recall an event just past. The description of the θλῖψις in the next verses (13:15–20) makes clear that the events in question will be far more terrible and destructive than those following Antiochus's desecration of the sanctuary, and rather than Maccabean-style resistance, the author advises flight (οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη).

Several authors have argued that the reference to the "abomination of desolation" betrays knowledge of the events of August 70 C.E. S. G. F. Brandon put the case most trenchantly, arguing that while the parenthetical comment "let the reader take note" is designed to direct the reader's attention to a specific event, no such event matching Mark 13:14 is known to have occurred in Judea prior to 70 C.E.[9] Brandon accepted the thesis that Mark used an apocalyptic tract containing a prediction of the desecration of the temple (13:14), probably sparked by Caligula's plan to erect a statue of himself in the temple. Caligula's assassination on January 24, 41 C.E. ended the crisis for the moment. But the memory of the incident lived on, and the continued Roman occupation of Judea would have raised the constant apprehension of a repetition of the threat to the sanctity of the temple. Mark's parenthesis suggests that the temple was

[8] Ibid., 9–10.

[9] S. G. F. Brandon, "The Date of the Markan Gospel," *NTS* 7 (1960): 126–41, here 133.

desecrated, and the only event that qualifies, according to Brandon, occurred in August 70, when the victorious legionaries of Titus erected their standards in the courtyard of the temple, sacrificed to them, and acclaimed Titus as *imperator*.[10] Brandon rightly points out that legionary standards were cult objects that bore the images of the gods and the emperor and hence constituted an abomination when placed in the courtyard.[11] Finally, Mark's curious use of the masculine participle ἑστηκώς (in place of the expected neuter) makes sense, given the fact that it was Titus himself who stood in the courtyard.[12]

[10] Josephus, *J.W.* 6.316: "The Romans, now that the rebels had fled to the city and the sanctuary itself and all around it was aflame, carried their standards into the Temple (court) and setting them up opposite the eastern gate sacrificed to them, and with rousing acclamations hailed Titus as *imperator* (αὐτοκράτορα). Brandon adds that Mark's account of the tearing of the temple veil (Mark 15:38) is unlikely as the creation of the early followers of Jesus, who were loyal to the temple rather than hostile to it and would not have created a story that linked Jesus' death to the destruction of the temple ("Date," 131–32). Josephus, however, indicates that curtains or tapestries from the temple formed part of the spoils taken to Rome (*J.W.* 7.162). It can be added that according to *J.W.* 6.388–91, Phineas ben Thebuthi, one of the priests, handed over to the Romans various sacred items, including the veils and vestments of the chief priests (τὰ καταπετάσματα καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τῶν ἀρχιερέων) and the "scarlet and purple kept for the necessary repairs of the veil of the temple" (πορφύραν τε πολλὴν καὶ κόκκον, ἃ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀπέκειτο τοῦ καταπετάσματος). The Babylonian Talmud *Git.* 56b contains the legendary account about Titus: "This was the wicked Titus who blasphemed and insulted Heaven. What did he do? He took a harlot by the hand and entered the Holy of Holies and spread out a scroll of the Law and committed a sin on it. He then took a sword and slashed the curtain. Miraculously blood spurted out, and he thought that he had slain himself, as it says, 'Your adversaries have roared in the midst of your assembly, they have set up their ensigns for signs' [Ps 74:4]." Brandon suggests that for Markan Christians, "from seeing in the ruin of the Jerusalem Temple a divine proclamation of the abrogation of the vaunted spiritual superiority of Judaism, it was natural for the eye of faith to see further that this event had been anticipated by the Crucifixion—hence the Roman tearing down of the Temple veil must have been anticipated by the rending of that veil on the earlier and more awful occasion." Further Christian references to the tearing of the veil are found in interpolations in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *T. Levi* 10:4; *T. Benj.* 9:4.

[11] 1QpHab 6.3–5: "Its interpretation [Hab 1:16a]: they [the Kittim] offer sacrifices to their standards and their weapons are the object of their worship." Tertullian remarks polemically (*Apol.* 16): *sed et Victorias adoratis . . . religio romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus diis praeponit*, "But you also worship victories. . . . The camp religion of the Romans is all through a worship of the standards, a setting the standards above all gods." On archaeological evidence of the use of weapons as objects of worship, see Ian Haynes, "Religion in the Roman Army: Unifying Aspects and Regional Trends," in *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Jörg Rüpke; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 113–26.

[12] Similarly, Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 222: "So wird vom Kontext des Markusevangeliums her nach [vv.] 2 und 7f. auch hier an die Zerstörung der Stadt und des Tempels zu denken sein: Jesu Voraussage erfüllt sich in der Gegenwart der Leser des Markusevangeliums. Gemeint ist mit dem 'Greuel der Verwüstung' in der mask. Form der römische Feldherr oder sein Heer als der 'greuliche Verwüster.'" G. R. Beasley-Murray (*Jesus and the Future: An Examination of the Criticism of the Eschatological Discourse of Mark 13* [London: Macmillan, 1954], 255–58) originally supposed that the reference was to Pilate's attempt to introduce standards into Jerusalem

Against this, Martin Hengel raised two important objections. First, the perfect participle ἑστηκώς "points more to the beginning of a permanent state of affairs associated with a specific person." In fact, Titus left the temple area quickly, entering the upper city in September 70 (*J.W.* 6.409), and after the razing of the city departed for Caesarea Maritima and then Caesarea Philippi (*J.W.* 7.20, 23). Second, Hengel points out that Mark 13:14a is presented as a sign that ought to provoke flight (Mark 13:14b–17). But a summons to flee upon seeing the abomination of desolation would have made little sense if directed at those inside Jerusalem,[13] since Titus had by that time erected a circumvallation wall. Josephus's account, moreover, indicates that after the Romans breached the third and second walls, desertion and flight were just as likely to end in death and slavery as in escape, especially for Jews of little means.[14] The summons to flight makes just as little sense if it is directed at the inhabitants of the Judean hills, whose land by that time had already been overrun. It should be noted additionally that by the time Titus occupied the Temple Mount, it would be impossible for anyone but Roman troops to "see" (ἴδητε, 13:14) a person standing in the court of the temple, since Mount Scopus was occupied by Legio V Macedonia, XII Fulminata, and XV Apollinaris, and the Mount of Olives was the camp for Legio X Fretensis.[15] To these arguments Gerd Theissen adds:

> it is improbable that a flight that has already occurred is being concealed here in the form of a *vaticinium ex eventu.* In that case, we would tend to expect a prophecy formulated in the future tense: "But when the desolating sacrilege stands where it should not stand, those in Judaea *will* flee to the mountains."[16]

Thus, it seems unlikely that Mark 13:14 was specifically formulated with Titus's desecration of the temple area in view, since it so poorly fits the details.[17]

(Josephus, *Ant.* 18.55–57; *J.W.* 2.169–70), but now, citing Lührmann, states: "I would not now adhere to this interpretation, but I do see the association of the Roman army with its idolatrous ensigns as significant" (*Jesus and the Last Days: The Interpretation of the Olivet Discourse of Mark 13* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993], 415 n. 112).

[13] Pesch suggested that since Judea is already in the hill country, the original reference in 13:14b is for those *in Jerusalem* to flee, and that Mark changed this to Judea, since his congregation did not live in Judea (*Naherwartung,* 139–49). In his later commentary, Pesch argues that οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ was in the pre-Markan apocalypse since "es [handelt] sich um eine Weisung der Jerusalemer Gemeinde (die ihre Flucht nach Pella vorbereitet) an die judenchristlichen Gemeinden Judäas (im Umkreis Jerusalems)" (*Markusevangelium,* 2:292).

[14] See Jonathan J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State 66–70 C.E.* (Brill Series in Jewish Studies 3; Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill, 1992), 135–41, 293–97.

[15] The hill to the south, Jebel el-Mukabber ("the Hill of Evil Council") is too distant from the Temple Mount to permit a viewer to see a person standing on the platform.

[16] Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 132.

[17] Joel Marcus ("Jewish War," 454–55), who argues for a date of Mark after the end of the

It is possible, nevertheless, to assert a post-70 date for Mark by arguing that Mark was using a pre-Markan apocalyptic tractate or apocalypse in the composition of Mark 13, consisting of at least vv. 6–8, 12–13, 14–22, 24–27. On this view, the anticipation of an "abomination of desolation" originally referred to an anticipated *desecration* (rather than destruction) of the temple, as it did in the case of Daniel, and was inspired either by the Caligula episode[19] or by a more general apocalyptic topos of the appearance of an anti-Christ (e.g., 2 Thess 2:4). In the wake of the destruction of the temple, however, Mark reused this apocalypse, interpreting τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως now as the destruction of the temple itself.[20] In order to sustain this dating, it is also necessary to invoke the supplementary hypothesis that Mark barely edited his pre-Markan apocalyptic source, not bothering to adapt its details to what he knew of the events of 70 C.E. Indeed, Pesch argues that Mark's was a conservative

---

war (p. 460), nonetheless suggests that the "abomination of desolation" refers to the occupation and defilement of the sanctuary by Eleazar b. Simon (*J.W.* 5.5–10, 98–104). He cites a number of expressions of horror at the Zealot's defilement of the temple: *J.W.* 4.182–83, 201, 388; 6.95. While it is difficult to judge just what events an apocalypticist might take to be a fulfillment of Danielic prophecy, it is unclear how Mark's description of the "abomination of desolation" *standing* (ἑστηκώς) where it ought not could convey the defilement of the sanctuary by human blood that Josephus describes.

[18] E.g., Pesch (*Naherwartung*, 207–18), who posits a three-part Jewish (not Jewish-Christian) flyleaf, consisting of (I) vv. 6, 22, 7b, 8, 12, 13b; (II) vv. 14–20a [18 is uncertain]; and (III) vv. 24–27. Later Pesch posited a pre-Markan Jewish-Christian apocalypse containing vv. 7–9, [10], 11–13, 14–22, 24–31 (*Markusevangelium*, 2:266–67). Pesch is influenced by Ferdinand Hahn ("Die Rede von der Parusie des Menschensohnes, Markus 13," in *Jesus und der Menschensohn: Für Anton Vögtle* [ed. Rudolf Pesch and Rudolf Schnackenburg; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1975], 240–66), who included vv. 7–8, 14–22, 24–31 and possibly 9–13 in a pre-Markan Jewish-Christian apocalypse.

The positing of an independent apocalypse goes back to Timothée Colani (*Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps* [2nd rev. and augmented ed.; Strasbourg: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1864], 201–3), who argued that Mark 13:5–31 was an independent Jewish-Christian document used by the Synoptics. His thesis was adopted (with various modifications) by Carl Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen, und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung* (Gotha: Rudolf Besser, 1864), 120–22; Otto Pfeiderer, "Über die Composition der eschatologischen Rede, Mt. 24,4ff," *Jahrbuch für Deutsche Theologie* 13 (1968): 134–49; Hans Hinrich Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1886 [2. Aufl. 1901]), 15–21; Gustav Volkmar, *Die Evangelien: Oder, Marcus und die synopsis der kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Evangelien nach dem ältesten Text, mit historisch-exegetischen Commentar* (Leipzig: Ludwig Friedrich Fues [R. Reisland], 1870), 542; Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt* (2nd ed.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909), 99–107, and many others. This thesis is elaborately defended by Theissen, *Gospels in Context*, 128–65.

[19] This view is at least as early as A. Piganiol, "Observations sur la date de l'apocalypse synoptique," *RHPR* 4 (1924): 245–49.

[20] E.g., Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:292: "Im Kontext von V 2 und der ersten, red[aktionellen] gebildeten Jüngerfrage von V 4 deutet Markus V 14 auf die Tempelzerstörung selbst." Pesch does not explain how Mark's ἑστηκότα would make sense in this context.

editorial policy throughout the Gospel,[21] allowing him (apparently) to tolerate elements that did not clearly fit the events to which he wanted to refer.

The disadvantages of this solution mount, however, when one considers Mark's inclusion of the wish that the events leading to flight "not occur during the winter" (13:18). This fits well the Caligula crisis, which was escalating during the summer and fall of 40, just before the onset of the winter rains, but it hardly fits the events of August 70 C.E.[22] Thus, once again it would be necessary to posit a negligent editor, who missed the fact that the desecration of the sanctuary by Titus and its subsequent destruction occurred before the winter of 70 C.E. This is certainly possible—the redactors of the Gospels elsewhere are guilty of clumsy editing[23]—but it is not an entirely happy solution. Since both Matthew and Luke were quite capable of alleviating the tensions created by vv. 14 and 18 when read in a post-70 situation, it is odd that a post-70 Mark could not or did not.[24]

Without abandoning the advantages of positing a pre-Markan apocalypse to account for the anachronistic reference to flight in winter,[25] several authors

[21] Ibid., 2:267.

[22] Lloyd Gaston (*No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* [NovTSup 23; Leiden: Brill, 1970], 25, 61), citing G. Hölscher ("Der Ursprung der Apokalypse Mk 13," *ThBl* 12 [1933]: 193–202, here 201), dates the pre-Markan apocalypse to the winter of 40 C.E., and Mark to slightly before 70 C.E. Theissen (*Gospels in Context*, 161), though he dissents from a pre-70 dating for the Gospel, agrees with Gaston's dating of the pre-Markan apocalypse: "The composition of the synoptic apocalypse would thus be dated to the year 40 C.E. We can limit the date even further: it would be in that period when the erection of one or several statues of the emperor in the temple was threatened. . . . Whether the threatened desecration of the temple was generally known at harvest time in May (Philo) or at the time of sowing in October-November (Josephus), in either case the winter was inexorably approaching. Thus, the plea that the flight not occur in winter is understandable because it is especially difficult to secure food at that time of year."

[23] Mark S. Goodacre, "Fatigue in the Synoptics," *NTS* 44, no. 1 (1998): 45–58, www.ntgateway.com/synoptic/articles.htm.

[24] While Mark treats the events of 13:14–20 as either in the immediate past or immediate future, Matthew makes it clear that 24:15–22 (|| Mark 13:14–20) belongs to the more remote future: it follows the full evangelization of the nations (24:14). Moreover, Matthew treats τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως as an event foreseen by Daniel (τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιήλ τοῦ προφήτου), and though he expressly indicates that this desecration will occur ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ (on the destroyed Temple Mount?), nothing suggests that he has the actual destruction of the temple by Titus in mind.

Luke, by contrast, completely historicizes the prediction, treating it as a prediction of Titus's destruction of Jerusalem: he refers to the encircling of Jerusalem (21:20); he changes τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως to ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς (scil. Jerusalem), drops ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, so that the prediction is *limited* to the destruction of Jerusalem; to the warning to flee to the hills, he adds καὶ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκχωρείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν εἰς αὐτήν to stress the danger within the city (21:21); and he omits the reference to winter (since presumably he knew that the final assault occurred in the summer).

[25] The warning about flight during winter also has a thoroughly pragmatic aspect. Pesch draws attention to another way of accounting for the reference to the winter (*Markusevangelium*,

have alleviated the tensions created by vv. 14 and 18 by arguing that Mark was composed prior to 70 C.E. Accordingly, for the author of Mark, the expectation of a desecration of the sanctuary, either by the installation of a pagan altar similar to that used by Antiochus IV Epiphanes or by a cult image such as that planned by Caligula, was yet unrealized, but under the circumstances of an impending threat by the Romans, scarcely an unrealistic apprehension. The fact that Mark 13:14, in contrast to Luke, stresses not the destruction of Jerusalem but the desecration of the sanctuary, and the fact that Mark preserves the advice to flee, might imply a date relatively early in the revolt, probably before Titus's arrival in Jerusalem in Xanthikos (March/April) of 70 (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.40–49), and certainly before the erection of the circumvallation wall in Daisios (May/June) (*J.W.* 5.499–511), after which time flight would be nearly impossible.[26] Hengel dates Mark as late as winter 68/69 to winter 69/70, that is, before Titus's arrival in Jerusalem but in an atmosphere of speculation about a Nero *redivivus* who might desecrate the temple and inaugurate a period of messianic woes.[27]

But we are faced with a dilemma. Thanks to Mark 13:1–2, the overall framing of Mark 13 emphasizes the destruction of the temple, and it is this framing that in turn makes it possible to read 13:14–20 as a reference not merely to the desecration of the temple but to its complete destruction. The theme of the destruction of the temple is far from a footnote to Markan thought, but pervades much of Mark 11–15.[28] It first appears in the Markan unit formed by bracketing the disruption of the temple (Mark 11:15–19) with the cursing of the barren fig tree (Mark 11:12–14, 19–21), a construction that implies doom for the temple. John P. Heil observes:

> The Marcan audience realizes that the temple, like the fruitless fig tree, is condemned to destruction for failing to attain its purpose to be a house of prayer for all peoples. They must adopt Jesus' attitude toward the temple by rejecting it as a den of robbers, just as he has rejected it and left it twice with his disciples.[29]

2:293–94): Josephus tells of Jewish refugees from Gadara attempting to flee east of the Jordan in 68 C.E. who were prevented from fording the Jordan because it was swollen from winter rains; they were slaughtered there by the pursuing Romans (*J.W.* 4.433– 36). Similarly, Gundry, *Mark*, 743.

[26] Price, *Jerusalem under Siege*, 127–35, 143.

[27] Hengel, *Studies*, 28.

[28] See Werner H. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 111–13; Donahue, *Are You the Christ?* 103–38; Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 290–97; Timothy J. Geddert, *Watchwords: Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology* (JSNTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 113–47; Scott G. Brown, "Mark 11:1–12:12: A Triple Intercalation?" *CBQ* 64 (2002): 78–89.

[29] John P. Heil, "The Narrative Strategy and Pragmatics of the Temple Theme in Mark," *CBQ* 59 (1997): 76–100, here 78.

A direct threat against the temple is attributed to Jesus at his trial (14:58) and, given the anti-temple theme developed in 11:12–21; 13:1–2; and 14:58, it is hard to read the comment about the tearing of the temple veil at Jesus' death (15:38) as anything but an ominous sign portending the judgment of the temple by God and its eventual destruction.[30] The connection that Mark draws between Jesus' fate and the fate of the temple can be seen also in his editing of the parable of the Tenants, in which the narrative of the death of the "beloved son" is connected with the destruction of the wicked tenants, who act like the λῃσταί of Mark 11:17 (cf. 14:48) and whom Mark identifies with the priestly elite of Jerusalem (Mark 11:27; 12:12), that is, with those who were killed during the First Revolt. Other anti-temple themes appear in Mark's treatment of the question about the greatest commandment, where Jesus' scribal interlocutor states περισσότερόν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν (12:33) and is congratulated for this; in Jesus' commentary on the rapacity of the scribes (whom Mark associates with the temple), who consume the "houses of widows"; and in the contrasting panel picturing the widow whose quadran is worth more *coram deo* than the large sums contributed by others to the temple. Obviously Mark's economics, if fully enacted, would have been disastrous for the operation of the temple.

Although component units of Mark 11–15 are undoubtedly early, Mark's framing of these chapters appears as a retrospective account that provides an aetiology of the events of 70 C.E. Nevertheless, the particulars of Mark 13:14-20 fit better with a pre-70 date than with a date after 70. If precedence is given to the framing of Mark (11:14–12:44) 13:1–37 (14:1–15:39) and it is accordingly dated after 70 C.E., we are then obliged to treat Mark as a rather careless redactor who did not bother to adjust the particulars of the discourse to fit the events to which he wished the predictions of vv. 14-20 to refer. Within the fabric of Mark 11–15 it is Mark 13:1–2, the explicit prediction of the dismantling of the temple, that conveys the clearest impression of knowledge of the events of August 70—hence the retrospective cast to Mark's account. Thus, weight of a decision about the dating of Mark falls on an evaluation of the significance of Mark 13:1–2.

II. Mark 13:1–2

Mark's chria in 13:1–2, containing Jesus' response to an expression of wonder at the grandeur of the Herodian temple, forecasts the total destruction of

[30] The uses of ἐσχίσθη (*passivum divinum*) and ἀπ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω point to God's judgment and action. The conjunction of σχίζειν and the confession of Jesus as "son of God" (15:39) recall the baptismal scene (1:9–11). The veil of the temple had the heavens depicted on it, and thus Mark's tearing of the heavens at the baptism anticipates the later tearing of the veil.

the temple. It is this chria that allows Mark 13:14 to be read as an oracle not about the desecration of the temple, as it might be in isolation, but about its destruction,[31] something that becomes patent in Luke's editing of Mark. The key question is: Does Mark 13:2 betray knowledge of the destruction of the temple by Titus?

Whereas one can perhaps resolve tensions between Mark 13:14–20 and a post-70 date for the composition of Mark by appealing to Mark's clumsy use of pre-Markan materials, this is not an option with Mark 13:1–2. There are ample signs of Mark's editorial hand.[32] Moreover, Mark 13:1–2 is rarely if ever ascribed to the putative pre-Markan apocalypse, which is normally thought to have begun at Mark 13:5.[33]

The fact that the framework of the chria concerns the buildings *of the temple,* but that Jesus' saying, βλέπεις ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς. οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, speaks only of the demolition of *large buildings* has encouraged the thesis that the original saying of Jesus (13:2b) is a variant of Luke 19:44, which concerned the destruction of the city rather than the temple specifically. On this view Mark has converted a more general prediction into one concerning the temple.[34] At this point it is not necessary for me to referee the debate concerning the origin and authenticity of Mark 13:2 or its relationship to Luke 19:42–44, Mark 14:58, John 2:19, or Acts 6:14, although at the end of this article I will suggest a connection with Q 13:35a.[35] What is clear

[31] Gaston, *No Stone on Another*, 64: "[Mark] has managed to give a completely new interpretation both to the saying of Jesus in Vs 2 and to the oracle concerning the appalling sacrilege in Vs 14ff. Whereas the original oracle spoke of the *desecration* of the temple, the later prophetic discourse referred to the destruction of *Jerusalem* as the herald of the last great tribulation of the end times. Mark gives his source quite a different aspect when he makes it refer by virtue of its position to the *destruction of the temple*" (emphasis original).

[32] See Jan Lambrecht, *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse* (AnBib 28; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), 89–91; Frans Neirynck, "Marc 13: Examen critique de l'interprétation de R. Pesch," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. Jan Lambrecht and G. R. Beasley-Murray; BETL 53; Leuven: Leuven University Press; Gembloux: Duculot, 1980), 397–99.

[33] See n. 18 above. Pesch believes that Mark 13:1–2 was not part of the pre-Markan apocalypse, but part of a pre-Markan passion source that began with 13:1–2 and continued with 14:1–2. Thus, Mark used the chria about the temple (13:1–2) in his passion source as the occasion to insert the apocalyptic discourse into his Gospel (*Markusevangelium*, 2:268–72).

[34] Gaston argues that Mark secondarily applied the tradition preserved in Luke 19:44 (concerning the city) to the temple (*No Stone on Another*, 242, 424). "If Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai and Josephus and Jesus ben Hananiah could threaten the destruction of Jerusalem, there is no reason why Jesus could not also have done so. Thus there is no reason why Mk 13:2 should not be considered a genuine saying of Jesus, as long as it is recognized that it, like its parallel Lk 19:44, was directed against the city as a whole as a part of a political judgment" (pp. 424–25).

[35] Lars Hartman distinguishes between two variants of the saying (*Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par.*

at this point is that whatever ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς might have meant in its putative pre-Markan context, in Mark the "buildings" in question are those of the temple, and the prediction concerns the destruction of the temple specifically.[36]

The problem presented by Mark 13:2 is not simply that it forecasts the destruction of the temple. The Tanak contains various predictions of the destruction of the temple or the ruin of Jerusalem, including the Deuteronomistic threat that if Israel is unfaithful, "this house will become a heap of ruins; everyone passing by it will be astonished" (1 Kgs 9:8).[37] *1 Enoch* 90:28–30 predicts the removal ("folding up") of the temple as a necessary preliminary to the establishing of a new city and temple;[38] Yohanan ben Zakkai is said to have pre-

---

[ConBNT 1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966], 219–20): Mark 13:2 and Luke 19:44 treat only the destruction of the temple/city, while Mark 14:58; 15:59; John 2:19; and Acts 6:14 present a longer two-part form. Hartman thinks that both versions could have "existed side by side from the beginning." Jacques Dupont rejects any connection between Mark 13:2 and Mark 14:58 and argues that "le vrai parallèle de Mc 13,2 se trouve en Lc 19,44" ("Il n'en sera pas laissée pierre sur pierre (Mc 13,2; Luc 19,44)," *Bib* 52 [1971]: 301–20); Luke 19:44 is not literarily dependent on Mark 13:2 but belongs to the source from which Luke took 19:43–44b, while Mark 13:2 is not the redactional work of Mark. Dupont raises, but does not answer, the question of whether the Markan version (destruction of the temple framed in the passive) or the Lukan version (destruction of the city, by enemies) is the more original. John R. Donahue argues that Mark 14:58 joins two originally separate sayings, a threat against the temple (and related to Mark 13:2; Q 13:34–35) and a second that spoke of the building of another *naos* (*Are You the Christ?* 107–9).

[36] Beasley-Murray argues that the distinction that Gaston makes between 13:2 and Luke 19:44 does not hold: "[I]t may be doubted that Mark 13:2 related originally to the ruin of the city rather than the temple, and that such importance attaches to the issue as Gaston has implied, since neither city nor temple could be destroyed without the other. It is worth observing, nevertheless, that both Luke and Mark explicitly relate the word of Jesus to the stones of the temple, and Gaston is insistent that Luke is independent of Mark in this respect" (*Jesus and the Last Days*, 286).

[37] See also Amos 9:1: "I saw the LORD standing beside the altar, and he said: 'Smite the capitals until the thresholds shake, and shatter them on the heads of all the people; and what are left of them I will slay with the sword; not one of them shall flee away, not one of them shall escape'"; Mic 3:12: "Therefore because of you Zion shall be plowed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins, and the mountain of the house a wooded height"; Jer 7:13–14: "And now, because you have done all these things . . . [14]therefore I will do to the house . . . as I did to Shiloh"; 26:4–6: "You shall say to them, Thus says the LORD: If you will not listen to me, to walk in my law which I have set before you . . . [6]then I will make this house like Shiloh, and I will make this city a curse for all the nations of the earth. . . ."

[38] *1 Enoch* 90:28–30: "And I stood up to see until they folded up that old house and carried off all the pillars; and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it; and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I looked until the lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up; all its pillars were new and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which he had taken away, and all the sheep were within it." On this, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (ed. Klaus Baltzer; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 404–6.

dicted the destruction of the temple by Vespasian, although this is part of a post-70 aetiology of the establishing of a rabbinic academy at Yavneh (*Lam Rab* 1:31);[39] and Josephus relates the story of a peasant, one Jesus ben Ḥananiah (Ananias), who for nearly seven and one-half years proclaimed the ruin of the city and the temple, beginning at Sukkot in 62 C.E. and continuing until he was killed by a ballista fired by Titus's troops (*J.W.* 6.300–309).[40] The problem with Mark 13:2, rather, is the specificity of the prediction: οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον. The fact that this seems to correspond so precisely to what occurred invites the conclusion that it was formulated (or reformulated) *ex eventu*.

According to Josephus, Titus ordered

> the whole city and the Temple to be razed to the ground . . . and all the rest of the wall encompassing the city was so completely leveled to the ground as to leave future visitors to the spot no ground for believing that it had ever been inhabited. (*J.W.* 7.1, 3)

This is an exaggeration of course. As is well known, not all of the temple platform was destroyed—probably because dislodging the top courses created a rubble fill, at least on the southwestern and southern parts of the platform, which eventually prevented more ashlars from being pried off. Thus, it might be argued that if Mark 13:2 refers to the entire temple complex, the very fact that Jesus' prediction was not literally fulfilled is an indication that it was not composed with the events of August 70 in view.[42] This argument, however,

[39] According to this tradition Vespasian granted Yavneh to Yohanan following the latter's acclamation of him as *imperator*: "R. Yohanan b. Zakkai came out and went among the soldiers of Vespasian. He said to them, 'Where is the king?' They went and told Vespasian, 'A Jew is asking for you.' He said to them, 'Let him come.' On his arrival he exclaimed, '*Vive domine Imperator!*' Vespasian remarked, 'You give me a royal greeting but I am not king; and should the king hear of it he will put me to death.' He said to him, 'If you are not the king you will be eventually, because the Temple will only be destroyed by a king's hand'; as it is said, 'And Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one' [Isa 10: 34]."

[40] Josephus (*J.W.* 6.301) reports his oracles as φωνὴ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς, φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναόν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν πάντα, "a voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against the bridegroom and the bride, a voice against all the people."

[41] Josephus, *J.W.* 7.1, 3: κελεύει Καῖσαρ ἤδη τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν νεὼν κατασκάπτειν . . . τὸν δ᾽ ἄλλον ἅπαν τα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδεπώποτ᾽ οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι.

[42] Sanders and Davies argue that Mark's prediction is technically inaccurate and therefore cannot be *ex eventu:* "The temple was destroyed by fire, and many of the stones remained standing —some can be seen to this day. Here we probably have a genuine prediction, not a fake one written after the fact, since it did not come true in a precise sense" (*Studying*, 18). Later they concede that Mark may have been written after 70 C.E., but in that case, one would have to suppose that Mark had only heard of the destruction of the temple but knew nothing of the details of the destruction;

seems needlessly pedantic. Titus's destruction of Jerusalem was thorough and Josephus's own statement suggests that Mark 13:2 would have served as a generally credible summary of what occurred. And if Mark 13:2 refers to the temple proper, as Theissen has urged,[43] the prediction is perfectly accurate.

The key question that this article asks is whether, and under what circumstances, an observer of the events *prior* to destruction of the Second Temple might reasonably surmise that the fate of the temple was that it be razed. Schmithals excludes this possibility entirely:

> Does the narrator anticipate the destruction of the Temple, or does he look back on it? The latter is more probable; for the *total* destruction of the Temple of which verse 2 speaks corresponds more naturally to the reaction of the Romans after the capture of Jerusalem *that could not be foreseen*. . . . Accordingly the narrator is writing in or shortly after 70 CE.[44]

Joel Marcus's contention is similar:

> Although, admittedly, far-sighted people in the late sixties of the first century might have been able to guess that the Temple would be destroyed, the precision of the "prophecy" in 13:1–2 indicates that it has been written after the event.[45]

Brandon supplies a possible logic for the creation of 13:1–2:

> From the abundant evidence which we have that the *Urgemeinde* continued to worship in the Temple it would appear that the repudiation of the charge that Jesus threatened to destroy it [Mark 14:58] must have come from those original Jewish Christians of Jerusalem. This then being the received tradi-

---

"or possibly he knew and chose not to change the prediction that 'not one stone would be left on another'" (p. 21). But see n. 44 below, for Nikolaus Walter's response.

[43] Theissen, *Gospels in Context*, 259: "The restrictive ὧδε could be a hint that only the buildings of the temple platform, but not its foundation walls, would be destroyed. . . . The prophecy has been refined *ex eventu*." Pesch regards ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ as a "Verdeutlichung des *vaticinium* Jesu *ex eventu*" (*Markusevangelium*, 2:271): "Die Vorhersage ist jetzt so deutlich, daß man vermuten kann, der Evangelist habe schon Kenntnis von dem gehabt, das JosBell VII, 1, 1 (§1) so überliefert ist. . . ."

[44] Schmithals, *Markus*, 558 (my translation; emphasis added). Walter stresses the complete agreement between Mark's prediction and the events of August 70 C.E., rejecting any attempt to distinguish between what occurred (destruction by fire) and Mark's prediction, which implies dismantling (Schleifung): "Aber bald darauf [the burning of the Temple] gab Vespasian [sic!] den Befehl, Stadt und Tempel zu schleifen (bell. VI 250–266), der sogleich, also noch im Jahre 70, durchgeführen wurde. . . . dem Zustand, der sich Ende des Jahres 70 darbot, entspricht die Beschreibung in Mc 13,2 durchaus" ("Tempelzerstörung," 42). It is also now clear from excavations at the southwestern corner of the Temple platform that the ashlars were pried loose and toppled down from the platform, landing on *clean* Herodian pavement, which can only have occurred in 70 C.E., not subsequently. [I owe this observation to Dan Bahat.]

[45] Marcus, "Jewish War," 460.

> tion for the author of Mark, he duly recorded it. Since he thus had the authority of the *Urgemeinde* for dissociating Jesus from a hostile attitude to the Temple, why did he then risk misunderstanding by attributing to Jesus the prophecy of xiii.1–3? There seems to be but one answer, and it has the merit of corresponding remarkably to the situation indicated by our other considerations. When the author of Mark wrote, the destruction of the Temple was "news"; indeed for the Christians of Rome, as we have seen, the most impressive of "news." In the circumstances, for such a writer, it would surely have been difficult to believe that this signal event had gone unforetold by the Lord Jesus. Therefore, since eschatological hopes had been influenced by it and had to be dealt with in his work, a Dominical anticipation of the ruin of the Temple would clearly best introduce the subject.[46]

Hengel, however, who dates the Gospel to the year of the Four Emperors, after the suicide of Nero and before Titus's assault on Jerusalem, argues, "Mark 13.2 in no way presupposes the catastrophe of 70. Mark may have formulated this sentence simply in view of the threatening situation in Judaea from the time of the sixties by using early tradition stemming from Jesus himself."[47]

Hengel's defense of a pre-70 date is based on the contention that there existed an "eschatological tradition about the καταλύειν of the temple"[48] even though apart from *1 En.* 90:28–30 and Josephus *J.W.* 6.300–309 the evidence is not copious.[49] He also points to a succession of political threats to the temple's existence that would have raised the apprehension that the temple might well be destroyed: the Seleucid general Nicanor's threat to "level the precinct of God to the ground and tear down the altar" (2 Macc 14:33); the advice proffered to Antiochus VII Sidetes to "take [Jerusalem] by storm and wipe out completely the race of the Jews"—which presumably would involve the destruction of the city and the temple;[50] and the burning of the porticoes of the temple by Roman troops as they suppressed disturbances that followed Herod's death (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.259–64).

But in the 60s Jerusalem was not being threatened by the Seleucids, and

[46] Brandon, "Date," 135.

[47] Hengel, *Studies*, 16.

[48] Ibid., 15 (emphasis original).

[49] John K. Riches, "Apocalyptic—Strangely Relevant," in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (ed. William Horbury; JSNTSup 48; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 249–50: "If Jesus predicted or threatened the destruction of the Temple, that would have been certainly striking and unusual, but not without precedent or subsequent exemplars." The same applies whether or not Mark 13:2 is authentic; it is not a common prediction.

[50] Diodorus Siculus 34.1.1; Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Section of Humanities; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–84), 1:181–83.

so the old threats of Nicanor and Antiochus VII are not relevant. The last-mentioned incident involving the Romans was not a preplanned act against the temple but a spur-of-the-moment act of troops attempting to defend themselves. In general, Romans regarded themselves as the most pious people on earth; they respected cultic sites, even of their enemies and subject peoples and thought it a sacrilege to interfere with them. But under specific circumstances, temples could be destroyed systematically, not as part of the collateral or accidental consequences of conflict, but deliberately, and it is just such a destruction that Mark 13:2 has in view. It has to do with the Roman siege practice of *evocatio deorum*—the "calling out" of the tutelary deity or deities of a city prior to its destruction, the "devoting" of its inhabitants to death or, more usually, slavery, and the razing of its buildings and temples.[51]

The practice of *evocatio* was sufficiently well known and widespread to make it a reasonable surmise that any hostilities with Rome might well eventuate in the abandoning of the sanctuary by the deity and its consequent destruction. Thus, it is possible to imagine a pre-70 date for the creation of Mark 13:2. *Evocatio* as a *literary motif*, however, is usually retrospective, belonging to the historiographical techniques related to the recording of omens and portents.

III. *Evocatio deorum*

The earliest reported instance of *evocatio* concerns the Etruscan city of Veii, twenty kilometers north of Rome.[52] The Romans, under the command of Marcus Furius Camillus, conquered the city after a long siege in 396 B.C.E. Just before the final attack, Camillus is reported to have prayed:

> Under your leadership, Pythian Apollo, and inspired by your will, I advance to destroy the city of Veii and to you I promise a tithe of its spoils. At the same time I beseech you, Queen Juno, who dwells now in Veii, to come with us

[51] As far as I am aware, the only scholar of Christian origins to mention *evocatio* is Hengel (*Studies*, 14), who rejects any connection between Mark 15:38 and the *evocatio* of the deity from the sanctuary.

[52] On *evocatio,* see Georg Wissowa, "Evocatio," *PW* 6:1152–53; Vsevolod Basanoff, *Evocatio: étude d'un rituel militaire romain* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études: Sciences religieuses 61; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1947); Werner Eisenhut, "Evocatio," *Kleine Pauly* 2:472–73; Joel Le Gall, "Evocatio," in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon* (Collections de la École française de Rome 27; Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1976), 519–24; Alain Blomart, "Die *evocatio* und der Transfer ›fremder‹ Götter von der Peripherie nach Rom," in *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Jörg Püpke; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 99–111; Hendrik S. Versnel, "Evocatio," *Der Neue Pauly* 4:329; Gabriella Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum: Historical & Mythical Interpretations of Ritualised Conquests in the Expansion of Ancient Rome* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum 16; Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2000).

> when we have obtained the victory, to our city—soon to be yours too—that a temple appropriate to your majesty may there receive you. (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.21.1–3)[53]

Livy relates the legend that as Camillus's sappers were digging beneath the temple of Juno, they overheard the soothsayer tell the Veiian king that whoever cut up the entrails of the sacrificial victim would obtain the victory and, hearing this, broke through, seized the entrails, and conveyed them to Camillus (though Livy describes this as a story more fit for the theater than it is to be believed [5.21.8–9]). After describing the looting of the city and the enslavement of its citizens, Livy adds that the temples were stripped and the cult images removed, "though more in the manner of worshipers than pillagers" (5.22.3: *sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo*) and that one of the young men charged with removing the image of Juno called out, "Will you go, Juno, to Rome?" to which the cult statue nodded assent. The statue was then borne to the Aventine where Camillus had commissioned a temple (5.23.7).[54]

By far the most famous case of *evocatio* is the transfer of Juno Caelestis—probably identified with the Phoenician goddess Tanit—from Carthage to Rome at the conclusion of the Third Punic War (146 B.C.E.). The main historical sources for the war, Polybios and Appian, say nothing of an *evocatio*. But in the first century B.C.E. Horace knew of the tradition that the tutelary deities of Carthage had departed and alluded to it in his *Odes* 2.25–28:

> 25 Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
> Afris inulta cesserat impotens
> tellure, uictorum nepotes
> rettulit inferias Iugurthae.
>
> Yes, Juno and the powers on high
> That left their Africa to its doom,
> Have led the victors' progeny
> As victims to Jugurtha's tomb.

[53] Livy 5.21.2–3: *"tuo ductu" inquit, "Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinc tus pergo ad delendam urbem Ueios, tibique hinc decimam 3 partem praedae uoueo. te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos uictores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat."*

[54] Plutarch (*Camillus* 5.4–6.2) relates, again with skepticism, the tale about the sacrificial entrails and gives a version of Camillus's invocation of Zeus and the gods (but not the vow to Apollo or his evocation of Juno). He does, however, relate a story of Camillus himself, who, while sacrificing in the temple of Juno and "praying the goddess to accept of their zeal," heard the statue say in low tones that she was ready and willing. Dionysios of Halicarnassus (13.3) relates Camillus's promise of a temple and "costly rites" for Juno, and says that he then sent one of the most distinguished of the *equites* to remove the statue and when one of the young men asked the goddess if she wished to go to Rome, the statue "answered in a loud voice that she did."

Two fourth-century commentators also knew the tradition: Servius, in his commentary on the *Aeneid* (12.841–42),[55] and especially Macrobius, who gives an account of the *carmen* used by Scipio Aemilanus to "evoke" the tutelary god of Carthage:

> To any god, to any goddess under whose protection are the people and the state of Carthage (*si deus si dea est cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela*), and chiefly to you who are charged with the protection of this city and people, I make prayer and do reverence and ask grace of you all, that you abandon the people and state of Carthage, forsake their places, temples, shrines, and city, and depart therefrom; and that upon that people and state you bring fear and terror and oblivion; that once put forth, you come to Rome, to me and to mine, and that our places, temples, shrines, and city may be more acceptable and pleasing to you; and that you take me and the Roman people and my soldiers under your charge; that we may know and understand the same. If you shall so have done, I vow to you temples and solemn games (*si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa ludosque facturum*). (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.9.7–8)

After the prayer and vow were recited, the entrails of a sacrificial victim were inspected to determine whether the gods had accepted the invitation. Closely associated with the *evocatio*, says Macrobius, is another rite, the *devotio*, by which "cities and armies are devoted to destruction after the protecting deities have been evoked" (*urbes vero exercitusque sic devoventur iam numinibus evocatis* [3.9.9]). Famously, the *devotio* of Carthage left not one stone standing on another.

Although Macrobius is from the early fourth century C.E., he claims to have found these formulae in a book of Sammonicus Serenus from the Severan period, who in turn was said to have used an older book by a certain Furius, probably L. Furius Philius, consul in 136 B.C.E. and friend of Scipio Aemilianus, who prosecuted the siege of Carthage.[56] There are, nevertheless, several problems with Macrobius's account that lead to the conclusion that the rite was not as fixed as he implies. The fact that there is no evidence of the cult of Juno Caelestis in Rome before the time of Septimius Severus led Georg Wissowa to regard Macrobius's account as entirely legendary.[57] Others have argued that the tradition is essentially correct,[58] or, following Servius's comment, hold that Juno

[55] Servius, *Aeneid* 12.841–42: *sed constat bello Punico secundo exoratam Iunonem, tertio vero bello a Scipione sacris quibusdam etiam Romam esse translatam*, "but in fact Juno was exorated during the Second Punic War, and during the Third War was moved to Rome to her sacred precincts."

[56] Le Gall, "Evocatio," 521.

[57] Wissowa, "Evocatio," 374.

[58] R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire: Five Essays* (Philadelphia: University

was "exorated" ("mollified") during the Second Punic War and only transported after the third.[59] For my purposes the historicity of the *evocatio* at Carthage is less important than the fact that by the first century B.C.E. Horace took for granted that Juno had been evoked, and in the Augustan era Virgil concluded that the gods of Troy had departed (*excessere omnes*), prompting Servius and Macrobius to assume that they had been evoked, thus accounting for the downfall of the city and the eventual move of Aeneas to Carthage and thence to Rome:

> When I saw them in close ranks and eager for battle,
> I thereupon began thus: My men, vainly brave,
> if your desire is fixed to follow me in my final venture,
> you see what is the fate of our cause:
> from every altar and protecting fire all the gods
> on whom this empire was stayed, have gone forth (*excessere omnes*);
> the city you aid is in flames. Let us die and rush into the midst of arms.
> One safety the vanquished have, to hope for none.
>
> *Aeneid* 2.347–54[60]

Slightly later, the elder Pliny reports that the ritual of *evocatio* was described in the writings of Verrius Flaccus, who died during the principate of Tiberius. According to Pliny:

> Verrius Flaccus cites trustworthy authorities to show that it was the custom, at the very beginning of a siege, for the Roman priests to call forth the divinity under whose protection the besieged city was (*evocari deum, cuius in tutela id oppidum esset*), and to promise him the same or even more splendid worship among the Roman people. Down to the present day this ritual has remained part of the doctrine of the pontiffs. (Pliny, *Nat.* 28.18–19)

The logic of *evocatio*, Pliny adds, also explains why the true name of the Roman tutelary deity was kept secret, lest some enemy "evoke" it, thus leaving Rome subject to destruction.[61] Hence, whether or not Camillus or Scipio

---

of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 47; Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome,* vol. 1, *A History;* vol. 2, *A Sourcebook* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1:111: "The genuineness of these documents [Macrobius's *Saturnalia* 3.9.7–10 and his sources] has been questioned but there is no strong reason to doubt that these were the formulae used in the 140s B.C.; if so, it is very significant that the same group of nobles were reviving them, using them, and recording them in their writings."

[59] Basanoff, *Evocatio*, 63–66.

[60] This is the text on which both Macrobius and Servius are commenting when they discuss the *evocatio*. Servius (*Aeneid* 2.351–52) explains: *excessere quia ante expugnationem evocabantur ab hostibus numina propter vitanda sacrilegia*, "*excessere*, because before the conquest, [the gods] were called out by the enemies to avoid terrible sacrileges."

[61] Both Macrobius (*Sat*. 3.9.3–5) and Servius (*Aeneid* 2.351) also discuss the protection of the

Aemelianus performed this rite, Roman writers in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. assumed that they had and believed the rite to be part of current siege practices.

Macrobius proceeds to report that his sources contained lists of other towns that had been "devoted," that is, razed, once their gods were evoked: Stonii, Fregelae, Gabii, Veii, Fidenae, all from Italy; Carthage, Corinth, and many towns in Gaul, Spain, Africa, and other parts of the empire (*Sat*. 3.9.13). Nothing is known of Stonii—not even its location; but Fregelae was razed in 125 B.C.E. by L. Opimius,[62] and both Horace (*Ep.* 1.11.7) and Propertius (4.1.34) use Gabii and Fidenae as examples of cities that were totally deserted. On Corinth and Carthage we are better informed: Carthage was destroyed so that, in the words of Orosius, not one wall in the city was left standing.[63] Two years earlier (146 B.C.E.) Corinth was razed to the ground by L. Mummius after it had joined the Achaean confederacy against Rome (Strabo 8.6.23). It remained deserted until its refoundation as a Roman colony in 44 B.C.E.

This list of towns that were "devoted" to destruction (and their temples destroyed) is impressive. But much less is said of the actual practice of *evocatio*—so little, in fact, that earlier scholars such as Georg Wissowa doubted whether it was practiced at all.[64] In contrast, Hendrik S. Versnel was convinced on both historical and theoretical grounds that

---

name of the Roman god. In the second century C.E. Sextus Pompeius Festus, who is also known to have epitomized the work of Verrius Flaccus, reports: "Foreign cults are those called, who either have been transferred after an evocation of the deities during the siege of the cities (*quae aut evocatis dis in oppugnandis urbibus Romam sunt conata*), or have been fetched in times of peace because of certain reasons, like the Magna Mater from Phrygia, Ceres from Greece, Aesculapius from Epidauros; and these (cults) are celebrated in the same way as among those from whom they have been taken" (trans. Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum*, 43). See the discussion by Gustafsson; and M. Van Doren, "Perigrina sacra: Offiziele Kultübertragungen im alten Rom," *Historia* 3 (1954–55): 488–97.

[62] Hendrik S. Versnel, "Two Types of Roman *Devotio*," *Mnemosyne* 39 (1976): 380.

[63] Orosius, *Adversus paganos*, 4.23: *diruta autem Carthago omni murali lapide in puluerem conminuto*, "Now Carthage was destroyed, every stone wall being reduced to dust." Compare Appian, *Bellum punica* 135: οἳ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν, ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον ἅπασι καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα: ἐπιβαίνειν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπεῖπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συμμεμαχήκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἁπάσας, "They [delegates of the Senate] decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should obliterate it and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Direful threats were leveled against any who should disobey and chiefly against the rebuilding of Byrsa or Megara, but it was not forbidden to go upon the ground. The towns that had allied themselves with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one."

[64] Wissowa argues that the *evocatio* related only to the Etruscan and Latin cities and that the story of the evocation of Juno Caelestis was "apocryphal," belonging to the Severan period ("Evocatio," 1152).

> every *devotio* of an enemy city—also that of Veii—was preceded by an evocatio. Therefore we cannot but conclude that the *devotio hostium* was definitely an ancient ritual, at any rate dating from far before 146 B.C., at least from about 400 B.C., and it is not probable that it was invented for the capture of Veii.[65]

The discovery in 1970 of a granite block at Bozkir in the valley of the Çarşamba ten kilometers west of Zengibar Kalesi suggests that Versnel is probably correct, at least to the extent that the practice of *evocatio* was neither legendary nor had it fallen from use. The block is probably from a temple[66] and dates from 75 B.C.E., when the proconsul P. Servilius Vatia destroyed the Cilician town of Isaura Vetus (Sallust, *Histories* 2 fr. 87). The inscription reads:

> SERVILIUS · C(aii) · F(ilius) · IMPERATOR
> hostibus · victeis · Isaura · vetere ·
> capta · captiveis · venum · dateis ·
> sei · deus · seive · deast · quoius · in ·
> tutela · oppidum · vetus · Isaura ·
> fuit *vac*. votum · solvit
>
> Servilius, son of Gaius (Servilius), *imperator*,
> having conquered the enemies when Isaura Vetus
> was captured and sold the captives (into slavery).
> Whether it was a god or goddess who was protecting
> this town, Isaura Vetus
> (Servius) fulfilled his vow.[67]

The formula *sei deus seive deast quoius in tutela oppidum . . . fuit*[68] is the same as that quoted by Macrobius four centuries later in connection with the *carmen* used at Carthage (*si deus si dea est cui populus civitasque Carthagi-*

[65] Versnel, "Two Types of Roman *Devotio*," 382–83. Similarly, Le Gall, who argues that every *devotio* of a town was necessarily preceded by the *evocatio* of its god ("Evocatio," 524). "C'était [*evocatio*], bien au contraire, un rite banal du vieil arsenal religieux romain de la guerre, si banal que les auteurs n'y ont même pas fait allusion sauf dans les cas célèbres de Veies et de Carthage, pas plus qu'à d'autres, tout aussi courants, telle la lustration de l'armée au moment de l'entrée en campagne dont Tacite [*Ann*. 6.48.2] nous apprend incidemment qu'on la pratiquait encore en 37 ap. J.-C."

[66] Alan Hall, "New Light on the Capture of Isaura Vetus by P. Servilius Vatia," in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (Vestigia 17; Munich: Beck, 1972), 572: "The stone itself is a building block, and may have been part of an edifice which was promised in the vow." Similarly, Le Gall, "Evocatio," 523.

[67] *L'Année épigraphique* (1977) 816; *editio princeps:* Hall, "New Light." See also Beard et al., *Religions of Rome,* 2:248.

[68] That is, *si deus sive dea (est) cuius in tutela oppidum . . . fuit*. The orthographic variations are well known.

niensis est in tutela).[69] This coincidence of wording suggested to the original excavator that Servilius had performed a rite similar to the *evocatio*.[70]

The nature of Servilius's vow is uncertain. There is no indication that the tutelary deity of Isaura Vetus—whoever it was—was promised a new temple in Rome or received one. The fact that the inscription is found on a block destined to be placed in a building (the back of the stone is undressed), suggests that Servilius had built a new temple to the deity at or near the site of the destroyed town.[71] This observation led Gabriella Gustafsson, who has most recently commented on the practice of *evocatio deorum*, to conclude that the key element in the *evocatio* was not the transport of the deity to Rome, but

> the necessity of dissolving the sacral bonds of the city to be conquered (and destroyed). In any case, the focus is on the *votum,* on the place to be conquered, and on the tutelary god of this place. An introduction into Rome of the deity in question should therefore not necessarily be regarded as a decisive element in a definition of *evocatio*. . . . In this perspective and with such a definition of *evocatio,* since the Isaura vetus inscription is the *only* known and reasonably certain trace of such a ritual, the inscription must be viewed not as support for the accurateness of other sources, nor as evidence for a "watering down" of the "traditional regulations" of the ritual (of which we know nothing). Instead, it should be regarded as an archaeological point of departure for the reasonable conclusion that the emphasis on destruction and conquest is correct and that the other sources have embroidered, theologically and historiographically, a ritual praxis that was perhaps well-known

[69] Compare also Pliny's formulation (above, p. 437). The formula *sive deus, sive dea* is studied by Jaime Alvar, "Matériaux pour l'étude de la formule *sive devs, sive dea*," *Numen* 32, no. 2 (1985): 236–73.

[70] Hall, "New Light," 572. Le Gall ("Evocatio," 520) is more definite: "dans ces conditions il semble légitime d'admettre que l'opération à laquelle il a procédé devant *Isaura Vetus* a bien été une *evocatio* et pas simplement un rite analogue («similar») comme l'a suggéré le Professeur A. Hall." Similarly, Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome: A History*, 133; eidem, *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook*, 248. The most recent study, by Gustafsson (*Evocatio Deorum*, 61), affirms Hall's more cautious conclusion.

[71] See Jörg Rüpke, *Domi militiae: Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), 164: "Im Verlauf der späten Republik kommt die Evozierung fremder Götter zum Stillstand. Die letzte, explizit als solche bezeichnete *evocatio*, die der Schutzgöttin Karthagos, führt nicht mehr zu einem Tempelbau in Rom. Das fast fünfundsiebzig Jahre jüngere Inschrift aus Isaura, unser letztes Zeugnis, erwähnt die Errichtung eines Tempels überhaupt nicht: Die *evocatio* ist zum gewöhnlichen *votum* geworden." Beard, North, and Price offer a somewhat different account: in the late republican period the 'evoked' god or goddess was no longer promised a temple in Rome, but instead was promised one in what had now become Roman provincial territory (*Religions of Rome: A History*, 133–34). Gustafsson interprets this not as a relaxation of earlier practices, but as pointing to the fact that the *evocatio* was not a "strict and clearly regulated ritual" (*Evocatio Deorum*, 62).

to them but is unknown to us, a ritual practice that may well, for all we know, have varied considerably according to the particular situation.[72]

IV. Evocatio and Mark 13:2

The foregoing has shown that the ritual of *evocatio* as part of the toolkit of Roman siege tactics was well known. Although it likely existed in varied forms and did not always involve the transport of the deity to Rome, it is attested both in Italy and the western provinces and also in the East, and it was well known in the early imperial period. The question now is whether it is at all relevant to an understanding of Mark 13:1–2.

To the modern ear the prediction that "no stone will be left standing on another" might sound simply like a matter-of-fact prediction of the fate of this grand piece of Herodian architecture or as a pronouncement of divine judgment of the temple, its priesthood, and the elite families who controlled it. But to the ancient hearer, as the above discussion has suggested, the destruction of a temple entailed the belief that the deity had departed, for in the words of Macrobius, unless the deity had departed, "the city could not be taken after all or . . . were the capture possible, [the Romans] held it to be an offense against the divine law to make prisoners of gods" (*Sat*. 3.9.2).[73]

The notion that a temple could not be taken while the deities were present was not only a Roman belief, but is implicit and explicit in statements of the Tanak and Second Temple literature, which account for the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians by the belief that the deity had departed.[74] The prediction of Mark 13:2, then, is not a statement about real estate or architecture, nor is it merely an expression of divine judgment, although it is that too. Implicit in the prediction of a destroyed temple is the belief that the deity has or will abandon the temple, for it is only under these conditions that it could be destroyed.

[72] Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum*, 80.

[73] Macrobius, *Sat*. 3.9.2: *quod aut aliter urbem capi posse non crederent, aut etiam, si posset, nefas aestimarent deos habere captivos*. Similarly, Servius, *Aen*. 2.351: *«excessere» quia ante expugnationem evocabantur ab hostibus numina propter vitanda sacrilegia*, "*excessere*, because before the conquest, [the gods] were called out by the enemies to avoid terrible sacrileges." Livy's account of the transport of Juno to Rome emphasizes the *pietas* of Camillus, while Appian's account of the siege of Carthage points out that soldiers who participated in the looting of the temple of Apollo were punished by Scipio Aemelianus (*Bell. punica* 127, 133).

[74] See n. 81 below.

An Evocatio Performed by Titus?

Are a prediction of the utter destruction of the temple and the desertion by the divinity that this implies credible prior to the events of 70 C.E., or is it, as Schmithals has opined, something unforeseeable ("nicht voraussehbar") before the Roman conquest of Jerusalem, and hence a post-factum rationalization of the destruction that Titus wreaked on the temple? The simple answer seems to be that Schmithals is mistaken: one can surmise that anyone who had knowledge of the practices of *evocatio* and *devotio* or knew of the fates of Carthage, Corinth, Isaura Vetus, and other cities that had been "devoted" could have concluded from the events, say, of 66–69 C.E., that the total destruction of the temple would not only be possible, but would be a nearly inevitable consequence of war. The same conclusion might have been drawn by someone such as Jesus ben Ḥananiah, who in the early 60s believed that conflict with the Romans was inevitable. The Synoptic Sayings Gospel Q, usually dated prior to the fall of Jerusalem,[75] has Jesus declare, ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν (13:35a), which, like Jesus ben Ḥananiah's ravings of 62 C.E., suggests that the deity has abandoned, or is about to abandon, the temple. Thus, prior to the conclusion of the Second Revolt, we have expressions of a key element of the theology of *evocatio*, framed, to be sure, not from the standpoint of the conquering Romans but from the standpoint of certain Jews who were presumably anxious to raise warnings regarding the precarious political situation of Jerusalem in the early 60s and/or the conduct of the elite of Jerusalem, whom Q accuses of "killing the prophets" (Q 11:49–51; 13:34–35).

We do not know whether Titus performed the ritual of *evocatio* at the beginning of the siege, since neither of our two principal sources, Tacitus and Josephus, mentions this (Tacitus never mentions this ritual at all in his *Histories*). Nevertheless, both represent as a credible scenario that the siege proceeded on the supposition that the deity had abandoned the temple prior to August 70 and hence that a Roman victory was assured—the key element in the theology of *evocatio*.

This belief surfaces in Josephus's account in several ways. First, just after the Roman capture of the second wall in May, Josephus describes himself exhorting the defenders to surrender and to recognize that "fortune had indeed from all quarters passed over to [Rome] and God, who went the round of the nations, bringing to each in turn the rod of empire, now rested over Italy" (*J.W.* 5.367). He recalls that "our forefathers"—presumably he means Jews under Herod the Great and his successors—though by far superior to the Romans,

[75] See John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 80–87, for a discussion of the dating of Q.

nonetheless submitted to Rome, knowing that "God was on the Roman side" (*J.W.* 5.371). Thus far, Josephus's argument evokes only the notion of *providentia*. But he concludes much more dramatically, with the key element of the *evocatio*: "My belief, therefore, is that the Deity has fled from the holy places and taken his stand on the side of those with whom you are now at war."[76] John of Gishala took the opposite view, even after the cessation of the *tamid* in early August, claiming that he did not fear capture, "since the city was God's."[77]

According to Josephus's account, Titus held the same view as Josephus: upbraiding John for polluting the sanctuary with blood, Titus declared that the deity had departed. Titus then invoked as a witness to his own innocence in this regard both his own ancestral gods and "any deity who watched over this place—for now I believe that there is none" (*J.W.* 6.127: καὶ εἴ τις ἐφεώρα ποτὲ τόνδε τὸν χῶρον, νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴομαι), the latter phrase bearing a striking similarity to the beginning of the *evocatio carmen*, *"si deus sive dea est cuius in tutela oppidum est. . . ."* After the defenders had fled to the upper city, Titus invoked the memory of destroyed Carthage (*J.W.* 6.323) and pointed out that with the temple destroyed, the defenders were now without protection (6.348).

As is well known, Josephus tries to absolve Titus of the responsibility for the destruction of the temple, claiming that the fire that destroyed it was set by an impulsive legionary against Titus's express intentions but evidently "moved by some supernatural impulse" (*J.W.* 6.241, 252). Josephus states that Titus had decided, in violation of the "laws of war" (οἱ τοῦ πολέμου νόμοι [*J.W.* 6.239, 346]), to preserve the temple as an "ornament to the empire" (ὥσπερ καὶ κόσμον τῆς ἡγεμονίας [6.242]) and heroically tried to extinguish the fire (6.260–66).[78] Such a claim is almost surely false, as numerous commentators agree.[79]

[76] Josephus, *J.W.* 5.412: ὥστε ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων οἶμαι τὸ θεῖον, ἑστάναι δὲ παρ᾽ οἷς πολεμεῖτε νῦν.

[77] Ibid., 6.98: οὐκ ἄν ποτε δείσειεν ἅλωσιν: θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν. *B. Sot.* 49b preserves the aphorism that Jerusalem could not be taken while the *tamid* was being offered: "Our Rabbis taught: When the kings of the Hasmonean house fought one another, Hyrcanus was outside and Aristobulus within. Each day they used to let down denarii in a basket, and haul up for them [animals for] the continual offerings. An old man there, who was learned in Greek wisdom, spoke with them [the Romans] in Greek, saying: 'As long as they carry on the Temple-service, they will never surrender to you.'"

[78] There are numerous expressions of this theme throughout *Jewish War* 5–6, e.g., 5.456; 6.128, 239–41: Josephus describes a debate about what to do with the temple, with some proposing that it should be destroyed under the "law of war" (τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ), others arguing that it should be spared provided that the Jews do not keep weapons in it. Titus announced that he would not destroy the temple, but would wreak vengeance on men rather than inanimate objects, "nor under any circumstances burn down so magnificent a work," which would be "an ornament of the empire if it stood." Titus claims again (6.346) to have ignored "the laws of war" and instead pleaded that the rebels spare the shrines and preserve the temple.

[79] Ingomar Weiler, "Titus und die Zerstörung des Tempels von Jerusalem—Absicht oder

The destruction of the temple was deliberate and part of Roman strategy. But behind Josephus's strained apologetics and Titus's actions in ordering the destruction of the temple lies the basic belief that the separation of the conquered from their tutelary deity and the destruction of the cultic site are necessary elements of conquest. In attempting to absolve Titus of responsibility and to portray him as a man of great *pietas* (also a theme of the *evocatio* narrative of Livy), Josephus betrays knowledge of precisely what was *normal and expected* in any scenario involving war with the Romans.

As a parenthesis, it is worth pointing out that Josephus's mention of the legionaries erecting their standards in the court of the temple and their acclaiming Titus as *imperator* (αὐτοκράτωρ [*J.W.* 6.316]) has a possible relevance to the question of whether Titus indeed performed an *evocatio*. Macrobius notes that only an *imperator* had the power to "evoke" the tutelary deity and to "devote" a city (*Sat*. 3.9.9), and it is noteworthy that the inscription from Isaura Vetus expressly identifies P. Servilius Vatia as *imperator*, that is, as a commander with *imperium*.

Hence, without actually describing the *evocatio* ritual, Josephus leaves sufficient hints in his account that it probably was performed. Josephus is not likely to have referred directly to the ritual, since he would scarcely wish to convey the notion that the Romans were able to provide enticements for the Jewish deity to leave the temple. According to Josephus, the deity's departure was due instead to the impious conduct of the "tyrants" who had seized control of the city and temple and who were responsible for the catastrophe of the First Revolt.

The Evocatio as a Literary Topos

As the preceding survey indicates, sufficient evidence exists to warrant the supposition that the *evocatio* and, related to this, the "devoting" of enemy towns, continued to be practiced as battle rituals. Naturally, the ritual of the *evocatio* and, related to this, the inspection and interpretation of the omens by the haruspices, necessarily preceded the siege. But it goes without saying that the effectiveness of the *evocatio* and the correctness of the interpretation of sacrificial entrails could be known *and narrated* only in retrospect, after the successful completion of a siege. In this sense, then, the *evocatio* and related motifs belonged not only to the lexicon of Roman battle rituals but also to *literary and historiographic topoi* found in literary accounts of the triumph of Rome in conflict with its enemies. The evoking of enemy deities and all that

---

Zufall," *Klio* 50 (1968): 139–58; Gedalyahu Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 252–68; Price, *Jerusalem Under Siege*, 170–71.

went with it thus belong to the wider field of prodigies used by Roman writers in their historical accounts.[80]

The motif of the desertion of the temple by the Jewish deity occurs precisely in the sections of Tacitus and Josephus that deal with prodigies. Both list the omens and prodigies that occurred prior to the destruction of the temple, which, with hindsight, should have alerted those involved to the coming desertion of the temple by the deity. Tacitus states:

> There had been seen hosts joining battle in the skies, the fiery gleam of arms, the temple illuminated by a sudden radiance from the clouds. The doors of the inner shrine were suddenly thrown open, and a voice of more than mortal tone was heard to cry that "the gods were departing (*excedere deos*)." (*Hist.* 5.13)

Although these signs were sufficiently ominous to serve as dire warnings, Tacitus explains that the normal expedient—to propitiate the deity immediately—was not taken, because Jews "hated all religious rites, and did not deem it lawful to expiate by offering and sacrifice" (*Hist.* 5.13). Tacitus's claim is absurd, but it illustrates the historiographic use to which prodigies and omens are put in later accounts of successful sieges: the losing side typically neglects, misunderstands, or fails to act on omens, just as occurred at the capture of Veii.

Josephus has an even more elaborate list of omens that he regarded as self-evident in their meaning—a sword-shaped star, a comet, and a series of omens at festivals prior to the onset of the revolt: at Passover a bright light in the temple, an unnatural birth within the temple precincts, and the opening of the eastern gate of the temple on its own. A few months later, he reports a vision of celestial armies, and at the following Shevu'ot a commotion in the temple and a voice saying, "We are departing hence" (*J.W.* 6.290–300).[81] Most, Josephus

[80] At this point I am indebted to the work of Eve-Marie Becker, "Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung von Quellen, Redaktion und Gattung des frühesten Evangeliums" (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Erlangen, 2004). On prodigies and omens, see Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1879–82), 4; Bruce MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation: A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome* (Latomus 177; Brussels: n.p., 1982).

[81] The motif of the departure of God from the sanctuary or land is attested in connection with the destruction of the First Temple in Jer 12:7; Ezek 8:12; 9:9; *1 En.* 89:56: "I saw how [God] left their house and their tower and cast all of them into the hands of the lions"; *Liv. Pro.* 2.11–12: "[Jeremiah], before the capture of the Temple, seized the ark of the Law and the things in it and made them to be swallowed up in a rock. And to those standing by he said, 'The Lord has gone away from Zion into heaven and will come again in power'"; *Pss. Sol.* 7:1–2 [a prayer]: "Do not move away from us, O God, lest those who hate us without cause should attack us. For you have rejected them, O God; do not let their feed trample your holy inheritance" [cf. 2.2, 19]; *LAB* 19:2 *et irascetur Deus in vobis, et derelinquet vos, et discedet de terra vestra*; *2 Bar.* 6:1–8:2 describes a vision in which, prior to the Babylonian destruction of the temple, an angel descended to remove the veil,

claims, were oblivious to the import of these omens or even thought them to be signs of good fortune, but a few of the scribes saw them for what they were. Jesus ben Ḥananiah's ravings that start in 62 C.E. likewise belong to Josephus's set of omens (*J.W.* 6.301–9).

It is in this context that Tacitus's and Josephus's accounts of the departure of the deity should be seen: as one of the omens that (supposedly) occurred prior to the capture of the city and the temple, which should have been (but was not) understood at the time, and whose interpretation became clear only *following* the siege. Eva-Marie Becker concludes:

> Die im engeren Sinne historiographische Literatur *historisiert* die Prodigien, d.h. sie bringt sie in Verbindung mit geschichtlichen Ereignissen und deutet sie nachträglich explizit von diesen her. Gerade in der *Synthese* historischer Darstellung mit den Mitteln einer an sich esoterischen literarischen Konvention liegt das innovative Potential historiographischer Literatur im Umgang mit Prodigien.[82]

This raises a crucial distinction between omens and rituals that (allegedly) occurred before the events, and their literary and historiographic use in narrative. Gustafsson, who defends the existence of the *evocatio* as a battle ritual, also points to its literary use in what she terms the "mythical historiography" of Livy. In historiographic narrative the ritual became part of a systematic theology of history that placed Rome at the center of the world, to which foreign gods were moved to find their "natural" home. It is not irrelevant that Livy's depiction of Camillus emphasizes certain of Augustus's characteristics, with the result that the expansion of Roman power in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. are connected to the much earlier solidification of the power of the state within Italy. Gustafsson concludes:

> The historiographical, ideological, theological and mythical aspects of *evocatio,* in Livy's narrative, are concentrated on certain particularly important

---

the ark, and its cover, the two tablets of the Law, the priestly vestments, the altar, precious stones, and vessels. Then a voice was heard saying, "Enter you enemies of Jerusalem, and let her adversaries come in: for he who kept the house has abandoned it" (8:2); *2 Bar.* 64:6 [of the time of Manasseh]: "And the impiety of Manasseh increased to such a degree that the glory of the Most High removed itself from the sanctuary." See further Otto Michel and Otto Bauernfeind, *De bello judaico: Der jüdische Krieg* (Munich: Kösel, 1962–69), 2:185; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2:60–61.

It is a standard trope of rabbinic literature that the Shekinah went into exile with Israel during the Babylonian captivity (*Lam. Rab.* 1.19-20 §54) and that Jeremiah saw the temple destroyed and the Shekinah depart: *Lam. Rab.* Proem 23; *Qoh. Rab.* 12.7 §1: "When Jeremiah saw Jerusalem destroyed, the Temple burnt, Israel sent into exile, and the Holy Spirit departed, he began to say over them, *Vanity of vanities*."

[82] Becker, "Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie," 180 (emphasis original).

> themes. Together, they present a mythical spatial tension, the effect of which is an emphasis on importation, on the mutual interests of the Roman state and the gods of the enemies, and on destruction and deprivation as intimately related to the positive aspects of Roman expansion. Furthermore, in all of this, piety is connected with power and divine favour and support even for the expansion and, what is more, even from the foreign gods. Finally, the symbolic and mythical functions of places are strongly emphasized, as well as the relation of these functions to power. . . . The expansion of early Rome is given religious legitimacy through the emphasis on what Livy may have regarded as ritual "correctness," intimately connected with the concept of piety. At the same time, the decisive even in Roman history of the conquest of Veii is associated with mythical themes and given a theological explanation, and the temple of Juno Regina is given an etiology that fits well into a coherent, historico-theological scheme.[83]

Mark 13:2bc as an Allusion to the Evocatio

Is the substance of Mark 13:1–2 imaginable as a saying that circulated prior to August 70 C.E.? Given knowledge of the Roman ritual of *evocatio* and given conditions in which conflict with Rome seemed likely or inevitable, it is indeed conceivable that someone could conclude that the deity would depart and the utter demolition of the temple would result. Whether Mark 13:1–2 in its details represents that saying is another matter. It is widely conceded that the framework of 13:1-2ab is due to Markan redaction,[84] and that the saying itself, οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃ οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, could not have been transmitted apart from a concrete indication of its context. Thus, Rudolf Bultmann treated Mark 13:2c as a Markan construction, created from a traditional saying (such as Mark 14:58) and formulated in a manner consistent with the

[83] Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum*, 124–28, here 128.

[84] Mark 13:1 belongs to Mark's overall framework of Jesus' movement in and out of Jerusalem: 11:11: ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν . . . 15 καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν . . . 19 καὶ ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύοντο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως . . . 27 καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . 13:1 καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . 13:3 καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν . . . 14:26 καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Specific details are also Markan: (a) the opening genitive absolute (καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ) duplicates a Markan introduction in 10:17; (b) dialogues formed by introducing the interlocutor's question or comment with the historic present λέγει, followed by Jesus' reply with εἶπεν αὐτῷ occur also in 2:18–19; 4:38, 40; 7:5–6 (with ἐπερωτῶσιν . . . εἶπεν), and 7:28–29; (c) the vocative διδάσκαλε appears frequently in Mark. See Lambrecht, *Markus-Apokalypse*, 68–72; Pesch, *Naherwartung*, 84–85; Dupont, "Pierre sur pierre," 304–6; Neirynck, "Marc 13," 397–99.

On 13:2ab, Pesch observes that Mark frequently anticipates the content of sayings of Jesus in the introduction: 7:18–19; 8:11–12; 10:17–18; 12:14–15 (*Naherwartung*, 86–87).

framework in 13:1–2a.[85] Others have suggested a version of the saying found in Luke 19:43–44a as the source of Mark 13:2b.[86] The latter suggestion is predicated on the supposition that Luke 19:43–44a is pre-Lukan rather than a Lukan construction based on Mark 13:2 and his redaction of Mark 13:14–20, as seems more probable. A third possibility, mooted by Jan Lambrecht and John R. Donahue, is that Mark 13:2c is derived from Q 13:35a, ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν.[87] This latter suggestion has in its favor not merely the verbal coincidence of the use of ἀφίεσθαι in two sayings that pronounce doom on the temple—which had initially drawn Lambrecht's and Donahue's attention—but a more substantive convergence: Mark 13:2 presupposes what Q 13:35a states expressly, that the deity has abandoned the "house" (= temple).[88]

Although it is still conceivable that οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, ultimately adapted from Q 13:35a and furnished with a suitable introduction, might have circulated prior to the war, it seems to me more likely that it was Mark who recast a saying such as Q 13:35a, knowing of the Roman practice of *evocatio* and drawing out what it implied concretely regarding the fate of the temple. Still, a pre-Markan and pre-70 version of Mark 13:1–2 can hardly be dismissed out of hand. As an element in Mark's historical narrative,

[85] Rudolf K. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (rev. ed.; trans. John Marsh; Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 36: "Vv. 1, 2a may well be a scene constructed for a prophecy handed down in the Church, as it manifestly was in a variety of forms. . . . If this be the case the form (v. 2b) would be determined by its context. . . . There is little here to encourage us to think that this is the oldest form of the prophecy handed on to us complete with this setting; the address in v. 1 sounds far too much as if made for the specific purpose of evoking the prophecy." Similarly, Willi Marxsen, *Der Evangelist Markus: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Evangeliums* (FRLANT 67; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956; 2nd ed., 1959), 113–15; Pesch, *Naherwartung*, 83–96. Pesch reversed his view in his commentary (*Markusevangelium*, 2:269): "Da Jesu Weisung (V 2c) nicht als von 14,58 abgeleitete red Bildung erklärt werden kann . . . , ist auch der Rahmen des Wortes nicht als mk Bildung vorzustellen."

[86] Johannes Bihler, *Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte* (Münchener Theologische Studien, 1, Historische Abteilung 16; Munich: Huebner, 1963), 13–16; Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 220; Dupont, "Pierre sur pierre"; Gaston, *No Stone on Another*, 66. K. Paesler argues that 13:2c reflects an authentic saying of Jesus, formulated in Aramaic and transmitted as an unfulfilled prophecy until Mark used it (*Das Tempelwort Jesu: Die Traditionen von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelerneuerung im Neuen Testament* (FRLANT 184; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999]).

[87] Lambrecht, *Markus-Apokalypse*, 77–78; Donahue, *Are You the Christ?* 108.

[88] Lambrecht suggests that "die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von οἶκος ist hochstwahrscheinlich 'die Stadt'" (*Markus-Apokalypse*, 76). Gaston draws the same conclusion (*No Stone on Another*, 244), on the supposition that Luke 19:44 (which concerns Jerusalem rather than the temple specifically). Beasley-Murray, however, comments: "it may be doubted that Mark 13:2 related originally to the ruin of the city rather than the temple, and that such importance attaches to the issue as Gaston has implied, since neither city nor temple could be destroyed without the other" (*Jesus and the Last Days*, 286).

however, Mark 13:1–2 is better seen as a retrospective comment on that destruction, just as the uses of omens, portents, and reports of the desertion of towns by their tutelary deities serve as topoi of Roman historiography. Of course Mark does not express Rome's ideology of empire—that foreign deities are either transported to Rome, where they find their "proper" home, or honored in Roman temples built for them in territory that has now become a Roman possession.[89] Instead, Mark 13:2 reflects the distinctive perspective of Mark, who created a "dual narrative" that related the fate of Jesus at the hands of his priestly opponents and Pilate's soldiers, and the fate of the temple and its city, destroyed, as Mark 11:15–19 and 12:1–12 suggest, because of the actions of the priests, who would not recognize John or Jesus and who had turned the temple into a den of bandits.

Thus the prediction of the destruction of the temple in 13:1–2, when combined with 11:12–21, 27–34; 12:1–12; 13:5–37; and 15:33, 37–39, becomes part of a historiographic narrative with a dual focus: the fate of Jesus and the fate of the temple, in which Jesus' death, at the instigation of the officials of the temple (12:1–12), is directly connected to the eventual destruction of the temple. The death scene contains two prodigies of the coming destruction of the temple—the darkening of the sky and the tearing of the temple's veil (15:33, 38). Mark bracketing the story of Jesus' disruption of the temple (11:15–19) with the evidently symbolic story of the cursing and destruction of a barren fig tree (11:12–14, 21) turns the unit into another omen of coming destruction. His introduction of a pre-Markan apocalyptic discourse which featured, among other things, a prediction of the desecration of the temple, by a chria that shifts the focus to the destruction of the temple also underscores Mark's interest in the destruction of the temple. In this way Mark creates a narrative in which the fate of Jesus is correlated with the destruction of the temple. If there was a pre-Markan tradition of Jesus' oracle against the temple, alluding to the Roman ritual of *evocatio*, Mark has historicized and narrativized this oracle, using it retrospectively in his account of the dual fates of Jesus and the temple.

[89] Mark 13:2, if understood as implying a statement about the departure of the deity, does not imply the new location of the deity. From the Roman standpoint, as Gustafsson has shown (above pp. 440–41), the *evocatio* did not necessarily imply transport to Rome (though Josephus reports that some of the temple furnishings were take to Rome and placed in the newly refurbished temple of Pax [Εἰρήνη; *J.W.* 7.158]). Rabbinic tradition takes for granted that while the divine presence abandoned the temple, it remained nearby. R. Isaac b. Samuel says in the name of Rab: "The night has three watches, and at each watch the Holy One, blessed be He, sits and roars like a lion and says: 'Woe to the children, on account of whose sins I destroyed My house and burnt My temple and exiled them among the nations of the world'" (*b. Ber.* 3a) and quotes R. Yosé (first century C.E.) as entering one of the ruins in Jerusalem and reporting: "I heard a *bath qol*, cooing like a dove, and saying: 'Woe to the children, on account of whose sins I destroyed My house and burnt My temple and exiled them among the nations of the world!'" (*b. Ber.* 3a).

V. Conclusion

The extraordinary prediction made in Mark 13:2—the complete and final demolition of the temple—should be regarded not as a fortunate guess about the accidents of war. It presupposes awareness of Roman siege tactics and, in particular, the ritual of *evocatio* and the separation of an enemy from its protective deity preliminary to the razing of a town and its temples. Mark's forecast of the destruction of the temple is thus not merely a statement about real estate but entails a claim that the divine presence is no longer there; accordingly Mark 13:2 should be read in concert with Q 13:35a and the oracle of Jesus ben Ḥananiah, both uttered before the revolt. But as an element in Mark's narrative, Mark 13:1–2 is best seen as a historiographic effort to provide a retrospective account of the dual fates of Jesus and the temple where his allusion to the Roman ritual of *evocatio* is treated as another of the prodigies (along with darkness at midday and the tearing of the temple veil), analogous to those catalogued by Tacitus and Josephus, of the temple's destruction by Titus.

JBL 124/3 (2005) 451–465

JESUS, PROPHET LIKE ELIJAH, AND PROPHET-TEACHER LIKE MOSES IN LUKE-ACTS

J. SEVERINO CROATTO†
I. U. Isedet, Buenos Aires, Argentina

The prophetic dimension of Jesus, a central feature of the Third Gospel, was overshadowed by the messianic interpretations, which also incorporate other figures from the OT. In this article, I distinguish between a historical Jesus *prophet,* according to several biblical typologies, and a *paschal* Jesus Messiah, with the paschal extension of Prophet-Teacher "like Moses." The latter is related to the interpretation of Scripture in the light of the event of the death, resurrection, and "assumption" of Jesus to glory.

This prophetic-magisterial office continues in the *ekklēsia* of the NT and is performed by different actors, from Peter and Paul to Stephen and Philip. It is a question not of authority or hierarchy but of interpreting the Scriptures in the light of the new "jesuanic" reality. Moreover, the prophetic activity of Jesus according to the model of the great prophets does not come to an end in the *ekklēsia,* as it was once thought. On the contrary, it proves evident in the strength of the witness of the paradigmatic first community of Jerusalem.

The Gospel of Luke is a fascinating work. The more one studies it, the more one realizes its inexhaustible richness. Very significant, for instance, is Luke's construction of the figure of Jesus as a prophet. Because of the dominant theology, we are in the habit of "messianizing" everything about Jesus, and other dimensions of his character are absorbed by this messianic perspective or are altogether removed from our consideration. The traditional "messianic" reading of the Gospels has eroded and leveled the varied and differentiated jesuanic perspectives inscribed in the NT narratives. Our messianic lenses blur the richness revealed by Jesus' figure in each of the Gospels.

This article is a slightly revised version of a lecture delivered at Vanderbilt University, February 28, 2002, entitled "Jesus, Messiah or Prophet? The Program of the Gospel of Luke." José Severino Croatto, professor emeritus of Hebrew Scriptures, died on April 26, 2004.

Concerning Luke, not only has the erosion that was originated in the traditional messianic reading submerged an important theme in the first-century Christian tradition, but it has also cut short Luke's jesuanic theology. In the Gospel of Luke, the prophetic character of Jesus is (a) the epistemological center (at the literary and semantic level) and (b) the essential kerygma (at the communicational level). Luke himself reveals how and at which moment the messianic condition branches off from the prophetic one, which is another example of Luke's originality.

I. The Theological Plan of Luke

The "messianic" stage is basically paschal, insofar as it is rooted in Jesus' resurrection. Luke states it categorically in Acts 2:36: "Therefore let all the house of Israel know for sure that God has made that same Jesus whom you have crucified both *Lord* (κύριον) and *Messiah* (Χριστόν)." According to Luke's plan, the midrashic stories of the annunciation, birth, and childhood of Jesus are all paradigmatic. They point toward different "fulfillments" in his public life and to trans-significations in the life of his followers' community. For this reason, the messianic configuration of the risen Jesus (Acts 2:36) is anticipated almost esoterically in the episodes of his birth and the angelic epiphany: "Fear not. . . . For unto you is born this day in David's town a Savior, who is *Messiah* the Lord" (σωτὴρ ὅς ἐστιν Χριστὸς κύριος) (Luke 2:11). This sounds like an anticipation of Acts 2:36 and not a reference to Jesus' public ministry.

Luke foreshadows a similar anticipation in the story of Simeon (Luke 2:25–35): the Spirit had "revealed" (κεχρηματισμένον falls under the heading of oracular vocabulary) to him that he would not die before seeing "the Messiah of the Lord" (τὸν Χριστὸν κυρίου). For Luke, Simeon's words (vv. 29–32) point to the missionary preaching of the early church. Moreover, the language used to describe the soteriological function of this "Messiah" is the same as that which describes Yahweh's Servant in Isa 42:1–7 and 49:1–9a.

Simeon's second speech (Luke 2:34–35), in contrast, refers to Jesus' historical praxis as that of a controversial prophet. Luke puts into Simeon's mouth a *messianic* proclamation and a *prophetic* announcement. The third Gospel will develop the prophetic dimension, leaving the messianic (and heavenly) activity for the book of Acts. This activity is suggested by the multitude as Jesus is approaching Jerusalem (19:38)[1] and is accepted by him only after his resurrection (24:25–26, 44–46).

[1] The σωτήρ (Messiah/Lord of the angelic proclamation in Luke 2:11) becomes βασιλεύς in the popular manifestation of 19:38a. Both proclamations are united by a chiastic structure ("glory in

That is the reason why the Gospel of Luke does not develop Jesus' messianic dimension; rather, this is left for the moment of the τελείωσις or consummation/perfection.[2] Such perspective is clear even in the episode of 3:15–18, where John the Baptist, "suggested" by the people to be the Messiah (v. 15), shifts their attention to the one who will baptize "with the Holy Spirit and fire" (v. 16b), clearly alluding to Jesus' postpaschal soteriological activity, not to his historical role.

Later on, Jesus rebuked the demons before they could speak, because they knew he "was the Messiah" (Luke 4:41b). This means that Jesus' identity as "Son of God"—a polysemic and ambiguous designation—is shouted aloud (v. 41a), but not its messianic interpretation. Such is not the case with Mark 3:11–12, according to which the demons identify Jesus as the Son of God, "but he warned them firmly not to make him known (φανερόν)." Only Luke adds the remark of 4:41b: "for they knew he was the Messiah" (τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι).

Thus, in the Gospel of Luke several persons indicate the messianic dimension of Jesus: an angel (1:32, David's throne), an inspired old man (2:26, Simeon), the demons (4:41), Peter (9:20), and the risen Jesus himself (24:26, 46). In both occurrences during Jesus' public life he emphatically rebukes the proclamation of his messiahship (4:41b; 9:21) with the word ἐπιτιμάω, "to command." What is even more eloquent, Luke immediately remembers the first statement that Jesus had made about his passion, death, and resurrection (9:22). The subject expressed in the Synoptics here is not the Messiah but the Son of Man, identified with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53.

Luke hermeneutically develops the messianic perspective in ch. 24: "hermeneutically," because in the first episode (24:1–12) the figure of the Son of Man is reread in a paschal context (v. 7), and in the other two episodes the same is done with the figure of the Messiah (vv. 25–27 and 44–48). The prophets are not interpreted literally but *in sensu pleniore,* according to the reservoir of meaning eisegetically explored starting from the paschal experience of the early church, the *ekklēsia.* In this phase Jesus is already identified as the Messiah/Χριστός. The paschal theology of Luke 24 integrates the messianic dimension, which will define the heavenly soteriological activity of Jesus, who will be subsequently called Messiah (Christ) or "Jesus Christ."

In sum, the third Gospel portrays an active Jesus Prophet, and the book of

---

the highest / peace (2:14) // peace / glory in the highest (19:38b)." Is not the formula "glory in the highest" pointing, in Luke's perspective, to Jesus' glorification?

[2] This meaningful vocabulary has a special hint in Luke. Just at the structural center of the narrative of the journey to Jerusalem (9:51–19:44) Jesus sends a message to Herod: "I drive out demons and heal today and tomorrow, and on the third day I τελειοῦμαι ("shall be perfected/consummated") (13:31–33).

Acts, a Jesus Messiah (seated as a king at the right hand of God [Acts 2:33]) proclaimed in the kerygma. This latter feature is condensed in the new name "Jesus Christ" (personal name + title) or simply "Christ" as a personal name (already seen in the earlier Pauline writings), and it becomes the essential theme of the missionary preaching in the Jewish context (e.g., Acts 17:1–3).

The activity of Jesus as prophet—outstanding in the Third Gospel—comes to an end in the book of Acts. The symbolic, transcendent Messiah replaces the historical prophet.[3] A heavenly prophet does not make any sense, as the prophet is a messenger, not a savior like the Messiah. Only on the symbolic level is Jesus Messiah simultaneously the eschatological prophet—a figure that originated in Deut 18:15, 18—who has a different meaning (Acts 3:22–23) as we shall consider later.

II. The Prophetic Dimension of the Terrestrial Jesus

If we look at the OT we find several prophetic archetypes:

1. The paradigm could be Isaiah, Jeremiah, or any of the figures in the prophetic corpus.

2. Regarding the prophet Elijah, we can distinguish two representations in the OT: (a) The Elijah of the Deuteronomistic cycle (1 Kgs 17–2 Kgs 2) was a prophet and a healer (we will call him Elijah I). This first Elijah is "imitated" by Jesus in the Synoptic tradition. (b) The Elijah *redivivus* (better "returned/*regressus*," for he did not die but disappeared) belongs to a somewhat later theology, dependent on Mal 3:1 and 3:23, where he is announced as the precursor of Yahweh's eschatological "visit" (this is Elijah II). In the Synoptic tradition, John the Baptist represents this Elijah II (in Luke 1:17, 76; 7:27).

3. Based on the promise of Deut 18:15, 18 the expectation of an eschatological prophet was generated in later rereadings. There are two forms of the promise in Moses' speech in Deuteronomy:

> Yahweh your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren: him you shall heed. (18:15)
>
> I will raise up for them *a prophet like you* from among their brethren; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him. (18:18)

The second verse resembles the definition of a classic prophet. The formula "like me/like you," nevertheless, expresses the much later vision of Moses as

[3] The emphasis on Jesus' paschal messiahship is to counterbalance his non-messiahship on the historical level. In the same direction, the paschal high priesthood of Christ (Hebrews 7) makes up for his historical non-priesthood.

"prophet," a function validated neither by history nor by the transmission of the Torah. It can rather be interpreted as a midrashic extension that in turn presupposes the (virtual) disappearance of prophecy. The promised prophet "like me/like you" is actually different from the classic prophets, and also later. The difference lies in that the prophet reveals a new word of God, whereas Moses retransmits the Sinaitic word. Hence, if we read the text quoted above in its literary context (Moses' discourse before entering the land [cf. Deut 1:1, 5]), it can be described as a "myth of origin" of Israelite prophecy. But if it is read in the chronological context of the last redaction of Deuteronomy (almost certainly in the Persian period), it means that Yahweh's word is in the Torah and also in the interpretation of the "teachers" of Israel. That is why in the Gospel tradition the representation of Jesus as a teacher is so relevant. Jesus is the new Moses, and as a result we can fully understand the opposition between "it was said" (in the Law of Moses) and "but I say to you" in Matt 5:21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43.

4. Finally, there is ecstatic prophecy, both in the OT (the tradition of the "sons of the prophets" in 1 Sam 10:5; 19:20–24; 2 Kgs 2:3; Joel 3:1–5) and in the NT (Acts 2:17, 21; 11:27). The event of Pentecost, which seems to follow this line (according to the quotation of Joel 3), is actually interpreted by Luke—in Peter's words—as a prolongation of the ministry of Elijah and Elisha, which was already fulfilled by Jesus (see Acts 2:22 along with v. 43 and 3:1–10).

The Prophetic Consecration in Nazareth

As is well known, Jesus' self-presentation takes place in the synagogue of Nazareth on a Saturday (Luke 4:16–30). The Isaianic text "appropriated" by Jesus (4:21)—the announcement of Isa 61:1–3—has a prophetic profile. The person who speaks there is appointed to announce good news to the poor, liberation to the captives, vision to the blind (the structural center of the quotation), and a time of divine favor.[4] It is the description of a prophet, not a Messiah.

Jesus' presentation causes conflict with the people of Nazareth (4:22b, 30), and conflict is the usual outcome of the prophetic activity. Both the logion "no prophet is honored in his own country" (4:24) and the two examples of Elijah and Elisha (4:25–27) focus the attention on the prophet. Moreover, the evocation of both prophets is cataphoric, as it anticipates what follows. What comes next is a description of Jesus as κηρύσσων (preacher/announcer) and θεραπεύων (healer), both activities recalling Elijah and Elisha, the two prototypes of therapeutic prophecy.

[4] As we have argued elsewhere, there is no reference to the Jubilee in Isa 61:2a. See "Del año jubilar levítico al tiempo de liberación profético (reflexiones exegéticas sobre Isaias 61 y 58, en relación con el jubilo)," *RIBLA* 33 (1999): 76–96.

In the rest of ch. 4 (vv. 31–44)—a kind of anticipated summary of Jesus' mission—both "prophetic" functions are joined together in a chiasmus: he teaches (vv. 31–32) / heals (vv. 33–37) // heals again (vv. 38–41) / announces (vv. 42–44). Jesus' oral activity also has a magisterial connotation (vv. 31–32: διδάσκων, διδαχή, λόγος), which was perceived as fundamental in the Jewish context, especially related to the interpretation of Scripture.

Jesus' ἀνάλημψις in the Footsteps of Elijah

Luke's emphasis on Jesus' journey to Jerusalem in the central section of his Gospel (9:51–19:44) is well known. To be more precise, one should speak of his "assumption" (ἀνάλημψις), not his "ascension" (ἄνοδος). This last lexeme is never used, but it became familiar in a more elaborated christology. Jesus' assumption is programmatically indicated in the first sentence of the section (9:51a):

> And it came to pass, when the days of his assumption were being fulfilled/accomplished, he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem.

Coming from the north, one has to *ascend* to reach Jerusalem. Actually, Luke recalls this in 19:28, almost at the end of the journey: "he went before, ascending (ἀναβαίνω) up to Jerusalem."

As usual, Luke is here "imitating" an episode of the OT; he evokes the figure of Elijah according to 2 Kings 2. In ch. 7, Luke collects a series of miracles "imitating" parallel miracles of Elijah and Elisha.[5] At the center of the narrative (7:24, 35) is a dispute between Jesus and the people (vv. 24, 29) about John the Baptist as a prophet in the style of Elijah, the precursor promised in Mal 3:1 and 3:23 (Elijah II). But there is also another representation of Elijah, as preacher and healer (Elijah I). This characterization cannot be applied to John, about whose therapeutic activity (if any) the Gospel tradition is silent. However, it perfectly corresponds to Jesus, as we noted when we spoke about the Nazareth episode.

Now, the Greek text (LXX) of 4 Kingdoms 2 gives us a clue to Luke's midrashic search. Verse 1 introduces the theme: "And it happened that when Yahweh was about *to take* Elijah *up* (ἐν τῷ ἀνάγειν)[6] to heaven . . . ." Elijah requests Elisha to remain sitting (κάθου) while he goes to Gilgal, Jericho, and the Jordan River, respectively (vv. 2, 4, 6). It is the same request that Jesus

[5] This issue has been studied extensively; see, e.g., Thomas L. Brodie, "Towards Unraveling Luke's Use of the Old Testament: Luke 7:11–17 as an *Imitatio* of 1 Kings 17:17–24," *NTS* 32 (1983): 247–67; idem, "Luke 7:36–50 as an Internalization of 2 Kings 4:1–37: A Study in Luke's Use of Rhetorical Imitation," *Bib* 64 (1983): 457–85.

[6] This verb is the equivalent of ἀναφέρω (Luke 24:51).

makes to his disciples "to remain seated" (καθίσατε) in the city "until you are invested with power from above" (Luke 24:49). "While crossing" the Jordan River, Elisha asks Elijah to give him two parts of his spirit (2 Kgs 2:9). Immediately Elijah is "taken up/ascended/assumed" as into heaven. The verb is ἀνελήμφθη (v. 11, as in vv. 9 and 10).[7]

Such is the story of Elijah's "assumption" into heaven. The lexicon is exactly the same as that which Luke employs when describing Jesus' "assumption" to heaven in Acts 1:11: "This Jesus, who was taken up [lit., "the one taken up, ὁ ἀναλημφθείς] from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven."

Now, it is evident that according to Acts 1:11 the new coming of Christ will not be a *parousia*,[8] but rather a κατάλημψις, the opposite of his ἀνάλημψις. Could we call this expected person "Elijah III," an exclusive idea of Luke? It is now the case not of a precursor but of the eschatological savior himself.

According to the apocalyptic vision of Daniel, the Son of Man will come "*in* a cloud" (ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ [Luke 21:27]).[9] In the frame of the Elijah tradition, however, Jesus is "assumed" (ἀναλημφθείς, as in Acts 1:11), "raised" (ἐπήρθη [Acts 1:9a]), and "*received by a cloud*" (νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτόν [Acts 1:9b]). He shall come "in the same way" in his κατάλημψις. Actually, the motif of the "assumption" belongs not to the tradition of the Son of Man but to that of Elijah, which is abundantly explored by Luke. Additionally, it is possible to find a melding of this tradition with that of Moses ascending to Mount Sinai, entering into the *cloud* (Exod 24:12–18, esp. v. 18a), and later descending with his face appearing radiant ("glorified" in the Greek version; cf. Exod 34:29–35).

Furthermore, we can explore another aspect in the story of the transference of the prophetic Spirit in 2 Kings 2. Once Elijah has disappeared (in a whirlwind, not a cloud, v. 11) something happens that is very significant. Now Elisha is the one who divides the waters of the Jordan River (v. 14), as had Elijah before (v. 8) and, much earlier, Moses himself (Exod 14:16, 21). But this is not all. When the prophetic group looking at these episodes observes Elisha's gesture, they exclaim: "The spirit of Elijah *rests* on Elisha" (2 Kgs [4 Kgdms] 2:15). The verb used (ἐπαναπέπαυται) is overcharged with particles that mean "on" and "up" (ἐπι-ανα-παύω). It is not the Spirit "in" the interior of an individ-

[7] The KJV's fragmented version ("to be taken from" [vv. 9, 10]; "went up" [v. 11]) corresponds to the MT (the verb לקח in vv. 9, 10, and עלה in v. 11), while in the LXX we read the same lexeme three times: ἀναλημφθῆναι (v. 9), ἀναλαμβανόμενον (v. 10), and ἀναλήμφθη (v. 11).

[8] The word παρουσία is never used by Luke, not even in the apocalyptic speech of Luke 21:8–28; in 21:27 the verb ἐρχομαι is used alluding to Dan 7:13 (as in Mark 13:26). On the other hand, Matthew has παρουσία in 24:3, 27.

[9] In Dan 7:13, however, the figure "like a man" does not descend to earth; the scene as a whole is celestial.

ual, with a meaning of purification (Isa 4:4b; Ezek 36:26, 27), but the Spirit resting "on/over" someone, appointing this person for a concrete function of leadership (as in the case of the elders in Num 11:17)[10] or communication (as in the case of the prophets in Isa 61:1).

It is possible that in the subsequent episode in Acts, the evangelist wants to represent the community that receives the Spirit on Pentecost—just after Jesus' "assumption" (Acts 2)—as the typological actualization of what formerly happened to Elisha. The fiery tongues "came to rest *upon*" each of the participants (Acts 2:3). This symbol is immediately identified with the Holy Spirit: "All were filled (ἐπλήσθησαν) with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4). The image echoes Luke's tradition about different people who received the Spirit (Zechariah in Luke 1:67; Jesus in 4:1; the disciples of Paul and Barnabas in Acts 13:51). The connection (via the symbolic "on") with the tongues of fire is not lost.

This is therefore new evidence of Luke's construction of Jesus' figure as a prophet in the style of Elijah. Following the idea of Ingrid Rosa Kitzberger, we can speak of "interfigurality": Elijah and Jesus are counterfigures, or interfigures.[11] When Jesus-Elijah is taken up to heaven, however, he does not take the Holy Spirit with him. The Spirit is given to the *ekklēsia,* as Elijah's spirit was transferred to Elisha. According to this fact, the first activity of the *ekklēsia* is precisely therapeutic (Acts 3:1–10) and kerygmatic (3:12–26). The effusion of the Spirit on the community, anticipated in Joel 3:1–5, is fully expressed in Pentecost, as Peter interprets it in his first kerygmatic speech (Acts 2:14–36; esp. vv. 17–21).

III. The Prophet Jesus in the Style of the Great Prophets

The prophetic representation of Jesus is not exhausted in this brilliant typology inspired by the story of Elijah. Israel's long prophetic tradition has transmitted such figures as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Hosea, Ezekiel, and others. These prophets were not *therapeutai* but only announcers of Yahweh's word, either in the form of accusation and complaint or in the positive form of blessings and promises. Concerning the first form, the prophetic word was normally

[10] Wrongly translated as "in you" by the *Christian Community Bible* (Manila: Claretian Publications/St. Paul's, 2000) but rendered correctly by the NRSV ("upon you").

[11] See Ingrid Rosa Kitzberger, "Aging and Birthing: Open-Ended Stories and a Hermeneutics of Promise," in *Los caminos inexhauribles de la Palabra (las relecturas creativas en la Biblia y de la Biblia): Homenaje de colegas y discípulos a J. Severino Croatto en sus 70 años de vida, 40 de magisterio, y 25 en el ISEDET,* ed. Guillermo Hansen (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editorial Lumen, 2000), 387–411.

rejected and the prophet persecuted (Jeremiah's case is paradigmatic), while the second form is characteristic of the later prophets or the final rereading of the preexilic prophets.[12]

Such representation is fundamental in the Gospel tradition about Jesus, and it is regrettable that the theological tradition has avoided it. The prophetic aspect is reduced to the fulfillment of OT prophecies (textual prophecy) once the christological reading of texts was established. Or, according to common perception, it has to do with the prediction of the future. But the biblical prophet is an interpreter of the present rather than an announcer of the future—symbolic and utopian in any case. Jesus eminently fulfilled this prophetic function, and the Synoptic tradition expressed his rejection, suffering, and death with the literary patterns and motifs of Jeremiah's history, especially Jeremiah 26. Although Jeremiah was defended by Shaphan and liberated (26:24), however, Jesus was condemned (Mark 15:15).

The Axis of Luke's Gospel Confirming Jesus' Death as a Prophet

If the rhetorical analysis of manifest structures can help us, it is worth noting that in the center of the journey narrative (9:51–19:44) is the scene concerning Herod "the fox." After Jesus' message to Herod about his activity until he is "consummated," he comments to the Pharisees who have come to warn him about Herod's intention:

> Nevertheless, *it is necessary* (δεῖ)[13] that I walk today, and tomorrow, and the day following: for it would not be fitting *for a prophet* to perish outside Jerusalem. (13:33)

Jesus defines himself as a prophet. This scene prepares for the episode in 23:8–12, where Jesus is despised and scorned by Herod, which contributes to Pilate's decision.

It is not possible for Jesus to turn aside from his objective, Jerusalem, in spite of the good advice of the Pharisees (13:31). He "must" go to Jerusalem because the prophets—following Israel's great tradition—acted mainly in Jerusalem, and it was in Jerusalem that they were rejected and persecuted. Immediately, Jesus addresses the city, but this time without defining himself as a prophet who will die there. Rather, he defines the city as "the killer of prophets":

[12] See José Severino Croatto, "La estructura de los libros proféticos (Las relecturas en el interior del corpus profético)," *RIBLA* 35–36 (2000): 7–24.

[13] The verbal form δεῖ ("it is necessary") is an important kerygmatic and theological expression in the Gospel of Luke (2:49; 4:43; 12:12; 13:14, 16, 33; 15:32; 18:1; 19:5; 22:7, 37; 24:44).

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *the one who* kills the prophets (ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφήτας).[14]

Jesus, the Prophet-Teacher of Deuteronomy 18

Let us return to the promise of Deut 18:15, 18 that we quoted above. This promise is interpreted by Luke in Acts 3:22–24, during Peter's second kerygmatic speech (3:12–26). This text is not clear at first glance, since Luke is probably recording three ideas that do not overlap:

1. The fulfillment in Jesus—using Luke's vocabulary of πληρόω—of all that the prophets have said, in this case concerning the sufferings of the now proclaimed Messiah (Deut 18:18)
2. The preparation through conversion (Acts 3:19) of the time of ἀνάψυξις ("refreshment, relief"; v. 20a) and ἀποκατάστασις ("restoration"; v. 21),[15] coincident with the (eschatological) arrival of Jesus, appointed beforehand (προκεχειρισμένον) as Messiah (v. 20b). Acts 3:21—"whom indeed it is necessary[16] that heaven retain"—retrospectively refers to the description of the new Elijah's assumption and to the announcement of his return ("he will return in the same manner as you have seen him go there") (Acts 1:11)
3. The promise of a prophet "like Moses" (Acts 3:22–26) who announces the conversion from wicked ways (v. 26).

This fragment of Peter's speech affirms something quite important: now Jesus is neither the prophet of the classic tradition, nor Elijah I, nor the former teacher, but the prophet-teacher on a different dimension—as risen. Through his resurrection, he becomes not only the glorious Messiah but also the interpreter of Scripture, as it is clearly stated in two references: Luke 24:27 ("he explained [διερμήνευσεν] to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself") and 24:45 ("then he opened their minds to understand the Scriptures"). Such hermeneutical function—during the "intermediate time"—is what the Christian community needs in order to be constantly "interpreting" the Scriptures and proclaiming the good news of salvation.

It was pointed out at the beginning of this article that Luke, who proposes

[14] Luke 13:34 is not to be translated "killing the prophets": the participle with an article indicates a permanent attribute and is equivalent to a definition.

[15] For the other two occurrences of this noun, both in Acts, see 22:14 and 26:16. Paul is predetermined as witness and preacher of good news to the nations.

[16] Again, the impersonal verbal form δεῖ, of which neither heaven nor Jesus is the subject (as in all English, German, and French versions). A better translation is, for instance, the Spanish Reina Valera 1995 ("a éste, ciertamente, es necesario que el cielo reciba hasta . . .").

the missionary *ekklēsia* as a permanent paradigm, usually advances an archetypal model in the historical Jesus himself. This is clearly expressed in the story of the transfiguration (Luke 9:28–36). First of all, the location (the mount, Moses, the glory, the cloud) unmistakably refers to Sinai. But what is Elijah doing there? We must remember that Elijah went to Horeb (Sinai) after being rejected by Israel (1 Kings 19), perhaps to nourish himself with Yahweh's word, which was not heeded at all in Israel. Nevertheless, we suspect there is something else.

The conversation with Moses and Elijah, which the three disciples did not hear because they were sleepy (Luke 9:32), was with a luminous Jesus (v. 30), and the subject was "his *exodus* that he had to *fulfill* in Jerusalem" (v. 31).[17] Was it an informal conversation, a pastime? Certainly not. First, the word ἔξοδος is parallel to ἀνάλημψις of 9:51. Second, Luke uses in both cases his favorite terminology of "being filled" (πληροῦν/συμπληροῦσθαι), thus indicating that something anticipated is now about to be fulfilled. Third, the cloud that hides the three speakers (Jesus, Moses, and Elijah) foreshadows Luke's description of the "assumption" of the risen Jesus. It was inside the cloud (on Mount Sinai) that the divine revelation was received. So this "Sinaitic" frame joins the prophet Elijah to the interpretation of the divine word.

The break takes place at the moment of the theophany or "logophany," when it is proclaimed—following the tradition of the prophet/Servant of Isaiah 42:1, "this is my son, the one I choose." Now, this declaration is immediately connected to the promise of a prophet "like Moses": "To him shall you listen" (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε [Luke 9:35 = Deut 18:15]). Moses and Elijah disappear. This is quite significant. From this moment on, the risen Jesus (anticipated in the transfiguration) will be the only mediator, interpreter, and teacher for the Christian community. The risen Jesus will replace both the prophet-teacher Moses and the prophet Elijah. Jesus alone remains. As a paschal event, the transfiguration surpasses the historical Jesus. The historical Jesus was a "healer"-prophet (like Elijah I) and a teacher (like the rabbis). The risen Jesus, however, will be the prophet-teacher "like Moses," according to Deuteronomy 18. As such, he will be the interpreter of Scriptures (the Torah) for the Christian *ekklēsia.*

I think this is why Luke gives two different moments for Jesus' "assumption." According to Luke 24:50–53, it happens on the same day as his resurrection, but, according to Acts 1:1–11, it takes place after forty days. This discrepancy is certainly not the result of negligence or incoherence. Luke is a

[17] The translation of the NJB, "passing," is unacceptable, as is that of the KJV/NKJV, "and spoke of his *decease* which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." In these translations, the symbolism is lost.

fine theologian who would never allow himself to be incoherent. Rather, he "needs"—better yet, he shows that the Christian community needs—to understand that the invisible presence of the prophet-teacher working through his Spirit was anticipated in a visible demonstration of the risen Jesus as interpreter of the Scriptures concerning the kingdom of God. This was important in the paschal time of the *ekklēsia.* That is why Luke describes Jesus' activity during forty days—a symbolic number indeed: "To whom also he presented himself alive by many infallible proofs (τεκμηρίοις) after his passion, being seen by them forty days, and speaking the things pertaining to the kingdom of God (τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ) (Acts 1:3).

Luke does not explain the content of "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." He is referring, however, to the reinterpretation of all Scriptures from the perspective of Jesus' death and resurrection, and in relation to the proclamation of the good news "up to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8; cf. Luke 24:27, 44–48).

This is the hermeneutical task that the *ekklēsia* must carry out. It is inaugurated by Peter's speech at Pentecost (Acts 2:14–36) and will continue with the four other kerygmatic speeches of Peter himself (3:12–26; 4:8–12; 5:29–32; 10:34–43) and also that of Paul in Antioch of Pisidia (13:16b–41). These six speeches—kerygmatic and paschal in content—all express the nucleus of the new "creed," centered on Jesus' death and resurrection. They are all messages to the Jewish people and have to do with the rereading of the Scriptures in the light of the paschal mystery.

To this group we must add Stephen's great speech (Acts 7:2–53), which has a distinct significance for Luke. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, underscores the symmetry between Moses and Jesus, both being "leaders and judges": "It was this Moses whom they rejected when they said 'Who made you a ruler and judge (ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν)?' and whom God now sent as both ruler and liberator (ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτήν). . ." (v. 35; cf. v. 27b). Moreover, both were rejected like all the prophets: "Which of the prophets did your ancestors not persecute? They killed those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One . . ." (v. 52; cf. vv. 35, 39, 51). The second deacon, Philip, likewise plays a hermeneutic role when he meets the minister of the queen of Ethiopia:[18] "Then Philip began to speak, and starting with this scripture (ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης),[19] he proclaimed to him the good news about Jesus." From among the seven deacons (Acts 6:5–6), Luke is interested only in the first two, Stephen and Philip. Both of them act in the same way the apostles do, as ministers of the Word (διακονία τοῦ λόγου). This function is actually the interpretation of the Scriptures with Jesus as its key.

[18] Philip was probably a Diaspora Jew; it would not make sense for him to be a Gentile.

[19] This refers to Isa 53:7–8, quoted in 8:32–33.

This hermeneutical role is important in the early years of the Christian community. During the Jerusalem council, the matrix of a long tradition, Peter interprets God's recent manifestations (Acts 15:7b–11), and James, too, turns to the Scriptures (15:13b–21). Paul, in his speech to the Gentiles in Athens (17:22b–31) does not appeal to the Scriptures because they are unknown to his audience. Nevertheless, he interprets their own religiousness (see vv. 12 and 31). Paul's "testament" in Miletus, however, is addressed to the elders of the region of Ephesus (20:18b–35). He refers to his ministry as preacher, teacher, and witness (vv. 20–21), which in Luke's perspective is related to the interpretation of the Scriptures, as can be seen in the key text of 17:2b–3: "Paul . . . argued with them from the scriptures (ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν), explaining (διανοίγων) and proving that it was necessary for the Messiah to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, 'This is the Messiah, Jesus whom I am proclaiming to you.'"[20]

We should not forget that in the three accounts of Paul's calling (Acts 9:3–19; 22:3–21; 26:2–23) Luke inserts a very short hermeneutical speech of Jesus himself, who ascribes to Paul the figures of the persecuted prophet (9:15–16; 26:17),[21] the prophet to the nations (22:18, 21; 26:17),[22] and the servant-announcer of Isa 42:1–7 (Acts 26:15–18).[23]

At the end of Acts, Paul, already in Rome at a meeting with the Jews of the city, "set forth testifying earnestly (ἐξετίθετο) to the kingdom of God, persuading them about things concerning Jesus (περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ), both from the Law of Moses and from the Prophets, from morning till evening" (28:23). A hermeneutic exercise on Isa 6:9–10 comes next (Acts 28:25–28). Then the conclusion of the Lukan book of Acts stresses that Paul was proclaiming (κηρύσσων) the kingdom of God and teaching (διδάσκων) "the [things] concerning the Lord Jesus Messiah with entire freedom of speech and without restraint" (28:31). The formula τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—or its equivalents in v. 23 and Luke 24:27b—refers neither to Jesus' public life nor to OT "jesuanic" matters. Rather, it refers to the christological interpretation of the OT from the global event of Jesus—his life, death, resurrection, and "assumption" or glorification.

[20] The Messiah of the Scriptures is Jesus ("Jesus is Christ"); in the confession of faith, however, Jesus is the Messiah (hence "Christ is Jesus").

[21] These verses are based on the story of Jeremiah's call (see Jer 1:1–18).

[22] The previous parallel with the prophetic figure of Jeremiah allows for a further association in these words: "Go, for I send you far hence, to the nations" (Acts 22:21). The translation "prophet to the nations" is usually used for Jer 1:5 and Luke 24:47, but "to the Gentiles" in Acts 22:21 misses the relation between these texts, which is much clearer in the LXX (προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη in Jer 1:5; εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in Luke 24:47; and εἰς ἔθνη in Acts 22:21).

[23] "To open their eyes" (ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν) is taken from Isa 42:7 (LXX ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν), the first "song" of the Servant, in which the Servant is not a suffering individual but the announcer of good news to the Diaspora ("light to the nations," v. 6).

To return to the point of this section, all this activity is prophetic and magisterial. The risen Jesus himself begins it (Luke 24); it is continued by the first Christian witnesses (Acts of the Apostles); and it is finally legitimated by the christological rereading of the title "prophet like Moses" of Deut 18:15, 18. Such legitimacy—hermeneutic once more—is inscribed in the story of the transfiguration; it is repeated in Peter's speech in Acts 3; and it is finally reiterated in Stephen's discourse: "This is that Moses who said to the sons of Israel: 'A prophet will the Lord raise up for you from among your brethren, like me'" (Acts 7:37 [author's trans.]). Thus, the prophetic function of Jesus survives beyond its terrestrial realization in the figure of the "prophet like Moses." This prophet is now the risen Jesus. Jesus is no longer Elijah, but the eschatological prophet who inspires in the *ekklēsia* the new interpretation of the Scriptures.

IV. The Prophetic Testimony of the Original *Ekklēsia*

Finally, Jesus' prophetic role in the style of the great prophets of Israel develops into the testimony of the preaching of the first Christian community. Such a testimony would lead to rejection, persecution, and even martyrdom. The proclamation of the good news of salvation presupposes a rereading of the Scriptures by which the prophetic role "like Moses" is manifested. Such an interpretation of the Scriptures is in conflict with the traditional vision. In the book of Acts, the witnesses of the risen Jesus are rejected not because of accusations regarding social injustice or improper forms of cult but because of their affirmation that Jesus—who was condemned by the authorities of Jerusalem but now is risen and "made Messiah" (Acts 2:36)—is the savior of all those who invoke him (2:21). This is an extremely daring declaration, which bursts on the religious society generating the conflict. Persecution and rejection are the outcome of proclaiming salvation through Jesus with *parrhēsia* (freedom of speech). This situation is prefigured also in the infancy narratives, in this case in Simeon's words: "Behold, this child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign of contradition" (εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον)? (Luke 2:34).

Stephen—the "interpreter" rather than the deacon—also remembers this situation as he was asking his audience, clearly alluding to the rejection of the Just (Jesus, the suffering Servant):[24] "Which of the prophets did your fathers not persecute?" (Acts 7:52a). It is fitting that this sentence brings us unmistakably back to Luke's fourth beatitude: "Blessed are you when human beings hate you . . . for thus their fathers did to the prophets" (Luke 6:22a, 23b). These

[24] The title "Just" in Acts 7:52b alludes to the Isaianic Servant, so called in Isa 53:11 ("the just, my servant" [LXX δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον]).

hermeneutic connections are quite clear for Luke, and they lie at the basis of his kerygma.

V. Conclusion

Jesus fulfills everything that was foretold about the prophet (Luke 4:21), the Son of Man (18:31), the Messiah (24:26, 44–48; Acts 3:18), or "these days" (Acts 3:24). But above all, Jesus develops a multiple prophetic function for himself: (1) in the tradition of the great prophets; (2) as Elijah I (prophet and healer); (3) being killed, just like the prophets; and (4) as eschatological prophet-teacher, interpreter of the Scriptures. This prophetic-magisterial activity includes the affirmation of Jesus' paschal messiahship, and the "jesuanic" prefiguration of the prophet who is rejected and condemned to death. In the last instance, Jesus' paschal messiahship is the reverse of his terrestrial prophetic activity. This activity is clarified and interpreted by his new prophetic-magisterial role "like Moses," which is also paschal.

The prophetic perspective of Jesus' activity is so intense in the Lukan *magnum opus* that it is astonishing that it could be replaced by the messianic readings, and that such interpretation became almost the only one. The blurring of the prophetic dimension of Jesus in the theological tradition—not only in the exegetical tradition—is connected to the absence of a prophetic typology in the nomenclature of the saints. The saints can be confessors, virgins, martyrs, doctors, but there are no prophets in the Christian catalogue. St. Catherine of Siena was a true prophet, but when she was canonized she was designated a "doctor of the Church." It is a symptom of the loss of the prophetic meaning and praxis, which was absorbed by other functions not related to that role. A new reading of the double Lukan work can help us recover this important dimension, which is rooted in the paradigm of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan River, a wondrous archetype of prophetic, not messianic, consecration.

This prophetic dimension of the Christian testimony is being recovered in the spirituality and theology of the last decades and is urgently needed in different contexts. The prophet Jesus is the paradigm for the Christian prophetic mission. To see Christ (the Messiah) as a heavenly king and monarch is not very suitable today, because of so many sad experiences with monarchies in our world. Fortunately, not only in Latin America but also all over the world we have brilliant examples of prophets, many of whom were martyrs, even though the church does not recognize them as prophets. We are in a time when prophetic activity is most timely and urgent. Fortunately, too, we have in the double Lukan work a solid and provocative theology of prophetic Christian praxis.

JBL 124/3 (2005) 467–490

ΠΙΣΤΙΣ IN GALATIANS 5:5–6: NEGLECTED EVIDENCE FOR THE FAITHFULNESS OF CHRIST

HUNG-SIK CHOI
Hschoi3525@hanmail.net
Torch Trinity Graduate School of Theology, 55 Yangjae Dong,
Sucho-Gu, Seoul 137-889, South Korea

The aim of this article is to investigate the meaning of πίστις in Gal 5:5–6 and the significance of Gal 5:5–6 for the debate about the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ. When investigating the two phrases ἐκ πίστεως (5:5) and πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη (5:6), we must interpret them both in relation to the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ[1] and with a view to the current debate about πίστις Χριστοῦ, not only because ἐκ πίστεως is an abbreviation of ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ[2] but also because both ἐκ πίστεως and ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ occur in the rhetorical context of a passage concerned with justification.[3] The discussion of how to interpret Paul's notoriously difficult expression πίστις Χριστοῦ has been one of the main debates in recent Pauline scholarship.[4] The debate has revolved largely around the issue of whether the phrase should be understood as the Christian's act of "faith in Christ" (objective genitive) or as "the faith(ful-

[1] In this article, I will use πίστις Χριστοῦ when referring to the following five variations: πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Rom 3:22; Gal 3:22); πίστις Ἰησοῦ (Rom 3:26); πίστις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Gal 2:16); πίστις Χριστοῦ (Gal 2:16; Phil 3:9); πίστις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal 2:20).

[2] This is evidenced by Paul's abbreviation of ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Gal 3:22) to ἐκ πίστεως (Gal 3:24). Cf. Paul's abbreviation of διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Rom 3:22) to διὰ πίστεως (Rom 3:25, 31) and ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ (Rom 3:26) to ἐκ πίστεως (Rom 3:30). Paul usually abbreviates the long phrases such as στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (Gal 4:3) to στοιχεῖα (Gal 4:9), and ἔργα νόμου (Rom 3:20) to ἔργα (Rom 3:27; 4:2, 6; 9:12, 32; 11:6).

[3] There are three passages in Galatians concerning justification: 2:16–21; 3:21–26; 5:4–6. In these passages justification occurs with ἐκ πίστεως (Χριστοῦ) each time, so it seems that the meaning of ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5 would not be different from ἐκ πίστεως (Χριστοῦ) in 2:16–21 and 3:6–4:7.

[4] This was an important topic of discussion in the Pauline Theology Group of the Society of Biblical Literature. That discussion culminated in the debate between Richard B. Hays and James D. G. Dunn in Kansas City in November 1991.

ness) of Christ" (subjective genitive). Although a number of scholars previously tackled the issue,[5] it has resurfaced as a thorny problem in Pauline scholarship within the last twenty or so years.[6] In recent years, a growing number of schol-

[5] E.g., James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 161–205; Marcus Barth, "The Kerygma of Galatians," *Int* 21 (1967): 144–45; idem, "The Faith of the Messiah," *HeyJ* 10 (1969): 363–70; Hans-Werner Bartsch, "The Concept of Faith in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *BR* 13 (1968): 41–53; J. Haussleiter, "Der Glaube Jesus und der christliche Glaube," *NKZ* 2 (1891): 109–45, 205–30; George Howard, "Notes and Observations on the 'Faith of Christ,'" *HTR* 60 (1967): 459–65; idem, "The Faith of Christ," *ExpTim* 85 (1974): 212–15; Gerhard Kittel, "Πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ bei Paulus," *TSK* 79 (1906): 419–36; Richard N. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 149–52; C. F. D. Moule, "The Biblical Conception of Faith," *ExpTim* 68 (1957): 157; D. W. B. Robinson, "'Faith of Jesus Christ'—A New Testament Debate," *RTR* 29 (1970): 71–81; G. Taylor, "The Function of ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in Galatians," *JBL* 85 (1966): 58–76; T. F. Torrance, "One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith," *ExpTim* 68 (1957): 111–14.

[6] Especially noteworthy are Douglas A. Campbell, "The Meaning of ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ΝΟΜΟΣ in Paul," *JBL* 111 (1992): 91–103; idem, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3, 21–26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 58–69, 214–18; idem, "Romans 1:17—A *Crux Interpretum* for the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate," *JBL* 113 (1994): 265–85; idem, "False Presuppositions in the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate: A Response to Brian Dodd," *JBL* 116 (1997): 713–19; Bruno Corsani, "ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in the Letters of Paul," in *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke* (ed. W. C. Weinrich; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 1:87–93; William J. Dalton, *Galatians without Tears* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 41–46; Glenn N. Davies, *Faith and Obedience in Romans* (JSNTSup 39; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 107–12; Brian J. Dodd, "Romans 1:17—A *Crux Interpretum* for the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate?" *JBL* 114 (1994): 470–73; James D. G. Dunn, "Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," in *Pauline Theology,* vol. 4, *Looking Back, Pressing On* (ed. E. Elizabeth Johnson and David M. Hay; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 61–81; P. Foster, "The First Contribution to the πίστις Χριστοῦ Debate: A Study of Ephesians 3.12," *JSNT* 85 (2002): 75–96; Roy A. Harrisville III, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ: Witness of the Fathers," *NovT* 36 (1994): 233–41; David M. Hay, "*Pistis* as 'Ground for Faith' in Hellenized Judaism and Paul," *JBL* 108 (1989): 461–76; Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* (SBLDS 56; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); idem, "Jesus' Faith and Ours: A Re-reading of Galatians 3," in *Conflict and Context: Hermeneutics in the Americas* (ed. Mark L. Branson and R. René Patilla; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 257–68; idem, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology: What Is at Stake?" in *Pauline Theology,* 4:35–60; Morna D. Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," *NTS* 35 (1989): 321–42; Arland J. Hultgren, "The *Pistis Christou* Formulations in Paul," *NovT* 22 (1980): 248–63; Luke T. Johnson, "Romans 3:21–26 and the Faith of Jesus," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 77–90; Leander E. Keck, "'Jesus' in Romans," *JBL* 108 (1989): 443–60; V. Koperski, "The Meaning of *Pistis Christou* in Philippians 3.9," *LS* 18 (1993): 198–216; Bruce W. Longenecker, "Defining the Faithful Character of the Covenant Community: Galatians 2.15–21 and Beyond: A Response to Jan Lambrecht," in *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (ed. James D. G. Dunn; WUNT 89; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 75–98; idem, "*Pistis* in Rom 3.25: Neglected Evidence for the Faithfulness of Christ," *NTS* 39 (1993): 478–80; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990), 87–88, 93–94; Frank J. Matera, *Galatians* (SP 9; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 100–102; R. Barry Matlock, "Detheologizing the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate: Cautionary Remarks from a Lexical Semantic Perspective," *NovT* 42 (2000): 1–23; idem, "'Even the Demons Believe': Paul and πίστις Χριστοῦ," *CBQ* 64 (2002): 300–318; Stanley K. Stowers, "ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ and ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in Romans 3:30," *JBL* 108 (1989): 665–74; Ian G. Wallis, *The*

ars (especially North American scholars) have claimed that the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ is "the faith(fulness) of Christ."[7] Many scholars, however, have maintained the traditional interpretation—that πίστις Χριστοῦ refers to the Christian's act of "faith in Christ."[8] Alternatively, some scholars have argued that it refers to "Christ-faith"[9] or "Christic-faith."[10] Recently Albert Vanhoye has suggested that the meaning of "credibility or trustworthiness" of Christ suits well some texts because the "trustworthiness" of Christ is what makes the Christian's "faith" possible.[11] In spite of so many contributions to the debate, the discussion has not come to an end, and no scholarly consensus may yet be discerned.[12]

Although there is no consensus about the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ, it is generally agreed that its precise meaning cannot be decided on grammatical and syntactical grounds alone,[13] and thus this issue must be settled by the exegetical study of the relevant texts.[14] Recognizing the insufficiencies of argu-

---

Faith of Jesus Christ in Early Christian Traditions (SNTSMS 84; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Sam K. Williams, "Again *Pistis Christou*," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 431–47; idem, "The Hearing of Faith: ΑΚΟΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in Galatians 3," *NTS* 35 (1989): 82–93. For good summaries of the debate, see Campbell, *Rhetoric of Righteousness,* 58–60; Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 158–62.

[7] For the interpreters who take πίστις Χριστοῦ as a subjective genitive, see Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 36 n. 3.

[8] For the scholars who understand the genitive to be objective, see Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 36 n. 4.

[9] Charles H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 56; Williams, "Again *Pistis Christou*," 437.

[10] D. B. Garlington, "Role Reversal and Paul's Use of Scripture in Galatians 3.10-13," *JSNT* 65 (1997): 85–121, here 89.

[11] Albert Vanhoye, "Πίστις Χριστοῦ: Fede in Cristo o affidabilità di Cristo," *Bib* 80 (1999): 1–21.

[12] See also Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 321; E. Elizabeth Johnson, "Preface," in *Pauline Theology,* 4:xi; Paul J. Achtemeier, "Apropos the Faith of/in Christ: A Response to Hays and Dunn," in ibid., 92.

[13] Although the genitive in πίστις Χριστοῦ can be construed grammatically as either subjective or objective, Hays ("ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 39) and Dunn ("Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 64, 67) agree that the grammatical issue is inconclusive in determining the meaning. Hays responded to the critique of Moisés Silva, who favors the objective genitive, as follows: "In the end, Dr. Silva and I agree that the expression πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is ambiguous, that its ambiguity must be resolved by appealing to broader contextual considerations, and that no irrefutable resolution of the ambiguity is possible on either side" ("Postscript: Further Reflections on Galatians 3," in *Conflict and Context,* 278). But Hays says, "I stand by my earlier judgement that the balance of grammatical evidence strongly favors the subjective genitive interpretation and that the arguments for an objective interpretation are relatively weak" ("ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology?" 39). Campbell ("Romans 1.17," 267 n. 9) also says, "Hays, M. Hooker, and I concur that both grammatical cases are invalid." See also Achtemeier, "Apropos the Faith of/in Christ," 84, 92; Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 321; Johnson, "Preface," xi; Wallis, *Faith of Jesus Christ,* 69–72.

[14] See Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 39; Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 321; Wallis, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 71–72.

ments based on grammar and syntax, Richard B. Hays states, "Our interpretative decision about the meaning of Paul's phrase . . . must be governed by larger judgements and logic of Paul's thought concerning faith, Christ, and salvation."[15] Without attempting to rehearse the grammatical and syntactical issues pertinent to the phrase,[16] then, the present discussion will focus on the interpretation of πίστις in Gal 5:5–6 through a contextual and exegetical study of these verses.

Pauline scholars have either overlooked or undervalued the importance of Gal 5:5–6 for the debate concerning the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ. With regard to the meaning of ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5, nearly all commentators have understood πίστις in 5:5 as the Christian's act of faith. Surprisingly, most exegetes who argue for the subjective genitive do not explicitly interpret ἐκ πίστεως as "through the faith(fulness) of Christ."[17] Frank J. Matera is an exception because he claims that the phrase should be interpreted in relation to 2:16 ("through the faithfulness of Christ").[18] As far as πίστις in 5:6 is concerned, virtually all interpreters of Paul have taken it to refer to the Christian's act of faith. Having understood it as an ethical principle of Christian behavior, they have interpreted πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη as "the Christian's faith expressing itself through love." To our knowledge, no one has explicitly argued that it denotes "the faithfulness of Christ."[19] The thesis put forward in what follows is

[15] Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 39.

[16] For the discussions, see Campbell, *Rhetoric of Righteousness,* 214–18; Dunn, "Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 63–67; Foster, "First Contribution to the πίστις Χριστοῦ Debate," 75–83; Hultgren, "*Pistis Christou* Formulations in Paul," 248–63; Matlock, "Detheologizing the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate," 1–23; Peter T. O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 398–400; Williams, "Again *Pistis Christou*," 431–47; Wallis, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 69–71.

[17] Hays, for example, holds that the phrase describes the Christian's life in conformity to the pattern of faithfulness grounded and revealed in Jesus (*Faith of Jesus Christ*, 231–32). J. Louis Martyn argues that "faith" is the cause of "waiting for the hoped-for righteousness" (*Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997], 472). He translates the phrase as "having the confidence that comes from faith." Sam K. Williams regards "faith" as the internal source of believers' existence: "Faith is that personal receptivity to God's grace that allows the Spirit to be at work in believers' lives" (*Galatians* [ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 1997], 138). See also R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 229; Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on St Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 369.

[18] Matera, *Galatians*, 182; he opts for the subjective genitive interpretation of the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ (pp. 100–102), but he does not demonstrate that ἐκ πίστεως (5:5) should be interpreted as "through the faith(fulness) of Christ."

[19] Richard B. Hays interprets πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη in an anthropological sense ("Christology and Ethics in Galatians: The Law of Christ," *CBQ* 49 [1987]: 268–290, here 289). Although he argues later ("ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 59) that "there are no cases in Galatians where the noun πίστις unambiguously denotes 'human believing *in Christ*,'" he does not explicitly claim that the phrase here should be understood in a christological sense.

that the πίστις references in 5:5 and 5:6 have "the faithfulness of Christ" in view.[20]

I. The Meaning of ἐκ πίστεως in Galatians 5:5

The unqualified phrase ἐκ πίστεως occurs seven times in Galatians (3:7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 24; 5:5). In order to ascertain the meaning of ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5, I will investigate Gal 3:8; 3:23–26; and 5:2–6 not only because the same phrase occurs in these passages but also because the phrase occurs in the same context of justification.

Galatians 3:8

Traditionally the phrase ἐκ πίστεως in 3:8 has been understood as the Christian's act of faith. Some scholars interpret the phrase christologically, as Christ's faithfulness.[21] In my view, the latter is preferable. In 3:8 Paul supports God's justification of the Gentiles ἐκ πίστεως by citing an OT text (Gen 12:3; 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14). If Paul brings up the text to support his argument that God would justify the Gentiles by *their faith*, the citation does not seem to say that human faith is the means of God's justification. It is important to note the parallels between ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός and ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. It seems clear that Paul equates ἐνευλογηθήσονται with ὁ θεὸς δικαιοῖ, τὰ ἔθνη with πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, and ἐκ πίστεως with ἐν σοί. If there is a close interpretive link between the two prepositional phrases, it is necessary to clarify the phrase ἐν σοί because it seems to explain ἐκ πίστεως. How does Paul understand ἐν σοί? Most exegetes have understood it as a reference to Abraham's obedient faithfulness to God's promise, translating the preposition ἐν as "by means of" or "on the basis of."[22] Franz Mußner interprets

[20] I will use "the faithfulness of Christ," instead of "the faith of Christ" as the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ. The reason is as follows: In terms of the semantic range of πίστις, it denotes assurance, confidence, reliance, trust, or belief when πίστις is employed it its active sense, and it means trustworthiness, reliability, fidelity, or faithfulness when used in its passive sense (see BAGD; L&N; Rudolf Bultmann, πιστεύω κτλ, *TDNT* 6:175–202; Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology," 58). What we need to determine is whether πίστις in relation to Χριστοῦ bears the active sense or the passive: Does πίστις Χριστοῦ refer to Christ's act of faith in someone (i.e., God), or to Christ's faithfulness to someone (e.g., God, humankind)? The former is to be excluded not only because it is not a prominent theme in Paul but also because Paul never employs Christ as the subject of the verb πιστεύω. It may well be, therefore, that semantically, πίστις Χριστοῦ means the faithfulness of Christ to God or humanity, or both, instead of the faith of Christ in God.

[21] Martyn, *Galatians*, 301; Matera, *Galatians*, 123.

[22] Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921), 161; Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 139.

it in light of the concept of "corporate personality," taking the preposition in a locative sense: the Gentiles will be blessed because they were spiritually included in Abraham.[23] But Paul does not interpret God's acceptance of the Gentiles on the basis of a Jewish conviction that Abraham's obedient faithfulness to God is the basis of the blessing of the Gentiles. Nor does he understand Abraham as a "corporate personality," because the concept is employed by Paul only with reference to Adam (Rom 5:15) and Christ (Gal 2:17; 3:14, 28).[24] Rather, he interprets the Abrahamic blessing from a Christian perspective—God's acceptance of the Gentiles through the seed of Abraham, that is, Christ (3:16). Paul probably understands ἐν σοί as a reference to Abraham's descendant, that is, Christ.[25] This is clearly indicated by the parallel between ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (3:8) and εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (3:14). It seems clear that Paul equates ἐνευλογηθήσονται with ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, τὰ ἔθνη with τὰ ἔθνη, and ἐν σοί with ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. This is in harmony with Paul's argument that the Gentiles receive the blessing of Abraham by being in Christ (3:26) and by belonging to Christ (that is, the seed of Abraham [3:29]). So Paul understands Christ as the seed of Abraham through whom the Abrahamic blessing is fulfilled. Moreover, on the basis of Paul's understanding of God's blessing of the Gentiles in Abraham as the gospel, it is reasonable to think that Paul understands the gospel as God's blessing of the Gentiles through Christ, the one offspring of Abraham (3:16). Indeed, for Paul the gospel is τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1:7). If this interpretation is correct, then πίστις in 3:8 should be interpreted not anthropologically but christologically. In light of these observations, it is fair to say that ἐκ πίστεως (3:8) means "by the faithfulness (of Christ)."

Galatians 3:23–26

The interpretation of the πίστις in 3:23–26 is crucial and decisive for clarifying its meaning in 5:5. Galatians 3:23–26 is important also for understanding the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians because an irrefutable resolution of the grammatical and syntactical ambiguity of πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians is possible by contextual and exegetical scrutiny of 3:23–26. There are several reasons for this claim. First, the unqualified use of πίστις in 3:23–26 apparently refers to πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 3:22.[26] Second, the phrase ἐκ πίστεως occurs

[23] Franz Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT 9; Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 222.

[24] Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 143 n. 41.

[25] G. Walter Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 126; Martyn, *Galatians*, 302.

[26] Most commentators hold that the definite articles with πίστις in 3:23–26 refer back to the πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 3:22. See, e.g., F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians* (NIGTC; Grand

in both 3:24 and 5:5. Third, the same context of justification appears in both 3:23–26 and 5:5. Fourth, in consideration of the summarizing character of 5:5–6,[27] it is reasonable to think that ἐκ πίστεως as an abbreviation of ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ recapitulates the ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ of 2:16 and 3:22 and ἐκ πίστεως of 3:24.[28] Galatians 3:23–26 is probably one of the decisive texts for the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate and may well hold the key to our interpretation of ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5.

Before turning to the exegesis of 3:23–26, it is appropriate to survey briefly the major proposed interpretations concerning πίστις in 3:23–26. Some exegetes interpret ἡ πίστις in 3:23–26 in terms of the Christian's act of faith in Christ.[29] In recent years, several exegetes who favor the subjective genitive interpretation of πίστις Χριστοῦ have claimed that ἡ πίστις refers to "the faithfulness of Christ."[30] Surprisingly, commentators who argue for the subjective genitive interpretation seem to suggest that it denotes both "the faith of the Christian" and "the faith of Jesus Christ."[31] Sam K. Williams understands the phrase as Christian faith actualized and exemplified by Christ's faith.[32]

Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 181; Burton, *Galatians*, 198; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 197; Fung, *Galatians*, 168; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 145; Matera, *Galatians*, 136; Williams, "Again *Pistis Christou*," 438; idem, *Galatians*, 101.

[27] Betz notes that Gal 5:5–6 "consists of a series of dogmatic formulaic expressions, which function as abbreviations of dogmatic statements" (*Galatians*, 262). R. Longenecker (*Galatians*, 222) argues that 5:5–6 is a résumé or précis of what Paul said earlier in the letter regarding the gospel proclamation vis-à-vis the Judaizers' message. See also Fung, *Galatians*, 221; R. Dean Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 18; Kampen: Pharos, 1996), 158. Scot McKnight, *Galatians* (NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 251.

[28] See n. 2 above.

[29] E.g. Burton, *Galatians*, 198; Dunn, *Galatians*, 197; Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief*, 254–56; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK; 5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 166.

[30] E.g., A. B. Caneday, "The Curse of the Law and the Cross: Works of the Law and Faith in Galatians 3:1–14" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1992), 196; George Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (SNTSMS 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 65; Bruce W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark. 1998), 103; Matera, *Galatians*, 136; Wallis, *Faith of Jesus Christ in Early Christian Traditions*, 113.

[31] Hays says, "the coming of πίστις is indeed the coming of a new possible mode of disposing one's self toward God, but this mode is possible precisely because it was first of all actualized in and by Jesus Christ" (*Faith of Jesus Christ*, 232). B. Longenecker says, "Paul envisages Christ's πίστις leading to the enlivenment of πίστις in the lives of others" (*Triumph of Abraham's God,* 104). R. Longenecker states, "Paul means not faith generically, but the particular faith referred to in v 22b that has to do with 'the faithfulness of Christ' and humanity's response of faith" (*Galatians*, 145), but he is inconsistent because he considers the coming of "faith" in 3:25 as "the Christian gospel" (p. 149). Martyn states that the coming of πίστις refers "to the coming both of Christ's faith and of the faith kindled by Christ's faith" (*Galatians*, 362).

[32] Williams states that after Christ had revealed πίστις, "faith has now become a genuine possibility for human life as it was not before" ("Again *Pistis Christou*," 438).

Interestingly, a good number of commentators have interpreted πίστις as a quasi-personified entity. They suggest that the term refers to "the Christian revelation,"[33] "the manifestation of faith in personified form,"[34] "Christianity,"[35] or even a "mythico-historical period of the faith."[36] It has also been understood as "Christ,"[37] the "principle of salvation,"[38] "the gospel,"[39] the "content of faith,"[40] or "Jesus-Christ-faith" as a metonymy for Christ or the gospel.[41] In the light of the use of the term πίστις in the works of Philo and Josephus, Hay suggests that in Gal 3:23–26 "ἡ πίστις means 'the objective ground of faith.' Jesus is the decisive evidence or pledge given humankind by God which makes faith possible."[42]

As we shall see below, the subjective genitive interpretation is to be preferred. Although other suggestions may reflect a facet of Paul's meaning, none of them quite does justice to the fact that Paul speaks of πίστις as an apocalyptic and eschatological event from his redemptive-historical perspective (see below). Moreover, proposals other than the objective genitive and subjective genitive interpretations fail to observe that ἡ πίστις in 3:23–26 points back to πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 3:22, as most exegetes recognize.[43] Here ἡ πίστις as an abbreviation of πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (3:22), cannot mean "that which is believed" (e.g., body of faith, Christian belief, the gospel, principle of salvation,

[33] J. Brown, *An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Sons, 1853), 171.

[34] Ernst Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul* (London: SCM, 1969), 83.

[35] Wilhelm Mundle, *Der Glaubenbegriff bei Paulus* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1932), 93; Hans Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971), 23.

[36] Betz, *Galatians*, 175–76.

[37] Krister Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles, and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 21.

[38] Günther Bornkamm insists that πίστις should be interpreted "not as a human attitude or a concern of the individual, but as the 'principle of salvation' . . . opposed to the νόμος. . . . Paul therefore speaks just as objectively of the 'coming of faith' (i.e., of the message of faith) as he does in 4:4–7 of the sending of the son and of his Spirit" ("The Revelation of Christ to Paul on the Damascus Road and Paul's Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation," in *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology* [ed. R. Banks; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974], 96). Fung notes that "faith" in 3:23 "is the principle (and means) of salvation opposed to the law and at the same time stands for the new order of eschatological salvation itself" (*Galatians*, 168). See also Schlier, *Brief an die Galater*, 167.

[39] Bruce, *Galatians*, 181; BAGD, 664.

[40] A. von Dobbeler, "Metaphernkonflikt und Missionsstrategie: Beobachtungen zur personifizierenden Rede von Glauben in Gal 3,23–25," *TZ* 54 (1998): 14–35, here 34-35.

[41] Charles H. Cosgrove, for example, suggests that πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 3:22 refers to "Jesus-Christ-Faith" as a metonymy for Christ or the gospel ("Justification in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Reflection," *JBL* 106 [1987]: 662 n. 22). Witherington notes, "Christ is epitomized as Seed or Faith" (*Grace in Galatia*, 268).

[42] Hay, "*Pistis* as 'Ground for Faith' in Hellenized Judaism and Paul," 471.

[43] See n. 26 above.

etc.) or "objective ground for faith"; it probably refers instead to either the Christian's act of faith in Jesus Christ or the faithfulness of Jesus Christ.[44] Furthermore, these interpretations are not in accordance with Paul's statement of "justification ἐκ πίστεως" in 3:24.[45] These readings are possible only if Paul means that one is justified by "the gospel," "the body of belief," "Christianity," and so on. But we cannot find this sort of teaching regarding justification in Galatians. Since both πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (3:22) as the reference of the unqualified use of πίστις in 3:23–26 and ἐκ πίστεως (3:24) as an abbreviation of ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ militate against such interpretations, those interpretations introduced above have failed to comprehend the meaning of πίστις in 3:23–26.

Our question is therefore: Does ἡ πίστις in 3:23–26 refer to the Christian's act of faith in Christ or to the faithfulness of Jesus Christ, or both? As we try to press toward its meaning, it is critical to assess the characteristics of πίστις described in 3:23–26. First, it is striking that πίστις is the subject of "coming" (3:23a, 25a).[46] Hans Dieter Betz is correct in his observation that πίστις "describes the occurrence of a historical phenomenon, not the act of believing of an individual."[47] Paul marks the turning point in salvation history with the use of the verb ἔρχομαι (see Gal 3:19, 23, 25; 4:4; Rom 7:9).[48] With this in view, it is fairly clear that what πίστις is describing is not "the Christian's act of faith." It would be problematic if πίστις described the Christian's faith, because the eschatological coming of πίστις is not primarily a human act of faith but the divine salvific act to bring to an end to the rule of the Mosaic Law.[49] The apocalyptic transition from the old epoch (before the coming of ἡ πίστις) to a new era (after the coming of ἡ πίστις) also suggests that ἡ πίστις should be understood as a redemptive historical event rather than a subjective anthropological element (i.e., human faith in Christ). Πίστις is objectified as an eschatological element that intruded into the world to set free those who are under the enslav-

[44] *Pace* Cosgrove ("Justification in Paul," 661 n. 22), who argues that πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 3:22 denotes neither the believer's faith per se nor that of Jesus, and S. Ota ("Absolute Use of ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in Paul," *AJBI* 23 [1997]: 64–82, here 71–72), who suggests that Paul's absolute use of πίστις (1:23; 3:2, 5, 23, 25) "is understood to mean a new reality coming from God as a superindividual total phenomenon which involves all these elements: believing people who have faith in Christ/God, believed Christ/God who is the object of their faith, and the word of proclamation that creates their relationship."

[45] It is unreasonable to think that πίστις (3:24) is used in a different sense from the same term occurring in the verses immediately before (3:23) and after (3:25) it.

[46] Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν (3:23a); ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως (3:25a).

[47] Betz, *Galatians*, 176 n. 120.

[48] T. Schramm, ἔρχομαι, *EDNT* 2:56.

[49] As Wallis rightly argues, the coming of faith is concerned not so much with a human response as with a divine action corresponding to the sending of his Son (4:4) (*Faith of Jesus Christ*, 113).

ing power of the law (3:23–25).[50] It is hardly to be imagined that "human faith in Christ" came into the world and was revealed for the purpose of liberating those who are under the rule of the law. Furthermore, if one understands it as "human faith," it is difficult to think that "human faith" had been absent before. This would be inconsistent with the presence of Abraham's faith (3:6) and the faith of Israel.[51]

If πίστις is understood as an apocalyptic event in a christological sense (i.e., the faithfulness of Jesus Christ), however, these interesting issues become easier to resolve. It is hardly surprising that the faithfulness of Jesus Christ was absent before the advent of Christ (3:19; 4:4) and the revelation of the Son of God (1:16) and πίστις (3:23). Paul equates the coming of πίστις (3:23, 25) with the coming of τὸ σπέρμα, that is, Christ (3:19).[52] Thus, it is probable that πίστις describes a characteristic of Jesus Christ. We can conclude, therefore, that Paul has in mind something other than the Christian's faith, that is, the faithfulness of Christ understood as an eschatological event.

Second, it is striking that πίστις is the object of revelation (εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι [3:23b]). This makes the objective genitive interpretation highly unlikely. It is quite difficult to conceive of πίστις as the Christian's faith, because one hardly finds in Paul's letters a human entity as an object of God's revelation, not to mention "human faith in Christ."[53] Furthermore, both the coming and the revelation of πίστις are closely bound up with the end of the law's realm. Paul says ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι(3:23) and ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν (3:25).[54] In light of the fact that freedom from the power of the law is a salvific effect of the Christ-event (5:1, 13; cf. 3:13;

[50] See Martyn, *Galatians*, 362; Eduard Schweizer, "Dying and Rising with Christ," *NTS* 14 (1967–68): 12.

[51] Betz says, "Before Christ's coming, faith existed only exceptionally in Abraham and in Scripture as a promise" (*Galatians*, 176). Schlier assumes that there was "faith" before the coming of faith (*Brief an die Galater*, 166).

[52] See Matera, *Galatians*, 100; Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 231; Wallis, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 131.

[53] The objects of the verb ἀποκαλύπτω in Paul's letters are as follows: the righteousness of God (Rom 1:17), the wrath of God (Rom 1:18), glory (Rom 8:18), God's wisdom (1 Cor 2:10), the work of builders (1 Cor 3:13), revelation (1 Cor 14:30), the goal of God (Phil 3:15), the Son of God (Gal 1:16), and faith (Gal 3:23). The one exception is 1 Cor 3:13 (the work of builders).

[54] It is generally recognized that the phrase ὑπὸ νόμον (Gal 3:23; 4:4, 5, 21; 5:18; Rom 6:14–15; 1 Cor 9:20) and its equivalents (Gal 3:10, 25) denote "under the power of the law." See, e.g., James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 141–42; In-Gyu Hong, *The Law in Galatians* (JSNTSup 81; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 156–61; Martyn, *Galatians*, 370–71; Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 389.

4:5),[55] πίστις should be interpreted in relation to Christ, not the Christian's act of faith. It is very difficult to imagine that "human faith in Christ" was revealed eschatologically to set free those who are under the power of law. Rather the apocalyptic and cosmic character of πίστις strongly favors understanding πίστις not anthropologically but christologically, because in Galatians Paul describes Christ as the one who freed believers from the present evil age (1:4) and redeems them from the curse (3:13) and power (4:5) of the law. Moreover, this interpretation is in accordance with Paul's understanding of Jesus' death as an apocalyptic and cosmic event to change the status of human beings (see Rom 5:6, 8, 10; 2 Cor 5:17–19). Given that the advent of ἡ πίστις is an objectified eschatological and apocalyptic event, it is difficult to think that ἡ πίστις refers to the Christian's act of belief in Christ. The foregoing observations lead me to conclude that πίστις in 3:23–25 describes an event—the coming and revelation of Christ's faithfulness—not the Christian's subjective act of believing.[56]

In Gal 3:26, Paul says, πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Here Paul argues that all believers are the children of God through πίστις. What is the meaning of πίστις? The meaning depends on how one interprets the phrase διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Two questions remain to be answered. One concerns the grammatical relationship between διὰ τῆς πίστεως and ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. The other is what Paul means by the phrase διὰ τῆς πίστεως. It is unlikely that the construction πίστις + ἐν should be understood as "faith in."[57] Thus, the two prepositional phrases should not be

[55] In the Pauline corpus the freedom to which Paul refers is that from "sin" (Rom 6:7, 18, 22), "the law" (Rom 7:3; 8:2; Gal 5:1), and circumcision (Gal 2:4). When Paul talks about the freedom from circumcision and the law in Galatians, freedom is closely bound up with Christ. Paul and his co-workers have their own freedom in the sphere of Christ (τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ [2:4b]). Furthermore, Paul urges the Galatians who desire to be subject to the law (4:21) not to submit again to a yoke of slavery to the law, for Christ set them free from slavery to the law (5:1; cf. Rom 7:3; 8:2).

[56] Bruce acknowledges that "faith" in 3:23 and 3:25 has a different nuance from human faith in Jesus Christ (*Galatians*, 181). He attempts to read it on two levels, both *historia salutis* and *ordo salutis*. Rudolf Bultmann says, "Though Gal 3:23–26 sketches the preparation and the 'coming of faith,' what is sketched is not the individual's development but the history of salvation" (*Theology of the New Testament* [London: SCM; New York: Scribner, 1951], 1:319) See also Betz, *Galatians*, 176 n. 120; Schlier, *Brief an die Galater*, 167.

[57] There are two clear examples with which many interpreters have struggled. One is John 3:15. The expression ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον has caused confusion in the textual tradition. The text ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ is read in $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ L ℵ K Δ Θ Π Ψ, but most manuscripts read εἰς αὐτόν. A reads ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. B W $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, and others have ἐν αὐτῷ. In this Gospel πιστεύειν is followed by εἰς (thirty-four times) or ἄν (once). Both the unusualness and the ambiguity speak for the originality of ἐν αὐτῷ. If ἐν αὐτῷ is original, then the formula must be viewed as an adverbial phrase, linked with ἔχῃ. See Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.;

taken together and translated as "through faith in Christ" as is done by KJV, NASB, and NIV.[58] Rather, διὰ τῆς πίστεως should be taken with υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε, with πίστις understood as the means of divine sonship and Christ as the sphere or locale in which one is a son of God.[59] Here the question is, What is the meaning of the phrase διὰ τῆς πίστεως? It should not be doubted that ἡ πίστις points back to πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 3:22.[60] At the same time, it refers back to πίστις in 3:23–25. Since πίστις in 3:23–25 means the faithfulness of Christ, ἡ πίστις (3:26) should be understood as "the faithfulness of Christ."

In the light of the contextual and theological grounds stated above, we may conclude with some confidence that πίστις in Gal 3:23–26 probably refers to the faithfulness of Christ rather than human faith in Christ. The anthropological understanding fails to take into account that πίστις in Gal 3:23–26 denotes the eschatological advent and revelation of Christ's faithfulness to set free those who are under the law. Although it is true that both Christ's faithfulness as the basis of justification and the believer's trust as the existential appropriation of righteousness are clearly found in Galatians (2:16; 3:22),[61] it is unlikely that ἡ πίστις in Gal 3:23–26 refers both to "the faith of Christian" and to "the faith of Jesus Christ," since πίστις describes a historical event, not the Christian's subjective act of believing.[62] Since ἐκ πίστεως in 3:24 means "through the faithfulness (of Christ),"[63] ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5 probably means

---

Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1994), 204; Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3, *Syntax* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 263. Some commentators prefer ἐν αὐτῷ, e.g., Donald A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 202; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1987), 45.

The other example is Rom 3:25, διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. This should not be translated "through the faith in his blood" because after the noun "faith" the prepositions εἰς, πρός, or ἐπί always follow. See James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1998), 161–64. B. W. Longenecker rightly argues that πίστις in Rom 3:25 refers to Christ's faithfulness ("*Pistis* in Romans 3.25," 479–80). Paul hardly employs πίστις + ἐν Χριστῷ when speaking of faith in Christ. Furthermore, the formula πίστις ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Tim 3:13; 2 Tim 1:13; 3:15) should not be translated as "faith in Christ Jesus" because ἡ in the phrase seems to function as relative pronoun (i.e., faith that is in Christ Jesus; cf. NRSV). This is vindicated by the phrases μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Tim 1:14) and ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (2 Tim 1:13). The phrase should be translated as "in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus" (NRSV).

[58] See Dunn, *Galatians*, 202; idem, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 66 n. 27; Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 169–70; J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (3rd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1869), 149; Matera, *Galatians*, 142; Albrecht Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (3rd ed.; THKNT 9; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973), 123; Schlier, *Brief an die Galater*, 171.

[59] Matera, *Galatians*, 142; NRSV.

[60] Bruce, *Galatians*, 183.

[61] E.g., Dodd, "Romans 1:17 – A *Crux Interpretum*," 473; Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 321–42; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 87-88.

[62] *Pace* Hays, R. Longenecker, Martyn, Williams.

[63] Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 232; Matera, *Galatians*, 137; Wallis, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 113.

"through the faithfulness (of Christ)" because the same phrase and the same context of justification appear in both 3:23–26 and 5:5.[64]

Galatians 5:2–6

Several considerations drawn from the immediate literary context (5:2–6) also support the view that ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5 means "by the faithfulness (of Christ)." First, Paul has the antithesis between the law and πίστις in mind as the two mutually exclusive objective means of justification, not subjective means of justification. The contrast is not between a person's works of the law and a person's faith in Christ but between the law and πίστις in terms of the soteriological means of justification. One should bear in mind that πίστις is described not as the basis of the Christian's moral life or attitude in waiting for the hoped-for righteousness (i.e., ethical life by the Christian's faith) but as the soteriological means or agency of the realization of ἐλπὶς δικαιοσύνης. More to the point, since 5:5 supports 5:4 (γάρ), where Paul deals with the issue of justification, it is certain that Paul's main emphasis in 5:5 lies in the valid soteriological basis of the hoped-for righteousness (ἐλπὶς δικαιοσύνης),[65] not in the

[64] While Hays rightly interprets ἐκ πίστεως in 3:24 in a christological sense, it is surprising that he does not read ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5 in the same sense.

[65] What is the meaning of the phrase ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης? Commentators have disputed the meaning of the phrase (for a succinct summary of the various views, see Fung, *Galatians*, 224–27). The dispute is concerned with the grammatical function of the genitive δικαιοσύνης. Most commentators (e.g., Burton, *Galatians*, 277, 279; Dunn, *Galatians*, 270; Karl Kertelge, δικαιοσύνη, *EDNT* 1:327; for others, see Fung, *Galatians*, 224 n. 23) take it as objective ("the righteousness for which we hope"). Some render it as subjective ("the hope which righteousness produces" [Matera, *Galatians*, 182] or "the realization of the hoped for things pertaining to the state of righteousness conferred in justification" [Fung, *Galatians*, 226]). Martyn views it as epexegetical ("we eagerly wait for what we confidently hope for, rectification at God's hands") (*Galatians*, 472). In our opinion, the subjective genitive interpretation is unlikely because the immediate context (5:4–6) is closely related not to the ground of the hope that righteousness produces but to what is the legitimate basis of justification. Since 5:5 is clearly intended to support 5:4 (γάρ), where Paul deals with the issue of justification, it is likely that the emphasis falls not on "hope" but on "righteousness." The reason why Paul abruptly introduces the idea of "hope" is probably because he intends to contrast the hopelessness of the attempt to be justified on the basis of the law, which is evidenced by the two disastrous consequences (i.e., separation from the sphere of Christ and falling away from grace), with "the hoped-for righteousness" through Spirit and faith (see Bruce, *Galatians*, 231). In light of Jewish tradition, in which righteousness is the object of hope by the people of Israel (see, e.g., Isa 43:9; 45:25), perhaps Paul understood righteousness as the object of hope that will be completed on the judgment day, even though he describes righteousness as a gift of salvation in the present (see Rom 3:24; 5:1, 9; 8:30; 1 Cor 6:11). This can be supported by the fact that Paul speaks of the "future tense" of justification in Galatians (ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ [2:16]) and Romans (δικαιωθήσονται [2:13]; δικαιωθήσεται [3:20]; δικαιώσει [3:30]), in which Paul envisages the final justification that will be fulfilled by the favorable verdict of the final judgment (cf. δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί [Rom 5:19]). These observations suggest that

proper Christian attitude of waiting for ἐλπὶς δικαιοσύνης. To put it differently, Paul's focus in 5:5 is not how the Christian should live but how people are justified. Paul has the antithesis between the law and πίστις as two contrasting soteriological bases of righteousness,[66] not two different human lifestyles. It is thus fair to say that the phrase ἐκ πίστεως describes not the subjective attitude (i.e., believers' confidence) of waiting for ἐλπὶς δικαιοσύνης[67] nor the subjective means of appropriating justification, but the eschatological or "external" soteriological basis of ἐλπὶς δικαιοσύνης. Consequently, ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα describes not the Christian's ethical life in the Spirit but Christ's faithfulness as the cause and guarantee of the fulfillment of final righteousness (cf. Rom 8:23; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5).[68] In 5:5 Paul does not argue against the Galatians' attempt to deny the sufficiency of the Christian's faith in Christ for justification. Rather, Paul refutes their attempt to deny the sufficiency of Christ's faith(fulness) by believing in justification through the law (cf. 2:21).

Second, the several antitheses in 5:2–6 (between the law and Christ [5:4,][69] between the law and grace [5:4],[70] between the law and the Spirit [5:5][71]) support the premise that Paul contrasts the law with πίστις as two con-

---

ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης means "hoped-for righteousness" or "the righteousness for which we hope" (NIV).

[66] The phrase ἐκ πίστεως stands in contrast to ἐν νόμῳ; see Burton, *Galatians*, 278.

[67] *Pace* Martyn (*Galatians*, 467), who translates 5:5 as follows: "With us things are entirely different: having the Spirit in our hearts, and having the confidence that comes from faith, we eagerly await the hope of rectification"; and Williams (*Galatians*, 138), who takes the Spirit and faith as pointing to the "external" and "internal" sources of believers' existence.

[68] *Pace* Cosgrove, *Cross and the Spirit*, 153; Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 419.

[69] Paul sets the law in opposition to Christ in terms of "the sphere of influence" for justification. Paul says, κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε. Here Paul implies that justification ἐν νόμῳ means to be alienated from Christ (ἐν νόμῳ vs. ἐν Χριστῷ; ἐν νόμῳ = ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ). Paul attempted to persuade the Galatians not to go within the boundary of the law for their justification by contrasting the law with Christ in terms of two antithetical spheres of justification. For the antithesis between the law and Christ, see Betz, *Galatians*, 261; Burton, *Galatians*, 275.

[70] Paul sets the law (5:4b) in opposition to grace (5:4c). Here Paul says, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε. The law and grace are thus two mutually exclusive foundations of acceptance with God (i.e., justification). Cf. Betz, *Galatians*, 261; Burton, *Galatians*, 275, 277; Fung, *Galatians*, 223–24; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 349; Oepke, *Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, 119.

[71] The antithesis between the law and the Spirit and "faith" (5:4–5) can be drawn by inference. It is generally agreed that 5:5 is in contrast to 5:4. This has been supported by a good number of scholars; see, e.g., Daniel C. Arichea and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translators Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Helps for Translators 18; New York: United Bible Societies, 1976), 123; BAGD, 152; Bruce, *Galatians*, 231; Burton, *Galatians*, 278; Dunn, *Galatians*, 269; Fung, *Gala-*

flicting soteriological bases of justification. These antitheses are to be understood in terms of the external (not internal or human) ground of justification. The antithesis between the law and πίστις is a subset of the larger antithesis between the law and Christ. This claim may be confirmed by the antithesis between the law and "Christ's faithfulness" as two mutually exclusive external powers (Gal 3:23–25), as we argued earlier. Thus, the antithesis between the law and πίστις has not simply something to do with the contrast between "human works of the law" and "the Christian's faith."[72]

Third, if it is correct that Paul usually mentions the mission of Jesus Christ and of the Spirit side by side (3:1–5; 4:4–6; 4:28–5:1), then it is likely that faith in 5:5 is to be understood in a christological sense.[73] In light of these observations, it is fair to deduce that πίστις in 5:5 refers neither to the believers' confidence coming from the Christian's faith nor to the subjective condition of justification (i.e., the Christian's faith), but to the objective condition of justification (i.e., the faithfulness of Christ).

Conclusion

All the most decisive considerations lead us to conclude that ἐκ πίστεως in Gal 5:5 probably means "by the faith(fulness) (of Christ)" and that πίστις functions as the eschatological or apocalyptic soteriological means of final justification. The traditional anthropocentric reading of πίστις in 5:5 is highly unlikely;

---

tians, 224; Hong, *Law in Galatians*, 57; Troy W. Martin, "Apostasy to Paganism: The Rhetorical Stasis of the Galatian Controversy," *JBL* 114 (1995): 437–61, here 457; Martyn, *Galatians*, 472; A. L. Mulka, "Fides Quae Per Caritatem Operatur," *CBQ* 28 (1966): 185; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 349–50; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 189. The γάρ in 5:5 explains why those who want to be justified in the law are separated from Christ and have fallen from grace. It is because by the Spirit and through faith "we," in contrast to those who want to be justified in the law, are waiting for the hope of righteousness. Here it seems that Paul deliberately contrasts οἵτινες with ἡμεῖς, switching the third person plural pronoun to the first person. Moreover, he contrasts "the law" with the Spirit and "faith" as the basis of justification because, according to Paul's gospel, the Spirit and "faith," not the law, are the sufficient soteriological basis of justification. In other words, 5:5 is antithetical to 5:4 because 5:5 explains why there is no justification in the law. As Burton rightly argues, "The whole sentence introduced by γὰρ is an argument *e contrario*, confirming the assertion of v.4 by pointing out that we, i.e., we who hold the gospel of grace, look for the realisation of our hope of righteousness, not in law, ἐν νόμῳ, but on the one side by the Spirit of God and on the other through faith" (*Galatians*, 278). Cf. Fung, *Galatians*, 224; Lightfoot, *Galatians,* 204. In short, in 5:4–5 Paul sets the law in opposition to the Spirit and "faith" as incompatible objective soteriological bases of justification.

[72] With regard to the antithesis between the law and faith, Hooker states, "The true antithesis is not between works and faith, but between the works of the *Law* and the saving work of *Christ*" ("ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 341).

[73] It seems that Marcus Barth understands "faith" in 5:5 as the work of Jesus Christ; see "The Kerygma of Galatians," *Int* 21 (1967): 141 n. 41.

it does not mean the Christian's faith in Christ as the subjective condition of attaining the hoped-for righteousness. Nor does it describe the Christian's life as a reenactment of the pattern of faithfulness grounded and revealed in Jesus Christ.[74] Nor does it function as the subjective psychological cause (i.e., the Christian's confidence) that makes Paul and the Galatians wait with eager longing for "the hoped-for righteousness."[75] Rather it refers to the faithfulness of Christ, which is the objective soteriological basis of justification. If this is the case, it is surprising that all exegetes (except Matera) who argue for "the subjective genitive" interpretation do not explicitly interpret ἐκ πίστεως in 5:5 as "through the faithfulness of Christ." They fail to see that the phrase ἐκ πίστεως is an abbreviation of ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ and that the two phrases have the same meaning when both appear in the context of justification.[76]

One important corollary should be noted. If it is correct that ἐκ πίστεως in 3:8, 24 and 5:5 means "through the faithfulness (of Christ)," then διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (2:16a), ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ (2:16b), and ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (3:22), which occur in the context of justification and describe the instrument of justification, almost certainly conform to the meaning of ἐκ πίστεως in 3:8, 24, and 5:5.

III. The Meaning of πίστις in Galatians 5:6

As noted earlier, the *opinio communis* on the meaning of πίστις in 5:6 is that it refers to the Christian's act of faith. According to the prevailing scholarly opinion, πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη refers to the Christian's faith capable of expressing itself in love toward neighbor as an ethical principle of Christian behavior. In what follows, I will set forth a creative thesis that swims against the traditional current, that is, that πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη refers to Christ's faithfulness working powerfully through his self-giving love to humanity on the cross. There are significant observations to support the claim in light of immediate and broader contextual considerations.

First, the concept of πίστις as "power" can lead us to understand it in a different way from the consensus because in Galatians power is concerned not so much with the Christian's faith as with Christ's faithfulness. The two verbs

[74] *Pace* Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 231–32.

[75] *Pace* Martyn, *Galatians*, 472.

[76] *Pace* Hays, R. Longenecker, Martyn, Williams, and in particular B. Longenecker ("Defining the Faithful Character of the Covenant Community," 80 n. 16), who says, "I take almost all occurrences of πίστις which are not modified by a genitive in reference to Jesus (as in Gal 2:16, 20; 3:22; Rom 3:22, 26; Phil 3:9; Eph 3:12) to be references to the faith of the Christian, except for ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει in Phil 3:9 which refers back to the just mentioned πίστις Χριστοῦ, and the πίστις of Rom 3:25."

ἰσχύω[77] and ἐνεργέω,[78] of which πίστις is the subject, suggest that Paul understands πίστις as a salvific power.[79] The verb ἐνεργέω itself usually has a supernatural connotation. Kenneth W. Clark recognizes this but still understands "faith" in 5:6 in terms of "human faith."[80] But Paul elsewhere never employs "human faith" as the subject of the verb ἐνεργέω. The fact that the verb is employed in Paul's letters to refer to effective divine and supernatural action points to πίστις in 5:6 as a divine power working for justification.[81]

The definition of πίστις as "power" comes as a surprise.[82] It is indeed a surprise if one understands πίστις as "human faith (in Christ)," because in Galatians Paul never associates the concept of "power" with the Christian's faith. But it is not surprising if one takes πίστις as "the faithfulness (of Christ)." As we saw earlier, Paul describes Christ's faithfulness in terms of an apocalyptic and eschatological saving power that was revealed and intruded into the cosmos in order to set free those who are under the power of the law (3:23–25).[83] Here it is also expressed as "power" nullifying the distinction between circumcision and uncircumcision (5:6).[84] It is quite important to recognize that in Galatians Paul associates "power" with Christ (1:4; 3:13; 4:4–5; 5:1; cf. 1 Cor 1:18, 24), and Jesus' death on the cross is described as the power of salvation (1:4; 3:13). In Galatians, Paul understands Jesus' death on the cross as the power of salvation (1:4; 3:13). In particular, that both the coming of πίστις (3:23, 25) and the coming of Christ (4:4–5) are closely bound up with the redemption from the power of the law leads us to interpret πίστις christologically.

It seems unlikely that human faith has soteriological power in Pauline theology.[85] It is probable, therefore, that Christ's faithfulness is an eschatological

[77] The verb ἰσχύω can mean "have power" (Mark 5:4; Acts 19:20; John 21:6), "to be able" (Phil 4:13), and "to be of effect or force" (Gal 5:6; Heb 9:17; Jas 5:16). The best translation of the verb ἰσχύει in Gal 5:6 is "is of effect or force."

[78] The verb ἐνεργέω is employed in Paul's letters to refer to effective divine and supernatural action. See H. Paulsen, ἐνεργέω, *EDNT* 1:453. See further below.

[79] See Betz, *Galatians*, 263; Dunn, *Galatians*, 271; Steven J. Kraftchick, "Ethos and Pathos: Arguments in Galatians 5 and 6: A Rhetorical Approach" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1985), 239; Martyn, *Galatians*, 472; H. Paulsen, ἰσχύω, *EDNT* 2:208. But most commentators have not paid attention to the concept of "power" that is conveyed by the verbs (*pace,* e.g., Bruce, Burton, Fung, Matera, Mußner, B. Longenecker, Schlier, Williams, Witherington).

[80] Kenneth W. Clark, "The Meaning of ΕΝΕΡΓΕΩ and ΚΑΤΑΡΓΕΩ in the New Testament," *JBL* 54 (1935): 93–101.

[81] The saving work of Christ for justification (2:17, 21; 3:13, 14; 4:4, 5) helps us understand "faith" not anthropologically but christologically.

[82] Betz, *Galatians*, 263; Dunn, *Galatians*, 271.

[83] Martyn, *Galatians*, 99.

[84] See Betz, *Galatians*, 263; Dunn, *Galatians*, 271; Martyn, *Galatians*, 472–73; Paulsen, ἰσχύω, *EDNT* 2:208.

[85] See J. A. Ziesler, *Pauline Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 80–81, 110–11.

and apocalyptic power defeating the power of the law (3:13, 23–25; 5:1) and the power of a value system in which the distinction between circumcision and uncircumcision determines and characterizes the Jewish mind-set and community (5:6).[86] It appears that Paul describes Christ's faithfulness manifested on the cross as *heilsetzende Macht* to save humankind from the power of the law (3:25) and the present evil age (1:4).[87] Such an understanding is in accordance with Paul's understanding of the message of the cross (1 Cor 1:17–18) and Christ (1 Cor 1:24) as the power of God for salvation. Furthermore, if ὠφελήσει (the subject of the verb is Christ) in 5:2 parallels ἰσχύει (the subject of the verb is πίστις) in 5:6,[88] πίστις can be understood christologically. These observations lead us to conclude that πίστις denotes Christ's faithfulness as a salvific power, not "human faith expressing itself through love."

Second, Mulka's observation that in Paul's letters the subject of the verb ἐνεργέω is usually closely bound up not with a human element but with a spiritual and divine being further leads us to interpret πίστις in 5:6 from a different perspective. Regarding the subject of the verb ἐνεργέω, Mulka rightly notes, "In sharp contrast to the active use, all nine verbal forms have an impersonal subject . . . the subjects for the most part are connected with power and force, frequently of a nature that directly or indirectly penetrates the realm of the supernatural or other-worldly existence, as, e.g., sinful passions, death, faith, power, the mystery of iniquity, prayer."[89] It is unlikely that πίστις (which is the subject of the verb ἐνεργέω) refers to the Christian's act of faith, because in Paul's letters most of the subjects of this verb are either spiritual powers (death, sinful passions, God's word) or divine beings (God, Christ, the Spirit).[90] While

[86] The circumcision/uncircumcision contrast reflects the worldview according to which the Jews could be categorized as περιτομή and other people as ἀκροβυστία. The perspective is clearly present in the OT, where the Philistines are called simply "the uncircumcised," הָעֲרֵלִים (literally, "the foreskin"; Judg 14:3; 15:18; 1 Sam 14:6; 31:4; 1 Chr 10:4) distinguished from the circumcised Jews. Similarly, foreigners were called עֲרֵלִים (Ezek 28:10; 31:18; 32:24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32; 44:7, 9). Paul takes over the OT use of הָעֲרֵלִים and designates the Gentiles as ἀκροβυστία. In Paul περιτομή is a distinctive feature standing (by metonymy) for the Jews (e.g., Rom 3:1; 4:9, 12; 15:8; Gal 2:7, 8, 9; Col 3:11) that distinguishes them from ἀκροβυστία, Gentiles (Rom 2:26–27; 4:9; Gal 2:7; Col 3:11; cf. Eph 2:11). The perspective is clearly expressed in Rom 2:25–27; Eph 2:11; and Col 3:11. Thus, the περιτομή are members of the covenant, but ἀκροβυστία are not, for circumcision is the mark of God's covenant people, but uncircumcision is the mark of Gentiles excluded from God's people.

[87] Martyn notes that Jesus' death on the cross shows that Christ's faithfulness is the powerful act in God's apocalyptic war (*Galatians*, 101).

[88] David J. Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia: Paul's Interpretation of* Pneuma *as Divine Power* (SBLDS 49; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 126 n. 196.

[89] Mulka, "Fides Quae Per Caritatem Operatur," 180.

[90] The subjects of the verb ἐνεργέω in Pauline letters are as follows: sinful passions (Rom 7:5); the Spirit (1 Cor 12:11; cf. Eph 2:2); comfort (2 Cor 1:6); death (2 Cor 4:12); God (1 Cor 12:6;

Mulka is right in pointing out that the subjects of this verb are connected with supernatural and divine power, it is odd that he seems to regard "human faith coming to expression through love" in 5:6 as a supernatural power. Thus, πίστις, the subject of the verb ἐνεργέω, probably refers to Christ's faithfulness, not human faith in Christ.

Third, Paul's three antitheses—between circumcision and Christ (5:2–3),[91] between the law and Christ (5:4),[92] and between circumcision and the cross (5:11; cf. 6:12-14)[93]—suggest that πίστις, the antithesis of circumcision/uncircumcision, should also be interpreted in a christological sense. In particular, the antithesis between circumcision/uncircumcision and πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη[94] should be interpreted in light of the contrast between circumcision and the cross, and the incompatibility between circumcision and Christ.[95] Moreover, in Galatians Paul never contrasts circumcision with the

---

Gal 2:8; 3:5; Phil 2:13; cf. Eph 1:20; 3:20); God's word (1 Thess 2:13); Christ (Eph 1:11); Christ's energy (Col 1:29); mystery of lawlessness (2 Thess 2:7).

[91] It is clear that Paul opposes circumcision through the contrast between circumcision and Christ (5:2–3). Here Paul means that circumcision forfeits the benefits of Christ (5:2) and makes those who want to be circumcised debtors obliged to observe the entire law (5:3). But Christ is of benefit to the uncircumcised believers. Paul contrasts circumcision and Christ in terms of "benefit" in 5:2–3; the benefit of Christ is contrasted with the debt of circumcision through the intentional wordplay between ὠφελήσει and ὀφειλέτης (see Dunn, *Galatians*, 265; Matera, *Galatians*, 182; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 368). For the antithesis between circumcision and Christ, see James D. G. Dunn, "'Neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, but . . .' (Gal 5.2–12; 6.12–16; cf. 1 Cor 7.17–20)," in *Doctrine et parénese pauliniennes: Accord ou désaccord? (Galates 4.12–6.18)* (ed. Albert Vanhoye; Rome: Abbey of St. Paul, 1997), 79; idem, *Galatians*, 265; Fung, *Galatians*, 222; Judith M. Gundry-Volf, *Paul and Perseverance: Staying in and Falling Away* (WUNT 2/37; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 208; Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (SNTSMS 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 69.

[92] See n. 69 above.

[93] In Gal 5:11 Paul sets circumcision in opposition to the cross (cf. 6:11, 13–14) in the sense that the former nullifies the latter. Paul implies that the cross is rendered inoperative by preaching circumcision. See Dunn, *Galatians*, 278–82.

[94] The antithesis between circumcision/uncircumcision and faith is clear in 5:6. It is striking that in 5:6 Paul does not set circumcision per se in opposition to "faith." With a view to two references to circumcision in 5:2–3 and the antithesis between circumcision and Christ, one would normally expect Paul now to say that circumcision itself is inoperative or invalid for justification (see Martyn, *Galatians*, 472). Instead, he sets both circumcision and uncircumcision in opposition to faith. As indicated earlier, Paul takes circumcision/uncircumcision together as a kind of Jewish worldview that determines and characterizes the value system and community of Israel. Betz notes, "'Circumcision' and 'uncircumcision' belong together as technical terms of Jewish cultic law" (*Galatians*, 262). Martyn calls it "a religious pair of opposites" (*Galatians*, 472; cf. 378-83). For the antithesis, see Dunn, "'Neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision,'" 101–4.

[95] While Dunn notes that 5:6 elaborates the Christ/circumcision, the cross/circumcision antitheses and in 5:6 the Christ/circumcision antithesis is reaffirmed, he understands "faith" as the Christian's trust in Christ in terms of the sole "internal" ground of acceptance by God ("'Neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision,'" 100, 102). In my view, it is hardly to be imagined that "faith" is

Christian's act of faith. He always puts Christ in antithesis with circumcision (5:2, 11; 6:12; cf. 2:4). Thus, πίστις is to be understood not anthropologically ("human faith") but christologically ("Christ's faithfulness"), and it is reasonable to think that "faith working through love" functions as the complement to "Christ."

Fourth, what does Paul have in mind by ἀγάπη in 5:6? Does it refer to the love of God, the love of Christ, or the love of Christians? Interpreters have disputed the meaning of the word. G. S. Duncan takes "love" in 5:6 to be "primarily . . . God's love to man, rather than . . . the Christian's love for his neighbour."[96] But most commentators have agreed that it refers to the Christian's act of love. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that it might be taken as the love of Christ. There are two important considerations for the claim. (1) If 5:5–6 summarizes and encapsulates themes in the previous section (1:1– 5:1),[97] it seems strange that Paul would abruptly introduce the idea of "Christian love" because the concept does not occur earlier in Galatians. As Galatians was being read aloud,[98] what would the Galatians have had in mind when 5:6 was read? Was it believers' love or Christ's love? On the basis of Gal 1:1–5:5, they probably would never have envisaged the idea of believers' love through which their faith is expressed. As Betz rightly observes, it is surprising that Paul here introduces the notion of "love" as a concept of ethics,[99] because "love" as a concept of ethics is not discussed earlier. The intimate relationship between "human faith" and "Christian love" is nowhere else expounded in Galatians.[100] Rather, in the previous section Paul mentions the love of Christ (2:20; cf. 1:4; 3:13). (2) The combination of the idea of "faith" and "love of Christ" occurring in 2:20 suggests that "love" in 5:6 refers to the love of Christ. The phrase πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη probably summarizes the subject of Christ's faithful death on the cross and sacrificial love for the salvation of humanity, which Paul

---

an "internal" ground of justification, because 5:6 is a reaffirmation or elaboration of the Christ/circumcision antithesis in terms of an "external" ground of justification.

[96] G. S. Duncan, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Hodder, 1934), 157; cf. Clark, "Meaning of ΈΝΕΡΓΕΩ and ΚΑΤΑΡΓΕΩ in the New Testament," 99.

[97] See Betz, *Galatians*, 261–62; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 221–22; Matera, *Galatians*, 185–86.

[98] For the argument that silent reading was rare in antiquity, see Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 73–76.

[99] Betz notes that Paul's introduction of the notion of "love" as a concept of ethics is new at this point (*Galatians*, 263).

[100] While in Gal 5:22 both ἀγάπη and πίστις appear in a list of the "fruits of the Spirit" as attributes of the believer, the two are independent fruits of the Spirit; ἀγάπη is not understood as the means of expression of πίστις. R. Longenecker notes that the relationship between ἀγάπη and πίστις is a rare concept in the undisputed Pauline corpus (*Galatians*, 229).

elaborated previously in Galatians (cf. 1:4; 2:20–21; 3:1, 13).[101] In short, "love" probably refers to the love of Christ, in which case πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη should mean "Christ's faith(fulness) working through his sacrificial love."

Fifth, the fact that the argumentative situation of 5:6 is concerned not so much with how the individual can be justified as with what is the valid "external" soteriological basis of justification might help us to understand πίστις as Christ's faithfulness. The antithesis between "circumcision/uncircumcision" and πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη should be interpreted as a subset of the larger antithesis between the law and Christ. Paul contrasts circumcision/uncircumcision and πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη not as different ways of life or human action but as conflicting redemptive-historical powers (τι ἰσχύει).[102] The power to wage war against the power of circumcision/uncircumcision, which determines and dominates the Jewish mind-set and community, should be "Christ's faithfulness working through his love," not the Christian's faith in Christ. It is conceivable that Christ's faithfulness as a salvific power battles over the power of circumcision/uncircumcision and is victorious over it (5:6). The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ also suggests that the antithesis should be understood from a redemptive-historical perspective rather than from an anthropological one. The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ in 5:6 is contrasted to ἐν νόμῳ (i.e., "within the sphere of the law" [5:4]) as two incompatible redemptive-historical spheres in which believers are justified.[103] For Paul, ἐν Χριστῷ is the new redemptive-historical

[101] Although many exegetes have observed the relationship between 2:20 and 5:6, they failed to see that πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη refers to Christ's faithfulness working through the love of Christ who gave himself for humanity. *Pace* Betz, *Galatians*, 263; Burton, *Galatians*, 280; Dunn, *Galatians*, 271; Matera, *Galatians*, 189; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 204; Williams, *Galatians*, 139.

[102] Both περιτομή and ἀκροβυστία are the subjects of the verb ἰσχύω; *pace* Dunn, "'Neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision," 102–4; Martyn, *Galatians*, 473.

[103] Most commentators agree that the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (5:6) means "in the sphere of Christ," but scholars have disputed the meaning of ἐν νόμῳ (5:4). Is the preposition ἐν instrumental or locative? Most commentators have rendered ἐν νόμῳ in Gal 3:11 and 5:4 as "by the law," taking the preposition ἐν as instrumental. See most commentaries and J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 260; Herman N. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 138, 170; E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 23. Some understand it in the sense of "rooted in the law"; see Bruce, *Galatians*, 160; Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (WBC 43; Waco: Word, 1983), 134; Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 2/4; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 41; O'Brien, *Philippians*, 379. Although he takes the phrase as "in the sphere of law," Burton understands it to mean "on the basis of the law" (*Galatians*, 276). Dunn notes that the phrase could be translated "in/within the law" (*Galatians*, 267). The phrase in Gal 3:11 is likely to be rendered in a spatial sense because the phrase ἐν νόμῳ (3:11) and ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (3:14) are contrasted as two mutually exclusive spheres of righteousness. The phrase in Gal

sphere[104] in which the Jewish value system of circumcision/uncircumcision no longer operates but Christ's faithfulness, revealed and intruded into human history, does (cf. 3:23–25). Furthermore, in 5:6 Paul does not argue against the Galatians' attempt to add the rite of circumcision to believers' faith in Christ for justification. Rather Paul refutes their attempt to believe in the salvific efficacy of circumcision[105] and the validity of the value system of circumcision/uncir-

---

5:4 probably means "in the sphere of the law." Paul contrasts the law and Christ as two antithetical spheres of influence (ἐν νόμῳ vs. ἐν Χριστῷ; ἐν νόμῳ = ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ). These observations make the rendering of the preposition ἐν as instrumental unlikely. Furthermore, it seems clear that ἐν νόμῳ in Phil 3:6 refers to "in the sphere of the law." It is evident that Paul uses the phrase in a locative sense because he contrasts ἐν νόμῳ (Phil 3:6) with ἐν αὐτῷ (3:9) as two incompatible spheres in which righteousness is available. Paul's usage of the phrase in Romans supports the point. Paul uses the phrase in reference to the sphere of Jews' existence and life (Rom 2:12, 23; 3:19). He depicts the past state of Paul and Romans ("we") as those who were in the sphere of the law. The law is likened to a "power sphere" within which they were held captive (ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα [Rom 7:6]). Thus, it is probable that the phrase ἐν νόμῳ means "in the sphere of the law" because the preposition ἐν should be rendered as locative. Thus, Paul sets the phrase "in Christ" in opposition to "in the law" as two antithetical spheres of justification.

[104] Most of the Pauline usages of the phrase "in Christ" refer to a redemptive-historical sphere. (1) The phrase "in Christ" indicates the sphere where God's saving activities have happened: justification in Christ (Gal 2:17; cf. 1 Cor 6:11); reconciliation in Christ (2 Cor 5:19; Eph 2:13); enrichment in Christ (1 Cor 1:5); resurrection in Christ (1 Cor 15:22; Eph 2:6); election in Christ (Eph 1:4); blessing in Christ (Eph 1:3b); calling in Christ (Phil 3:14; cf. Gal 1:15–16); sanctification in Christ (1 Cor 1:2); forgiving in Christ (Eph 4:32). (2) The phrase "in Christ" sometimes refers to the sphere where salvific benefits are found: access to God in Christ (Eph 3:12); all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge in Christ (Col 2:3); becoming the covenant people in Christ (Eph 3:6); blessing of Abraham in Christ (Gal 3:14); children of God in Christ (Gal 3:26); eternal life in Christ (Rom 6:23); ethnic reconciliation between Jews and Gentiles in Christ (Eph 2:17); forgiveness of sin in Christ (Eph 1:7); freedom in Christ (Gal 2:4); new creation in Christ (2 Cor 5:17); oneness between Jew and Gentile in Christ (Gal 3:28); redemption in Christ (Rom 3:24; Eph 1:7; Col 1:14); righteousness in Christ (1 Cor 1:30; 2 Cor 5:21; Phil 3:9); sonship in Christ (Gal 3:26); the law of the Spirit of life in Christ (Rom 8:2). (3) The phrase "in Christ" also indicates the sphere where God's glory (Phil 4:19), grace (1 Cor 1:4), love (Rom 8:39), and will (1 Thess 5:18) have been manifested.

[105] It is probable that the idea of salvific (redemptive) efficacy of circumcision was prevalent in later Second Temple Judaism. There was indeed a strong exegetical tradition in the Septuagint and the targums that links circumcision with redemption and regards it as an atoning rite. The Septuagint interpreted Zipporah's circumcision as an atoning sacrifice for the guilt of Moses (Exod 4:24–26). The targums interpreted Zipporah's circumcision of her son as an atoning sacrifice for sin (*Targum Onkelos* on Exod. 4:25–26; *Fragmentary Targum* on Exod 4:25–26; *Codex Neofiti* I, *fol.* 114a; *Pseudo-Jonathan* on Exod 4:25–26). The salvific efficacy of circumcision in first-century Judaism seems evident from Acts 15:1, 5. The relationship between perfection and circumcision is found in *m. Ned.* 3:11 (cf. *m. Šabb.* 19:23; *Gen. Rab.* 11:4; 46:1, 4). It is likely, therefore, that Jews in Paul's days believed in the salvific efficacy of circumcision on the basis of the atoning nature of circumcision. For the relationship between salvation and circumcision in Judaism, see David Flusser and Shemuel Safrai, "Who Sanctified the Beloved in the Womb?" *Imm* 11 (1980): 46–55, here 47;

cumcision, and thus to deny the sufficiency of Christ's faithfulness for justification. In short, the antithesis between circumcision versus uncircumcision and πίστις in terms of the incompatible power-source for justification leads us to conclude that πίστις refers to Christ's faithfulness working for justification.

Sixth, since πίστις in 5:5 refers to "the faithfulness of Christ," πίστις in 5:6 also should be interpreted as "the faithfulness of Christ," because πίστις in 5:6 refers back to πίστις in 5:5. Although Matera understands πίστις in 5:5 in light of "the faithfulness of Christ" (2:16), he does not consider that πίστις in 5:6 might mean the same because he fails to recognize that πίστις in 5:6 refers back to πίστις in 5:5 and that 5:6 supports the argument of 5:5.[106] It is impossible for πίστις in 5:5 and 5:6 to have different meanings, because the latter is the logical complement to the former, as the explanatory γάρ in 5:6 indicates.

On the basis of these observations, we can conclude that πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη means Christ's faithfulness operating through the sacrificial love of Christ. The phrase should be interpreted not as an ethical principle of Christian behavior but as an objective soteriological basis of justification, that is, Christ's faithfulness to humanity demonstrated by his sacrificial love on the cross.

IV. Concluding Remarks

The contextual and exegetical study of Gal 5:5–6 leads us to conclude that πίστις in 5:5 and 5:6 refers to the faithfulness of Christ, not to the Christian's act of faith in Christ. If the unqualified πίστις in 3:23–25 and 5:5–6 refers to "the faithfulness of Christ," then all the occurrences of πίστις in Galatians (πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [Gal 2:16; 3:22] and its equivalents[107] and the noun πίστις [Gal 3:23, 25]) that emerge in the context of justification probably denote "the faithfulness of Christ."[108] The phrase ἐκ πίστεως (5:5) is a dog-

---

R. G. Hall, "Circumcision," *ABD* 1:102; Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 96–135; G. Vermes, "Circumcision and Exodus IV 24–25," in *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 190–91.

[106] Matera, *Galatians*, 183.

[107] πίστις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal 2:20); ἐκ πίστεως (Gal 3:8, 24; 5:5); διὰ τῆς πίστεως (Gal 3:26).

[108] Dunn states, "The irony of the subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ, therefore, is that in order to sustain it, other unqualified references to 'faith' have to be taken as echoing or pointing forward to that meaning, 'Christ's faith'" ("Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 74). The irony seems to be resolved by our exegetical study of the unqualified πίστις references in 3:23–26 and 5:5–6.

matic formulaic summary[109] that recapitulates the various phrases διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (2:16a), ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ (2:16b), ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (3:22) that describe the instrument of justification.[110]

On the basis of this exegetical study, I suggest that Gal 5:5–6 is a *crux interpretum* for the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate, at least in Galatians.[111] Galatians 5:5–6 (and Gal 3:23–26) can be seen as determinative of Paul's usage of πίστις Χριστοῦ in the rhetorical context of the issue of justification. The occurrences of πίστις in Gal 5:5–6 are neglected evidence for the interpretation of πίστις Χριστοῦ as "the faithfulness of Christ" in the history of the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate.

[109] Betz, *Galatians*, 262.

[110] Campbell seems to argue that ἐκ πίστεως in Rom 1:17 is a formulaic summary when he suggests that Rom 1:17 "clearly deploys the critical phrase ἐκ πίστεως as an intertextually motivated allusion to the faithful death of Christ . . . , such a christological reading of Rom 1:17 has powerful implications for Paul's repeated use of this phrase—and πίστις itself—in the famous arguments that follow" ("Romans 1:17," 267).

[111] Campbell proposes that Rom 1:17 and its messianic use of Hab 2:4 are a *crux interpretum* for the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate ("Romans 1:17," 265–85).

JBL 124/3 (2005) 491–513

FAMILIAL DIMENSIONS OF GROUP IDENTITY: "BROTHERS" (ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ) IN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE GREEK EAST

PHILIP A. HARLAND
pharland@alcor.concordia.ca
Concordia University, Montreal, H3G 1M8, Canada

The language of familial relation, particularly the term "brothers" (ἀδελφοί), is prominent in Paul's letters and subsequently becomes common in segments of early Christianity.[1] Recent decades have witnessed a number of studies that pursue the meaning of this figurative language *within* Christianity, including works by Robert J. Banks, Wayne A. Meeks, Klaus Schäfer, Karl Olav Sandnes, Joseph H. Hellerman, and Trevor J. Burke.[2] Yet, with the exception of scholars such as Peter Arzt-Grabner and Reidar Aasgaard, who begin to address Greco-Roman uses of sibling language more fully, none has sufficiently explored epigraphic and papyrological evidence for fictive kinship within small-group settings or associations in the Greek-speaking eastern Mediterranean.[3]

I would like to thank John S. Kloppenborg for his comments on an earlier version of this paper. Research was supported, in part, by grants from the Fonds Quebecois de la recherche sur la société et la culture and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. This paper is dedicated to little Nathaniel, whose interruptions were welcomed during research and writing.

[1] E.g., 1 Thess 1:4; 2:1; 3:2; 4:1; 5:1, 4, 12; Matt 5:22–23; Acts 2:29; 3:17; 13:15; 1 Pet 2:17; 5:9; Jas 1:2; 2:1; 3:1.

[2] Robert J. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community* (1980; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994); Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 85–89; Klaus Schäfer, *Gemeinde als 'Bruderschaft': Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenverständnis des Paulus* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23, Theologie 333; Bern: Peter Lang, 1989); Karl Olav Sandnes, *A New Family : Conversion and Ecclesiology in the Early Church with Cross-Cultural Comparisons* (New York: Lang, 1994); Trevor J. Burke, *Family Matters: A Socio-Historical Study of Kinship Metaphors in 1 Thessalonians* (JSNTSup 247; London: T&T Clark, 2003). For earlier studies, see especially K. H. Schelkle's article: "Bruder," *RAC* 2:631–635.

[3] Peter Arzt-Grabner, "'Brothers' and 'Sisters' in Documentary Papyri and in Early Christianity," *RivB* 50 (2002): 185–204; Reidar Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers and Sisters: Christian*

One reason for this neglect is that, although many scholars rightly point to the importance of Paul's use of fictive kinship for understanding group identity, this is often expressed by scholars in terms of sectarianism (in a sociological sense). Thus, Meeks is among those who correctly emphasize the community-reinforcing impact of the term "brothers" as used in Pauline circles. Yet Meeks goes further to argue that Paul's use of "brothers" is indicative of how "members are taught to conceive of only two classes of humanity: the sect and the outsiders."[4] The use of affective language within Pauline circles was an important component in "the break with the past and integration into the new community."[5] Most Christian groups strongly set themselves apart from society, and the common use of familial language is one further indicator of this, from this perspective.

An important assumption behind this argument for a sectarian understanding of fictive family language is that such usage is, in some sense, *unique* (or at least peculiar) to early Christianity and, to a lesser extent, its close relative, early Judaism.[6] In this view, such modes of address were not common or significant within small-group settings, organizations, or cults in the Greco-Roman world. It is common among some scholars of early Christianity, such as Meeks and Hellerman, both to assert the rarity of fictive family language within associations or "clubs" and to discount evidence of such usage that does exist in these contexts as lacking any real implications for a sense of community.[7] Although Meeks admits that fictive sibling terminology was "not unknown in pagan clubs and cult associations," for instance, he does not further explore the evidence, and he dismisses some cases he is aware of as insignificant and pri-

---

Siblingship in Paul (Early Christianity in Context; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004), esp. chs. 4–7.

[4] Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 86 (also see pp. 85–88); cf. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1986), 324–25; Sandnes, *New Family*; John H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of I Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 165–266.

[5] Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 88.

[6] Both Franz Bömer and Meeks emphasize the uniqueness of Christian usage and, when they address questions of possible cultural antecedents, emphasize Jewish influence (Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* [Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 10; 2nd ed.; Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1981] 179; Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 87).

[7] See Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 225 n. 73; Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1987), 45; Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 324–35; Thomas Schmeller, *Hierarchie und Egalität: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung paulinischer Gemeinden und griechisch-römischer Vereine* (SBS 162; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 16–17; Wayne O. McCready, "*Ekklesia* and Voluntary Associations," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson; London/New York: Routledge, 1996), 59–73; Joseph H. Hellerman, *The Ancient Church as Family* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 21–25.

marily indicative of "Roman influence."[8] Meeks, like Robin Lane Fox, Walter Burkert, and others stresses the differences between associations and Christian (and Jewish) groups and the familial language issue is one component in this contrast.[9] Implied or stated is the idea that, in contrast to Christian groups, most associations (including groups of initiates in the mysteries) lacked a developed sense of community (they were mere "clubs"). In some ways, early Christian groups are taken as ideal or true communities.

There is no such consensus concerning fictive kinship terms among scholars of Greco-Roman religions, epigraphy, and associations specifically. Beginning with Erich Ziebarth in the late nineteenth century, several scholars briefly note occurrences of sibling language within associations. Yet these scholars are generally divided on whether the practice was relatively common or infrequent in the Greek East.[10] Several, like Franz Bömer, Franz Poland, and others who depend on them, argue that the practice of using familial terms for fellow members ("brothers") was relatively unknown in Greek associations.[11] Furthermore, Bömer suggests that the cases where it is attested in Greek inscriptions are due to Roman or western influence, and therefore lacking significance for understanding association life in the Greek East.[12]

[8] Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 87. Cf. Bömer, who considers fictive brother language "un-Greek" (*Untersuchungen*, 172).

[9] Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 85, 324–25; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 30–53.

[10] Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1896), 100–101; Jean-Pierre Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'Occident* (Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 50; Brussels: F. Hayez, 1895–1900), 1:329–30 n. 3 (on the West primarily); Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), 54–56; A. D. Nock, "The Historical Importance of Cult-Associations," *Classical Review* 38 (1924): 105; Mariano San Nicolo, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* (Munich: Beck, 1972), 1:33–34 n. 4; Schelkle, "Bruder," 631–34; Bömer, *Untersuchungen*, 172–78; P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 74, 78, 164–65 nn. 433–37; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 45, 149 n. 77; John S. Kloppenborg, "Egalitarianism in the Myth and Rhetoric of Pauline Churches," in *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (ed. E. A. Castelli and H. Taussig; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 259; Onno M. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 17; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997), 46–49; Yulia Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 135; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 185–88; Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 31–33; Richard S. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* (WUNT 161; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 76–77.

[11] Poland suggests that the only clear case of fictive "brothers" in associations involves the "adopted brothers" at Tanais (*Geschichte*, 54–55). All other potential cases of which Poland is aware are too readily dismissed as Christian or as involving real siblings.

[12] Bömer, *Untersuchungen*, 172–79; cf. Poland, *Geschichte*, 54–55 (see also pp. 371–73).

By contrast, studies by A. D. Nock, Mariano San Nicolo, Karl H. Schelkle, P. M. Fraser, and G. H. R. Horsley suggest that, despite the partial nature of our evidence, familial terminology may have been more common within cults and associations in the Greek East (and elsewhere) than often assumed.[13] Apparently no one has assembled and fully discussed the range of epigraphic evidence we do have, and considerable evidence has come to light recently. Presenting and discussing the Greek inscriptional and papyrological evidence for fictive familial address here may help to clarify this issue in a more satisfactory manner.[14]

In this article, some intriguing first-century archaeological evidence from Paul's home province, Cilicia, serves as an entryway into the language of belonging within unofficial associations and guilds, particularly the language of fictive kinship and the metaphor of sibling solidarity. The aim is to draw attention to familial expressions of identity within associations and cults of various kinds with special attention to the Greek-speaking, eastern part of the empire. I argue that there is no reason to minimize the significance of familial expressions of belonging within "pagan" contexts in the Greek East while doing the contrary in the case of Christianity. In both cases we are witnessing processes whereby connections could be formed, expressed, and solidified, creating or

---

Several other scholars depend, in whole or in part, on Poland and/or Bömer. Meeks cites Poland in support of his claim that brother language was rare in associations (*First Urban Christians*, 225 n. 73). Van Nijf, who does deal with some instances, cites both Poland and Meeks when he suggests that this "type of affective language is relatively common in the West . . . but rare in the East" (*Civic World*, 46 n. 73). Although not dismissive of the evidence, Kloppenborg nonetheless cites both Bömer and Meeks and suggests that familial language of belonging was "perhaps the most striking innovation of Pauline associations" (Kloppenborg, "Egalitarianism," 259; cf. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations*, 76 n. 18).

[13] Nock emphasizes the importance of fraternal language in associations of both the East and West, going so far as to argue that the "cult-association is primarily a family" (Nock, "Historical Importance," 105; see also S. C. Barton and G. H. R. Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," *JAC* 24 [1981]: 26). San Nicolo discusses ἀδελφοί together with φίλοι ("friends"), suggesting that both were commonly used, at least in Egypt (*Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, 1:33–34 n. 4). Fraser rightly challenges Poland and suggests that "brother" language was somewhat common in associations (in this case ethnic-based groups are in mind), despite the vagaries of our evidence (see Ustinova, *Supreme Gods*, 185–88). In *NewDocs* V 4 (p. 73), Horsley similarly critiques Nigel Turner's dismissal of the use of ἀδελφός within associations, citing several instances of its use.

[14] Epigraphic abbreviations in this paper follow the new standard outlined by G. H. R. Horsley and J. A. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129–69. In addition, *IJO* = *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* (3 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). Papyrological abbreviations follow John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, William H. Willis, and Klaas A. Worp, *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (BASPSup 7; 4th ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), also available in an updated version online at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

maintaining a sense of community. This way of putting it may show that I am not concerned with oversimplified issues of "borrowing" and genealogical cultural connections, nor with the unanswerable question of whether Paul derived his usage solely from Jewish (e.g., synagogues) or from Hellenistic (e.g., associations) contexts, contexts that were less compartmentalized than often assumed. Instead, I am concerned with exploring shared ways of expressing identity and belonging in small-group settings of the Greco-Roman world.

The nature of archaeology and epigraphy limits the degree to which we should expect to be able to witness or evaluate such relational expressions, which are more suited to personal address (e.g., personal letters or face-to-face encounters as sometimes described in narrative or historical sources). Nonetheless, there are clear indications that some "pagans," like some Jews and some Christians in the first centuries, did express a sense of belonging in an association, guild, or organization by identifying their fellows as "brothers" (or, less often attested, "sisters"). The Greek evidence that we do have spans the eastern part of the empire, including Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, the Danube, the Bosporus, and Egypt. Furthermore, the evidence dates to the centuries both before and after Paul of Tarsus, further suggesting that we should not so lightly dismiss its continuing significance within various social and religious settings.

I. Cautions on the Nature of Sources

Meeks and others who follow him suggest that brother language was rare in Greco-Roman ("pagan") associations or cults and relatively common in Christian groups. Yet it seems that these scholars have not taken into account a key difference in the genre of our sources for early Christian groups as opposed to associations. We have personal letters pertaining to early Christian groups (reflecting personal interactions), but rarely have any literary or epistolary evidence for the internal life of associations. Instead, we have (public) monuments, including honorary inscriptions and epitaphs.

This has important implications for the assessment of things such as fictive familial language and its relative frequency or importance in Christian, Jewish, or other Greco-Roman settings. In inscriptions (with their formal restrictions) there would be few occasions to make reference incidentally to the day-to-day language of belonging that was used in real-life settings (beyond the title of the group, for instance). The Jewish epigraphic evidence is instructive on this point, for although we know that fictive sibling language was used by some Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (as reflected in the literature), so far we lack inscriptions that attest this use of "brothers" among members of Diaspora

synagogues.[15] More importantly, although early on we find fictive uses of "brothers/sisters" in the mouths of educated Christian authors, such as Paul, most epigraphic attestations of the use of "brothers" considerably postdate our earliest inscriptional evidence for Christianity, which begins about 180 C.E. Although "brother" is commonly used in the literature, the earliest Christian epitaphs that have been found do not use fictive sibling language at all.[16]

So the probability remains that even if particular ("pagan") associations did use such fictive sibling language on a regular basis in real-life settings to indicate a sense of belonging, this would *rarely be expressed* on an honorary monument for a benefactor or on an epitaph. Relative rarity of expression on monuments should not be confused with rarity of practice. What this does mean is that we should pay special attention to the available Greco-Roman materials, rather than ignoring or dismissing them based on issues of presumed infrequency or insignificance.

II. Asia Minor, Greece, the Danube, and the Bosporus

References to "brother(s)" or "sister(s)" (ἀδελφός, -οί / ἀδελφή, -αί) in Greek inscriptions are, of course, not uncommon, especially in epitaphs, but we have the difficulty of assessing when such references are to fictive rather than "real" siblings. Thankfully, there are occasions when we can be confident in

[15] E.g., 1 Macc 12:10, 17; 2 Macc 1:1; 4 Macc 13:23, 26; 14:1; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122, and, of course, the Dead Sea Scrolls. See the indexes of *CIJ* and *IJO* I–III, for instance. Meeks readily dismisses inscriptional evidence for brother language that does exist because of its supposed infrequency, asserting that "[m]ost likely . . . the early Christians took their usage from the Jews" (*First Urban Christians*, 87). Yet Meeks does not cite any epigraphic cases of the Jewish usage (for the first two centuries), and what he does not mention is that we lack such evidence at this point (notwithstanding the few references to "brotherly/sisterly love" [φιλάδελφοι], only some of which are likely figurative). There is an inconsistency in Meeks's approach.

[16] So far as I am aware, there are no clear cases of fictive sibling language in Christian inscriptions and epitaphs from the Greek East and Asia Minor before Constantine, including the Christians for Christians inscriptions of Phrygia, for instance (see Elsa Gibson, *The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia: Greek Texts, Translation, and Commentary* [HTS 32; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978]; cf. Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* [2nd ed.; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2003], 210–65). It is notoriously difficult to identify Christian papyri with certainty, but there are a number of instances of "brother(s)/sister(s)" or "beloved brother(s)" as forms of address in letters that are quite securely Christian, particularly those dating to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. See, e.g., *NewDocs* IV 124; and Snyder, *Ante Pacem*, 270–72 (F), 273–77 (I), 278 (L), 282–84 (Z), 284–85 (CC). One of the difficulties here is that the scholarly assumption that "pagans" did not tend to use such terms of familial address has been a criterion for identifying letters as Christian based on the presence of brother language. For example, see the discussion of *PRyl* IV 604 further below, which is now clearly established as "pagan" but still wrongly categorized as Christian by Snyder, *Ante Pacem*, 281–82 (Y) and others.

recognizing the figurative use of sibling language, including a clear case from first-century Cilicia.

A series of tombs discovered carved into the mountain rock in the vicinity of Lamos in central Rough Cilicia (southwest of Tarsus, just inland from Selinos) pertains to collective burial sites of associations dating to the period before Vespasian.[17] The majority of these common memorials make no mention of a title for the group or of terminology that members would use in referring to one another. In most of these shared tombs there is simply a list of members' names with no further self-identification (*IKilikiaBM* II 197, 198, 200, 202), or a statement of the leader's name followed by the list of "those with him" (οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ; *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *IKilikiaBM* II 201). Certainly there are clear signs of belonging in all of these cases in the sense that these individuals consciously "joined together," as one inscription puts it, and they were concerned to ensure that only their members and no one else was to be buried there (*IKilikiaBM* I 34).

So although there are several associations at this locale, in only one of them do we incidentally catch a glimpse of the terminology of belonging that could be used among members, in this case fictive brother language. The inscription in question (*IKilikiaBM* II 201) from Lamos reads as follows:

Column a = Lines 1–20

> Rhodon son of Kydimasas, Selgian, and those with him: Pyramos son of Pyramos, Selgian, Mindyberas son of Arestes, Selgian, Aetomeros Manis, Lylous son of Menos, Selgian, Ketomaneis son of Kibrios, Zezis son of Oubramis, Kendeis son of Zenonis, Aigylis son of Oubramis, Dinneon son of Pigemis, Selgian. This is our common memorial and it is not lawful for anyone to bury another body here. But if anyone buries another here let him pay a pair of oxen and three *mina* (= 100 δραχμαί) to Zeus, three *mina* and a pair of oxen to Apollo, and three *mina* to the people (δῆμος). But if anyone should go up and wish to sell his common ownership (κοινωνεία), it is not lawful . . .

Column b = Lines 21–35

> For it is not lawful to sell from abroad (or, possibly: sell outside the group), but let him take from the common treasury 30 *staters* and let him depart. But if some brother wants to sell, let the other brothers (ἀδελφοί) purchase it. But if the brothers so wish, then let them receive the coins mentioned above and let them depart from the association (κονοῦ [*sic*]). But whenever someone dies, and has no one to carry out the funeral . . .[18]

[17] G. Bean and T. Mitford, "Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia," *AnSt* 12 (1962): 209–11, nos. 33–35; *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *IKilikiaBM* II 197, 198, 202, 205; cf. *IKilikiaBM* II 189–202 for Lamos generally. The tombs are dated to the time of Vespasian (69–70 C.E.) or earlier based on the fact that they use δραχμαί rather than *denarii*, which suggests that they date to the period before Vespasian joined Rough Cilicia with the Cilician plain (see notes to *IKilikiaBM* II 196).

[18] Lines 21–35: ἐξοθεν πωλῆσαι, ἀλ|λὰ λαμβανέτω ἐκ τοῦ | κοινοῦ στατῆρες τριά|κοντα καὶ

Fragmentary *column c* follows.

The membership in the association consists of ten men under the leadership of Rhodon from Selge, and four other members are likewise immigrants from that city in Pamphylia. We know from several other tombs in the vicinity (near the modern sites of Adanda and Direvli) that Selgian immigrants were particularly prominent in the profession of masonry.[19] The Rhodon in question is likely to be identified with the artisan who carved another tomb in the area (*IKilikiaBM* II 199) and who was responsible for some sculptural work at nearby Selinos (no. 156). It may well be that the members of this association shared this profession, though this is not expressly the case. It may also be that most or all of the members (beyond the Selgians) were immigrants to the area.

What interests us most here is the incidental reference to terminology of belonging used among members of the group. In the context of outlining rules concerning members' share in the tomb and the question of selling this share, the group had decided to emphasize the need to ensure that portions within the tomb remained among members of the group, and they consistently refer to such fellow members as "brothers."[20] In the event that one of the "brothers" wished to "go up," perhaps to his hometown (Selge may be in mind), then he must not sell from abroad, or outside of the current membership. Instead, the departing member should receive his payment back or the other "brothers" may purchase the portion. The final stipulation (before the lacuna) is unclear but seems to suggest that if a number of the members decide to leave (returning to their hometowns perhaps), then they too may receive their payments back.

There are other cases from Asia Minor involving fellow members of an association or cultic organization who likewise employ brother terminology. A number of inscriptions pertaining to functionaries in cults at several locales, many of which also refer to "victory" (νίκη), appear to use the term "brother" as a designation for a priest. At Halikarnassos (southwestern coast) there are two, perhaps three, monuments on which priests (ἱερεῖς) in a temple are referred to as "brother priests" (ἱερεῖς ἀδελφοί).[21] A similar dedication for victory involv-

---

ἀποχωρείτω. | ἐὰν δέ τινος ἀδελφὸς | θελήσει ἀποπωλῆσ|αι, ἀγοραζέσθωσαν οἱ | ἕτεροι ἀδελφοί. εἰ δὲ μὴ | θέλωσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί, τό|τε λανβάντωσαν τὸ πρ|ογεγραμμένον κερ[μ]|άτιον καὶ ἐκχωρείτω[σα|ν] ἐκ τοῦ κονοῦ [*sic*]. ὅταν δέ | τις ἀποθάνῃ καὶ μὴ συ|νεξενένκῃ τις.

[19] Cf. *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *IKilikiaBM* II 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.

[20] In the notes to *IKilikiaBM* II 201, Bean and Mitford point out that two members are indeed blood brothers (sons of Oubramis), but these editors were a bit confused by lines 25–33 since it did not dawn on them that "brothers" was being used in a fictive manner of members in these lines. Also see van Nijf (*Civic World*, 46–49), who recognizes that this is an example of fictive sibling language.

[21] *IGLAM* 503 a and b; C. T. Newton and R. P. Pullan, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (London: Day, 1862–63), 2:704–5, no. 12c; cf. G. E. Bean and

ing subordinate temple functionaries has been found at nearby Mylasa, in which two men are called "good, brother under-priests" (καλῶν ἀ|δελφῶν ὑποιερέ|ων; *IMylasa* 544). A considerable distance north and east, at Synaos in the Aezanatis valley, a recently discovered epitaph of the second century involves an individual functionary consecrated to the god (a ἱερός) who is referred to as "brother ἱερός" (*MAMA* X 437; cf. *SEG* 43 [1993]: 893). Although we know very little about these functionaries, a pattern of usage is becoming clear that extends beyond just one locale. It would be difficult to explain these cases away as references to real brothers who happened to be fellow priests, as Poland seems aware.[22] The term "brother" could be used of fellow functionaries as a term of belonging in the setting of sanctuaries, as we shall also find in Egypt.

Other evidence is forthcoming from Asia Minor, the Aegean, and Greece, this time involving unofficial associations. A monument dedicated to "god most high" (Theos Hypsistos) at Sinope in Pontus, which need not be considered Jewish in any way, refers to the group as "the vowing brothers" (οἱ ἀδελφοὶ εὐ-ξάμενοι).[23] Although less than certain, it is quite possible that the four named men on a grave (ἠρῷον) from the vicinity of Iasos who refer to themselves as "the brotherly-loving and unwavering male shippers of Phileros" (τῶν Φιλέ-ρωτος φι|λαδέλφων ἀνδρῶν ναυκλήρων ἀπλανήτων) may not literally be brothers, but rather members of a guild under the leadership of Phileros.[24] It is worth noting that there are comparable figurative uses of "brotherly love" or

---

J. M. Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 50 (1955): 103, no. 17; *IAsMinLyk* I 1. These and other "victory" inscriptions that have been found at Halikarnassos, Mylasa, Didyma, and Kos are sometimes etched (almost as graffiti) onto preexisting monuments (cf. *IMylasa* 541–564). Unfounded is the suggestion of G. Cousin and Ch. Diehl (followed uncritically by F. H. Marshall in the notes to *GIBM* IV 920 and 934) that all of the victory inscriptions, especially those that mention "brothers," are Christian epitaphs or remembrances referring to victory through death or martyrdom ("Inscriptions d'Halicarnasse," *BCH* 14 [1890]: 114–18, no. 18). See *IKos* 65 and 69–72, where W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks reject the previous view and more reasonably suggest that these inscriptions refer to victory in competitions (cf. *IKos* 65 and *IMylasa* 554, which involve ephebes). It is worth mentioning the possibility that some of these are dedications by priests within guilds of athletes or performers, where ἱερεύς was a common title for a cultic functionary (see the discussion of athletic guilds further below).

[22] Poland prefers to dismiss these apparent cases of pagan "brother priests" by categorizing the inscriptions as Christian, citing no evidence in support (*Geschichte*, 55); he is likely depending on the problematic suggestion of Cousin and Diehl (see previous note). Secondarily, he suggests that if they are pagan, then these are real brothers.

[23] G. Doublet, "Inscriptions de Paphlagonie," *BCH* 13 (1889): 303–4, no. 7; cf. Ustinova, *Supreme Gods*, 185–86. It is unsatisfactory to reject this case without discussion with a claim that this is Jewish syncretism (and therefore not Greek), as does Bömer (*Untersuchungen*, 173). Poland mentions this case but suggests that these are probably real brothers (*Geschichte*, 55).

[24] M. G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, "Voyage de Milet à Marmara," *BCH* 18 (1894): 21, no. 11. On the literal use of brotherly or sisterly affection among blood relatives see *NewDocs* II 80 and III 74; *MAMA* VIII 132, line 13; *IBithynia* III 2 (= *IKlaudiupolis* 75), 7, and 8.

"familial affection" (φιλάδελφοι) in connection with fellow members of an association at Latium (Italy) devoted to Hygeia (*IG* XIV 902a, p. 694 [addenda]) and among members of Jewish groups in Egypt, Rome, and, possibly, Syria.[25] Quite well known are the uses by Paul and the author of 1 Peter of the terminology of "brotherly/sisterly love" (φιλαδελφία) of the relationship among members of Christian congregations, as when Paul exhorts the Roman Christians to demonstrate "heart-felt affections toward one another with brotherly love" (τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι) (Rom 12:10; cf. 1 Thess 4:9; 1 Pet 1:22; 3:8; Heb 13:1; 2 Pet 1:7).

In connection with such means of expressing affection, it is important to point out another clear case from Asia Minor in which similar terms of familial closeness are used among members of an association, even though brother language is not evident. In an epitaph from Tlos in Lycia, the members of a cult society (θίασος) honor a deceased member, setting up the grave stone "on account of" their "heart-felt affection" (φιλοστοργία) for the deceased cult society member (ὁ θίασος ἐπὶ Μάσα τῷ [θια]σείτα ἰ[φ]ιλοστοργίας ἕνεκε[ν; *TAM* II 640).[26] With regard to the root for love or affection (φιλ-), it is worth noting that the term "dear ones" or "friends" (οἱ φίλοι) was a common means of expressing positive connections with others within associations, particularly in Asia Minor (cf. 3 John 15).[27] And we shall soon encounter instances where the terms "brothers" and "friends" are used almost interchangeably as designations of belonging within associations in Egypt.

There are other incidental references from around the Aegean that attest to the use of fictive sibling language within associations. In discussing the associations of late Hellenistic Rhodes, P. M. Fraser draws attention to two cases where sibling language is likely used of fellow members of immigrant associations.[28] The clearer of the two involves a funerary dedication for a man and a woman who are also termed "heroized siblings" (ἀδελφῶν ἡρώων). As Fraser points out, this is a clear case where the basic meaning of "blood brothers" is

[25] For likely figurative Jewish use, see *IEgJud* 114 (near Heliopolis; first century B.C.E. or first century C.E.), *IEurJud* II 528 (Rome), and *IJO* III Syr70 (with David Noy's notes; cf. 2 Macc 15:14). Cf. *IEgJud* 86, *IEurJud* II 171 (Rome; third–fourth centuries C.E.) (either literal or fictive). Also see 1 Pet 3:8.

[26] On the meaning of φιλοστοργία ("affection" or "heart felt love," as Horsley puts it in one case), see L. Robert, "Lycaonie, Isaurie et Pisidie," *Hellenica 13* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965), 38-42, and, more extensively, Horsley in *NewDocs* II 80, III 11, and IV 33 (cf. Rom 12:10). Horsley had not yet encountered this case, it seems.

[27] Associations using φίλοι: *IGLAM* 798 (Kotiaion, Aezanatis valley); *IIasos* 116; *IMagnMai* 321; *IDidyma* 502 (a Dionysiac group); *IMylasa* 571-75; *TAM* V 93 (Saittai; 225 C.E.); *ISmyrna* 720; *MAMA* III 580, 780, 788 (Korykos); *IPontBithM* 57 (= *SEG* 35 [1985]: 1337; Amastris, Pontus); *IPrusaOlymp* 24 (first century C.E.); *IAsMinLyk* I 69 (Xanthos, Lycia). Cf. *IG* II.2 1369 (Athens; second century C.E.); *IG* III 1081, 1089, 1102 (Athens; c. 120s C.E.; ephebes); *IGUR* 1169 (Rome).

[28] Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 74, 78, 164–65 nn. 430–37. Cf. *NewDocs* II 14.

not possible. He argues that although the meaning of "spouse" as in Egyptian papyri remains a possibility, it seems "more plausible to regard both parties, male and female, who are foreigners, as 'brothers' in the sense of fellow members of a koinon."[29]

In a similar vein, Onno van Nijf, who in other respects downplays the frequency of brother language, nonetheless discusses a third-century inscription from Thessalonica in Macedonia. This involves a collective tomb of an association with individually allotted niches: "For Tyche. I have made this niche in commemoration of my own partner out of joint efforts. If one of my brothers dares to open this niche, he shall pay . . ." (*IG* X.2.1 824). Interestingly enough, as van Nijf argues, here one sees fictive sibling language of belonging alongside a concern to preserve this particular niche from further use by the very same fellow members of the association. "Brotherhood apparently failed to prevent some brethren from reopening niches to add the remains of another deceased person, or even to remove the remains of the lawful occupant."[30]

There are also some surviving instances from Greece and elsewhere in which those of a common occupation or common civic position, sometimes members of an ongoing guild or organization, address one another as "brother" in a figurative sense. A third-century decree from Chalkis in Euboia (Greece) involves an important civic board (συνέδριον) and the people (δῆμος). In response to a temple warden's (Aurelius Hermodoros) generous benefactions to the sanctuary, Amyntas and Ulpius Pamphilos propose that Hermodoros's descendants be honored with continuous possession of this temple-wardenship (likely of Tyche). The inscription happens to preserve the statement of the clerk of the *synedrion,* who seeks a vote on whether the members of the board agree to grant these honors "according to all of your intentions and the proposal of the brother Pamphilos" (*SIG*^{3} 898 = *IG* XII.9 906, lines 18–20).[31] Here a fellow member of the organization is clearly addressed as "brother" in an incidental manner that suggests that this was normal practice in this setting. There are several other instances of persons of a common occupation (sometimes, though not always, involving membership in a guild) referring to one another (in Greek) as "brother," including a rhetor at Baeterrae in Gaul who called another "the brother rhetor" (*IG* XIV 2516), athletes at Rome (*IGUR* 246), and several

[29] Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 74.

[30] Van Nijf, *Civic World*, 46 (with trans).

[31] Bömer attributes this case to "Roman influence" without explanation (*Untersuchungen*, 172). Minor civic officials and scribes who address one another as "brother" in papyri from Tebtunis may represent another case of fictive kinship language among colleagues, but they may also involve those who share the same parents. See *PTebt* I 12 (118 B.C.E.), 19 (114 B.C.E.), and 55 (late second century B.C.E.); see MM, 9; Arzt-Grabner, "'Brothers,'" 188 n. 13. Two of these three Tebtunis papyri are translated by John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (FF; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 81–82 (no. 45), 84–85 (no. 49).

different professionals in Egypt (discussed further below), including undertakers and athletes.[32] Arzt-Grabner also discusses a number of cases in papyri involving fellow officials or business partners who address one another as brother.[33]

Turning north of Greece and Asia Minor, fictive sibling language occurs in the associations of the Bosporus on the Black (Euxine) Sea.[34] Greek inscriptions from Tanais attest to numerous associations devoted to "god most high" (Theos Hypsistos) in the first three centuries (*CIRB* 1260–1288). Membership consisted of men only who were drawn from the mixed Greek and Iranian (Sarmatian) populations of this city. The groups used several self-designations, some calling themselves "the synod which is gathered around Theos Hypsistos," or "the synod which is gathered around the priest."[35] These particular inscriptions happen not to make any reference to any informal, fraternal language of belonging that was used among members. But several inscriptions do indicate that an important leader within many of these groups held the title of "father of the synod" (*CIRB* 1263, 1277, 1282, 1288).

Particularly significant here are four inscriptions from Tanais (dating to the first decades of the third century) that pertain to an association that took on fictive sibling language as an official title for the group over several decades, calling themselves "the adopted brothers worshiping Theos Hypsistos" (ἰσοποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον; *CIRB* 1281, 1283, 1285, 1286; ca. 212–240 C.E.). In a fifth inscription, the editors have restored the title of another association as the "*thiasos* of brothers" (θίησ[ος τῶν ἀ]δελ[φῶν] [*sic*]; *CIRB* 1284). The idea that we are here witnessing the development of fraternal language from informal usage among members of associations into a title, and that brother language was likely common in these and other groups from the region at earlier points, is further suggested by epitaphs from Iluraton (mid-second century) and Panticapaion (early-third century). Members in these two associations, at least, had been using the informal address of "brother" but had not come to take on this fraternal language as a group title. In each case, the membership of an association honors a deceased fellow with a memorial and happens to express in stone its positive feelings for the lost member by calling him "its own brother" (τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν; *CIRB* 104, 967).[36] In the latter group at Panticapaion, familial language was used also of a leader, who was known as "father of the synod."

[32] See Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 164 n. 433.

[33] Arzt-Grabner, "'Brothers,'" 189–92, 195–99.

[34] See Ustinova, *Supreme Gods*, 183–96.

[35] *CIRB* 1278, 1279, 1280, 1282, for the former; *CIRB* 1260, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1277, 1287, 1288, for the latter.

[36] See Ustinova, *Supreme Gods*, 188, 200.

Since Emil Schürer's study of the Bosporan Hypsistos inscriptions in 1897, it has been common for scholars to suggest the influence of Judaism here (especially at Tanais), but this is highly problematic.[37] Many follow Schürer in holding the view that these were associations of Gentiles or "God-fearers" honoring the Jewish God as Theos Hypsistos, partly owing to the coincidence of Acts-like language for Gentile sympathizers here and because of evidence from elsewhere for the description of the Jewish God as "God most high," following language in the Septuagint. However, Yulia Ustinova's exhaustive study of the Bosporan evidence for associations and for the worship of gods with the epithet Hypsistos convincingly demonstrates the weaknesses of Schürer's proposal and shows that these groups at Tanais, in particular, are best understood as associations devoted to a hellenized, Iranian deity, with no Jewish connection involved.[38]

The case of associations in the Bosporus draws attention to another facet of familial expressions of identity in the Greek East that should be noticed before going on to brother language within associations in Egypt and in the mysteries. There are numerous examples of the designation "father of the synod" in associations of the Bosporus region, for instance, and we have seen that, in at least one case from Panticapaion, "father" is used within a group that also (informally) employs the term "brothers" for members (*CIRB* 104).[39] Similarly, as I discuss below, a group of initiates in the mysteries in Egypt referred to its leader as "father," and fellow initiates also called one another "brothers"; and a guild of athletes in Rome likewise used both "father" for a

[37] Emil Schürer, "Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselbst," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1897): 200–225. For recent versions of Schürer's theory see Irina Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting* (Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 5; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 111, 244–45; Stephen Mitchell, "The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians," in *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (ed. Polymnia Athanassiadi and Michael Frede; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 116–17. Not so long ago I had accepted that interpretation, but have been convinced otherwise after studying Ustinova's recent book (*Supreme Gods*). Cf. Ustinova, "The *Thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos in Tanais," *HR* 31 (1991–92): 150–80, where the argument is less developed.

[38] See Ustinova, *Supreme Gods*, 203–39. Cf. D. Noy, A. Panayotov, and H. Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, vol. 1, *Eastern Europe* (TSAJ 101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 323, who exclude this Tanais evidence from their collection of Jewish inscriptions. While there were small Jewish communities at Panticapaion, Gorgippia, and Phanagoria in the Bosporus region, there is no evidence for Jews several hundred kilometers away at Tanais. Beyond the ambiguous references to "god most high" and the title "gathering-leader" (*synagogos*) within these groups, which can both readily be understood in *non*-Jewish terms, there are no indications that the Jewish God was involved in these inscriptions.

[39] Out of thirty attested associations at Panticapaion (*CIRB* 75–108), eight use the title: *CIRB* 77 (second–third centuries C.E.), 96 (second century C.E.), 98 (214 C.E.), 99 (221 C.E.), 100, 103 (third century C.E.), 104 (third century C.E.), 105 (third century C.E.).

leader and "brother" among members. There are many other times when, although we do not necessarily witness sibling terminology specifically, we do clearly encounter other familial or parental language to express membership in associations.[40] There is, in fact, strong evidence pointing to the importance of such metaphorical parental and parent-child language in Greek cities generally[41] and within local associations in these cities of Asia Minor, Greece, Thracia, and other regions in the first three centuries.[42] In associations, such parental language is used of benefactors in some cases and of leaders within the group in others. The membership list of a cult association devoted to Dionysos at Thessalonica (second or third century), for instance, includes several male and female functionaries, including the chief initiate (ἀρχιμύστης), alongside the "mother of the company" (σπείρας) (*SEG* 49 [1999]: 814). Similarly, the Jewish titles "mother of the synagogue" and "father of the synagogue" (or related terms) are attested in Greek inscriptions from Rome, Stobi (in Macedonia), Mantineia (in Greece), and Smyrna (in Asia Minor).[43] There are even a

[40] On the titles "father" and "mother" in *collegia* in the West, mostly dating to the mid-second century and later, see Waltzing, *Étude*, 1:446–49. Poland (*Geschichte*, 372) and those who depend on him seem to be unaware of the strong tradition of parental language in cities of the Greek East and wrongly dismiss cases involving associations in the eastern Mediterranean as under western influence.

[41] Civic bodies and other organizations commonly honored a benefactor or functionary by referring to him or her as "father (πατήρ) of the πόλις" "mother" (μήτηρ), "son" (υἱός), "daughter" (θυγάτηρ), "foster-father" (τροφεύς), or "foster-child" (τρόφιμος). See, e.g.: *Mother*: C. Naour, "Inscriptions de Lycie," *ZPE* 24 (1977): 265–71, no. 1 (Tlos); *TAM* III 57, 58 (Termessos); *SEG* 43 (1993): 954 (Sagalassos; ca. 120 C.E.); *IG* XII.8 388, 389 (Thasos). *Father*: *SEG* 49 (1999): 1536 (Teos; 170–166 B.C.E.); *TAM* III 83 (Termessos; first century C.E.); *IThasosDunant* 192 (first century B.C.E.–first century C.E.). *Foster-father*: see Louis Robert, "Sur une monnaie de Synnada ," *Hellenica 13* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949), 74–81. *Daughter/son*: *IPerge* 117–18, 120–21, 122–25 ("daughter"; early second century C.E.); *TAM* III 14, 16, 21, 87, 98, 105, 122, 123 ("son" at Termessos; second–third centuries C.E.); *SEG* 45 (1995): 738 ("son" at Beroia, Macedonia; second–third centuries C.E.).

[42] Asia Minor: *IPerge* 121; *IGLAM* 53; *IG* XII.8 388–89, 525 (γερουσίαι at Perge, Erythrai, and Thasos); H. Hepding, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904–1905: II, Die Inschriften," *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907): 327–29, nos. 59–60 (νέοι at Pergamon); H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions in the 'Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden' at Leyden* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 7–8 ("ὑὸς [*sic*] τῶν φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν" at Magnesia; second–third centuries C.E.). Greece: SIG^3 1111 ("father of the orgeonic synod" devoted to Syrian deities at Piraeus; ca. 200–211 C.E.). Thracia: T. Sauciuc-Sâveanu, "Callatis: rapport préliminaire," *Dacia* 1 (1924): 139–44, no. 2 ("father" of Dionysiac θιασιται at Callatis; ca. 30–60 C.E.); *CCCA* VI 342 ("mother of the tree-bearers" at Serdica; ca. 200 C.E.); E. Kalinka, *Schriften der Balkankommission Antiquarische Abteilung IV: Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1906), 157–58, no. 177 ("father" of the νεοκοροι of Saviour Asklepios at Pautalia); *IGLSkythia* I 99, *IGLSkythia* I 100, and *IGLSkythia* II 83 (Achilleus as "father" of two Dionysiac groups at Histria and a group of tree-bearers at Tomis; ca. 200–222 C.E.). Syria: *IGR* III 1080 ("father of the κοινόν" near Berytos). Rome: *IGUR* 77 (prophet and "father" of an association of immigrants from Alexandria, devoted to Sarapis; 146 C.E.).

[43] Rome: *IEurJud* II 209 (= *CIJ* 93), 288 (= 88), 540 (= 494), 544 (= 508), 560 (= 319), 576

number of cases where the more colloquial and affectionate term "papa" or "daddy" (πάππας or ἄππας in Greek and variants) is used of religious leaders in associations devoted to the mysteries and in other groups.[44] In some cases when members of an association regularly referred to their leader as "mother," "father," or even "papa," I suggest that they were alluding to the same sort of family atmosphere within the group that the term "brothers" or "sisters" would evoke.

III. Egypt and Initiates in the Mysteries

Evidence from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt also strongly suggests that it would be problematic to argue that fictive familial language was insignificant within associations or that it was merely a late development (from Roman, western influence) within association life in the East. As with epigraphic evidence from other parts of the eastern Mediterranean, inscriptions from Egypt provide only momentary glimpses of the use of sibling language within associations and other cultic settings. For this region, however, the shortcomings of epigraphic evidence are somewhat counterbalanced by the survival of letters and other documents on papyri. Not surprisingly, as with our evidence for Pauline and other Christian groups, it is within the context of personal address in letters that the use of fictive kinship language becomes more visible to us.

Papyri reveal that kinship terminology was used in a variety of ways within letters in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including the use of the terms "brother" or "sister" as titles among royalty, as a designation of a spouse (see *NewDocs* I 17), and as a term of affection among close friends (see *NewDocs* IV 15; *BGU* IV 1209). Arzt-Grabner's study collects a number of clear cases from papyri (dating from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E.) in

(= 509), 578 (= 510), 584 (= 537) ("father of the synagogue"); *IEurJud* II 251 (= *CIJ* 166), 542 (= 496); 577 (= 523) ("mother of the synagogue"). Stobi: *IJO* I Mac1 (= *CIJ* 694). Mantineia and Smyrna: *IJO* I Ach 54 (= 720); *IJO* II 41 (= 739), both fourth century C.E.

[44] See K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien: Epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* (ed. O. Ribbeck; Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 130–31; Robert in *BE* (1978): 492–94, no. 510. *IMagnMai* 117 ("papa of Dionysos" as a position in a cult association at Magnesia; early second century C.E.); Ramsay, "Antiquities of Southern Phrygia," *AJA* 4 (1888): 278–79 ("papa" of a Phrygian cult association [φράτρα] at Thiunta, near Hierapolis; second century C.E.); *TAM* V 432, line 19 (near Saittai; 214/5 C.E.); *IGR* III 883 ("papa" as a priest at Tarsus; second–third centuries C.E.). Also see G. Laminger-Pascher, *Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens,* Faszikel I, *Der Süden* (Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 15; Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), 229–30, no. 408 ("Philtatos, the most blessed papa" at Dorla; first century C.E.). On the likely pagan context of the Dorla inscription, see Feissel in *BE* (1993): 771. For Christian use outside of Rome, see *PAmherst* 13 ("papa" as leader of the Christian congregation at Alexandria; late third century C.E.).

which those who are not literally related address officials, friends, or business partners as "brothers."[45] Yet there are also other cases of this practice involving co-workers or co-religionists who were active within the same sanctuaries or who belonged to associations or other organizations.[46]

As early as the second century of the Hellenistic era, we have instances in which persons belonging to a common profession, organization, and/or religious circle express close connections with their fellows by using fictive kinship terminology. Though it is possible that two papyri regarding associations of embalmers (χοαχύται) at Thebes (late second century) involve actual family members addressed as "siblings," several scholars following Amedeo Peyron have argued that in some of these cases ἀδελφοί is more likely used of members in a guild that included non–family members.[47] More certain is the case in

[45] Arzt-Grabner, "'Brothers.'" Officials: *BGU* VIII 1755, 1770, 1788 (60s B.C.E.); *SB* XVI 12835 (10 C.E.). Friends: *BGU* VIII 1874 (first century B.C.E.); *POxy* XVII 2148; *SB* V 7661; *POxy* XLII 3057 (first–second centuries C.E.); *SB* XIV 11644 (first–second centuries C.E.). Business partners: *BGU* I 248–49, II 531, 594–95, 597 (70s C.E.); *BGU* XVI 2607 (15 B.C.E.); *POxy* LV 3808 (first–second centuries C.E.); *OClaud* I 158 (110 C.E.) and II 226 (mid-second century C.E.). Arzt-Grabner, who does not fully address epigraphic evidence, nonetheless accepts Poland's overall evaluation in claiming that there is "no clear evidence for a metaphorical use of 'brother' or 'sister' within Roman guilds or mystery cults," particularly before the late second century ("'Brothers,'" 199). See also his pp. 199–200 nn. 68–69, where he cites the standard list of scholars (discussed earlier) who deny this usage within associations. I suppose the issue relates to the definition of "clear evidence" to some extent, but even some of the papyri that Arzt-Grabner discusses involve members of a common profession who were likely members of an association (cf. *POxy* XLII 3057; *PPetaus* 28) and, in at least one case, the papyrus almost certainly involves a military association, as discussed below (*BGU* VIII 1770; 64/63 B.C.E.).

[46] For Christian papyri using "beloved brother" (ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφός) as an address, see the list in *NewDocs* IV 124. Plutarch shows an awareness of the common fictive use of sibling language within the context of friendships when he speaks against a man "who addresses his comrade as 'brother' in salutations and letters, but does not care even to walk with his own brother" (*On Brotherly Love* 479D [LCL]).

[47] See *UPZ* II 162 = *PTor* 1, col. 1, lines 11 and 19–20, and col. 6, lines 33–34 (116 B.C.E.); *UPZ* II 180a = *PPar* 5 col. 2, line 5 (114 B.C.E.). Early on, Peyron, who was aware of the family trees of embalmers, argued that the reference (in *PTor* 1, col. 1, lines 19–20) to "these ἀδελφοί who offer services in the cemeteries" (τῶν τουτῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν τὰς λειτουργίας ἐν ταῖς νεκρίαις παρεχομένων), as well as the ἀδελφοί mentioned in col. 1, line 11, and col. 6, lines 33–34, involve men who were not all related as brothers, and that the term is here used of fellow members of a guild. See Amedeo Peyron, "Papyri graeci regii musie Aegyptii Taurinensis," *Memorie della reale accademia delle scienze di Torino: Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 31 (1827): 68–69; for the family trees, see P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive* (Studia Demotica 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 14–27. L. Mitteis simply assumes that this is another case of a family who engaged in the same occupation as χοαχύται (Choachytenfamilie), and that this refers to real siblings (*Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs* [1900; reprint, Hildesheim: George Olms, 1963], 48). Ziebarth, Walter Otto, and San Nicolo agree with Peyron's evaluation that in this case at least, and perhaps in *UPZ* II 180a = *PPar* 5 col. 2, line 5, we are likely

which the head of a military association, the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς), is addressed as "brother" in a first-century B.C.E. letter (*BGU* VIII 1770; 64/63 B.C.E.).[48]

The so-called Sarapeum correspondence from Memphis provides glimpses into relations among those active within the sanctuaries of Sarapis and of Anubis in the second century B.C.E. (see *UPZ* vol. 1 for the papyri). Many letters on papyri have survived concerning these closely associated sanctuaries on the edge of town, letters that shed light on functionaries and administration, as well as the importance of the unofficial religious devotees, κάτοχοι, who were (voluntarily) being "held fast" or "detained" (κατέχω; cf. παρακατέχω) in the service of Sarapis.[49] Most of the correspondence came into the possession of one Ptolemaios, from Macedonia, who was a κάτοχος in the Sarapeum for at least twenty years (from 172 to 152 B.C.E. or beyond). Several of the letters pertain to Ptolemaios's friends, co-religionists, and family, including his actual brothers, Sarapion, Hippalos, and Apollonios (the younger).

Long ago, both Brunet de Presle and Walter Otto pointed to the frequency of "brother" as a title of address in the Sarapeum papyri and suggested that brother terminology was used among those who were "held fast" by Sarapis (the κάτοχοι), who formed a cult association within the Sarapeum at Memphis.[50] Several others have likewise suggested that the κάτοχοι, in particular, formed a closely connected "brotherhood," and some of these scholars suggest a parallelism with the Christian brotherhood.[51] However, Ulrich Wilcken chal-

---

witnessing "brothers" as a designation of embalmers who are not all related by blood. See Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 100–101; Walter Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Ancient Religion and Mythology; 1905, 1908; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975), 1:104 n. 2; San Nicolo, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, 1:33–34 n. 4; cf. MM, 9). Poland (*Geschichte*, 55) instead accepts Mitteis's assumption, and Wilcken (notes to *UPZ* II 162, p. 72) likewise argues that these are simply references to an actual family of embalmers. The controversy will likely continue with these rather unclear references in the two papyri, but it remains possible that, in at least *PTor* 1 (more so than *PPar* 5), fictive brother language is used among members of a guild who are not all actually related.

[48] Cf. Arzt-Grabner, "'Brothers,'" 190, although he misses the "guild" connection here despite appropriately citing San Nicolo's discussion of military associations in Egypt (*Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, 1:198–200).

[49] *UPZ* I 8 = *PLond* I 44, lines 18–19, speaks of a κάτοχος as "one of the θεραπευταί who are held fast by Sarapis" (τινα τῶν παρακατεχομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαράπιος θεραπευτῶν). Also see *IPriene* 195 (line 28) and *ISmyrna* 725 (= *CIG* 3163) for a similar use of being "held fast" by Sarapis. For groups of θεραπευταί devoted to Serapis and/or Isis see *IDelos* 2077, 2080–81(second–first centuries B.C.E.); *SIRIS* 318–19 (Kyzikos; first century C.E.); *IMagnSip* 15 (= *SIRIS* 307; second century B.C.E. and second century C.E.); *IPergamon* 338 (= *SIRIS* 314). The term could also be used in reference to devotees of other deities, such as Zeus (cf. *CCCA* I 456, from Sardis).

[50] See Brunet de Presle's notes to *PParis* 42 (= *UPZ* I 64), on p. 308; Otto, *Priester*, 1:124 n. 3 (cf. 1:119 n. 1).

[51] See Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions, Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions,*

lenges the suggestion of widespread sibling language among the κάτοχοι.[52] Wilcken points out that many of the fictive instances of "brother" in the Sarapeum papyri do not certainly involve members of the κάτοχοι addressing one another as "brother," and he goes so far as to state that the titles ἀδελφός and πατήρ have "no religious meaning" in this papyri collection.[53]

Although Wilcken is right that the term "brother" in the Sarapeum papyri is not limited to members of a cult association, he goes too far in dismissing the potential religious and social meanings of this term as an expression of attachment among those who were active or served within the sanctuaries of Anubis and Sarapis: that is, co-religionists or fellow functionaries, though not necessarily members of an unofficial association. Clearly, there is a relatively high occurrence of ἀδελφός as a fictive form of address in the Serapeum papyri as compared to papyri generally. In several cases, there are indications that the terminology is used among those who feel a sense of solidarity within a circle of friends or an organization that served the gods within the sanctuaries (*UPZ* I 61, 62, 64, 69, 71, 72, 109). Thus, for instance, Barkaios, an overseer of the guards at the Anubieum, addresses the younger Apollonios, a guard, as "brother" (*UPZ* I 64 = *PParis* 42; 156 B.C.E.).[54] Barkaios writes to his subordinate, though fellow, functionary in the service of Anubis in order to thank him for his service in reporting prison escapes. Similarly, in another letter the younger Apollonios addresses as "brother" the elder Apollonios, who was then "leader and superintendent of the Anubieum" (ἡγεμών καὶ ἐπιστάτης Ανουβιείου; *UPZ* I 69 = *PParis* 45; 152 B.C.E.). The younger Apollonios's close ties with this leader in the sanctuary of Anubis are further confirmed by the younger Apollonios's letter to Ptolemaios, at about this time, in which the younger Apollonios expresses concern about the well-being of both his actual brother and this elder Apollonios (*UPZ* I 68; 152 B.C.E.). Finally, in the same year, the elder Apollonios addresses as "brother" Ptolemaios, writing to this κάτοχος of Sarapis concerning the younger Apollonios (*UPZ* I 71 = *PParis* 46; 152 B.C.E.).

It is worth mentioning the possibility that some of these correspondents of the younger Apollonios and Ptolemaios were themselves *previously* among the κάτοχοι in the Sarapeum, as was Apollonios in the summer of 158 B.C.E. alongside his actual brother Ptolemaios, who was held fast for over twenty years. Yet

---

to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity (changes incorporated by A. Grieve; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), 87–88; George Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri, Edited, with Translations and Notes* (1910; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 22; MM, 9; LSJ, 20.

[52] Wilcken in the notes to *UPZ* I 64, p. 319.

[53] Apollonios on several occasions addresses his brother, Ptolemaios, as "father" in a show of respect (cf. *UPZ* I 65, 68, 70, 93). Apollonios was not a κάτοχος at the time, however, as was Ptolemaios.

[54] For a translation of this letter, see White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 72–73, no. 39.

even without this scenario, these letters clearly suggest that we should not so quickly disregard the possible social and religious meaning of "brother" to express close ties among these men who were consistently involved in the sanctuaries in a functional role and, likely, as devotees of the gods (Sarapis, Anubis, and others) whom they served together.

Other evidence suggests that fictive sibling terminology was also used among initiates in mysteries (μυστήρια), who sometimes formed associations in Egypt and elsewhere in the Mediterranean—this despite the fact that initiations and the shared experiences among initiates were highly secretive, and our sources tend to respect this secrecy. I have already noted that parental language ("mother" or "father") was used of leaders within associations devoted to the mysteries of Dionysos, the Great Mother, Sarapis, and others, and that the term "papa" was used of functionaries within a group of initiates of Dionysos. Furthermore, a partially damaged third-century C.E. papyrus from Oxyrhynchos contains an oath pertaining to initiation into mysteries. The man pronouncing the oath happens to mention both the leader of the group, "father Sarapion," and his fellow initiates, the "brothers," perhaps "mystical brothers" (μυστικο]ὺς ἀδελφούς) according to Wilcken's reconstruction.[55] In this connection, it is worth mentioning Apuleius's novel, in which the character Lucius, upon initiation into the mysteries of Isis (set at Cenchreae, near Corinth), refers to the priest as his "parent" (*parens*).[56] Similarly, in the second and third centuries, those who were initiated into associations in Italy and the West devoted to Jupiter Dolichenus (Syrian Baʿal), Mithras, and others used both fraternal and paternal language (*fratres*, *pater* in Latin) within the group, but in these particular cases we are witnessing primarily Roman phenomena.[57]

[55] *PSI* X 1162 as read by Ulrich Wilcken, "Urkunden-Referat," *APF* 10 (1932): 257–59. In light of other evidence for sibling and parental terminology in the Greek mysteries, Wilcken too readily takes on Poland's assumption of "Roman influence" here.

[56] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.25; cf. 11.21. Also see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* (EPRO 39; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 278, 292.

[57] Worshipers of Dolichenus in Rome called their priest "father of the candidates" (*pater candidatorum*) and fellow initiates "brothers" (*fratres*; see *CCID* 274, 373, 375, 376, 381 [second–third centuries C.E.]; Eva Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine* [WUNT 178; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 205–7). Associations of soldiers devoted to Mithras are quite well known for their use of "father" (*pater*) or "father of the mysteries" (*pater sacrorum*) for their seventh stage of initiation (see *CIL* III 3384, 3415, 3959, 4041; *CIMRM* 623–24; Tertullian, *Apol.* 8). Also see Bömer for further examples from the Latin West, including "brothers" (*fratres*) used among worshipers of Dionysos-Liber (*CIL* VI 467) and Bellona (*CIL* VI 2233; *Untersuchungen*, 176–78; Schelkle, "Bruder," 633; Waltzing, *Étude,* 1:329–30 n. 3). Waltzing mentions one example of *fabri fratres* in connection with a guild in the West (*CIL* V 7487). Also quite well known is the priestly organization of "Arval brothers" (*fratres arvales*) centered in Rome, which was revived by Augustus and drew its membership from the senatorial elites. See Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome,* vol. 1, *History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 194–96.

Other incidental references to fictive sibling language used among initiates in the Greek mysteries can be cited, some from an earlier era. Although Burkert downplays the notion of community feelings among initiates, he nonetheless acknowledges the use of "brother" among those initiated into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, near Athens.[58] Thus, for instance, Plato speaks of two men as "brothers" because of their strong friendship arising from their shared participation in both stages ("initiation" and "viewing") of initiation at Eleusis (ξενίξειν τε καὶ μυεῖν καὶ ἐποπτεύειν πραγματεύονται).[59] Several centuries later, Sopatros (Sopater) the rhetor reflects continued use of the term "brother" specifically among those being initiated at Eleusis.[60]

Analogous expressions drawing on the model of the mysteries further confirm this picture. In his second-century treatise on astrology, Vetius Valens addresses the "initiate" in the secrets of astrology as follows: "I entreat you, most honorable brother of mine, along with the others who are initiated . . ." (ὀρκίζω σε, ἀδελφή μου τιμιώτατε, καὶ τοῦς μυσταγωγουμένους; *Anthology* 4.11.11; ca. 170 C.E.). The magical papyri also happen to reflect this practice when, in a prayer, the speaker is directed to refer to fellow devotees in the following manner: "Hail to those to whom the greeting is given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women" (*PGM* IV 1135; ca. 300 C.E.).[61]

Turning from initiates to other associations in Roman Egypt, Robert W. Daniel devotes some attention to the practice of familial address within occupational associations, discussing several papyri from the second and third centuries C.E.[62] In one third-century letter from Antinoopolis, the leader (ξυστάρχης) of an athletic association writes to one Andronikos, who is addressed as "brother" both in the external address (verso) and in the text of the letter (*PRyl* IV 604, lines 32–33, as reedited by Daniel).[63] More importantly, all

[58] Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 45, 149 n. 77.

[59] Plato, *Epistles* 333d–e; cf. Plutarch, *Dion* 54.1; Andocides 1.132.

[60] Sopatros, *Division of Questions* 339 (fourth century C.E.), in C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cottae, 1843), 123.

[61] Trans. W. C. Grese in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (ed. Hans Dieter Betz; 2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 60. Similarly, a member of a pagan circle worshiping Hermes Trismegistus in the fourth century C.E. (named Theophanes) uses the term "beloved brother" (ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφός) of his fellows (see S. R. Llewelyn's comments in *NewDocs* VI 25, p. 175; cf. *Corpus Hermetica* 1.32).

[62] Robert W. Daniel, "Notes on the Guilds and Army in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 16 (1979): 37–46.

[63] The first ten lines of the letter are missing. Daniel convincingly shows that the original editors of *PRyl* (C. H. Roberts and E. G. Turner), who suggested the possibility of a Christian (owing to the dominating brother language) or military context (owing to the mention of a ἡγεμών) for the papyrus, were mistaken in reading the verso ("Notes," 39–40). In examining a photograph of the papyrus, Daniel was able to discern clearly what was missed by the original editors, reading

of the names mentioned, no fewer than four other men (some of whom are also termed "friend" [φίλος]), are likewise designated "brother" in the body of the letter: brother Eutolmios (line 13), brother Heraiskos (15), brother Apynchis (28), and brother Theodosios (34). Daniel convincingly shows that we are here witnessing fellow members of an athletic association, not real siblings, being addressed as brothers.[64] Further strengthening this interpretation is another parallel case from Oxyrhynchus. This letter was written from one leader of an athletic guild (ξυστάρχης) to another, who is addressed as a "brother." Two others are likewise called "brother" in the body of the letter, which concerns the affairs of a guild of athletes (*PSI* III 236; third century C.E.).

There is another important, though late, example of such use of familial language within a well-established professional guild of athletes in Rome, which is not discussed by Daniel but is worth mentioning here. The "sacred, athletic, wandering, world-wide association" (ἡ ἱερά ξυστικὴ περιπολιστικῆ οἰκουμένη σύνοδος), which was devoted to the god Herakles, had a significantly long history. Originally based in Asia Minor (probably at Ephesos), the headquarters of this guild (which also had local branches in various locations in the East) was moved to Rome sometime in the second century, probably around 143 C.E.[65] A Greek inscription from the time of Constantine reveals that, at least by this time and likely earlier as well, the members of this "world-wide" organization expressed positive connections with fellow members using familial metaphors. Well-respected members are repeatedly called "our brother" (τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν) in the inscription and the high priest of the guild is called "our father" (τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν) (*IGUR* 246 = *IG* XIV 956B, lines 11, 12, 14). Such evidence from both Egypt and Rome suggests that the practice of using fictive kinship language within groups of athletes and other guilds may have been more widespread than our limited sources would initially suggest.

Finally, Daniel discusses a second-century papyrus from Egypt that almost

---

ξυστάρχης (the *alpha* and *rho* were readily visible and the *eta* and *sigma,* though faint, were also visible), not ξυστοφό[ρος. The former term clearly points to the context of athletic associations, as Daniel shows (cf. San Nicolo, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, 2.80). The reference to "my lord the ἡγεμών" in line 12 likely pertains either to the prefect of Egypt or to another leadership position within the athletic guild; this term is commonly attested in associations and organizations elsewhere (cf. *IG* II.2 1993–1995 [Athens; ca. 80 C.E.]; *IGR* I 787 [within a Baccheion of Asians in Thracia]).

[64] Compare another, less-certain case of the use of both "friend" and "brother" within a gymnastic organization at Philai, dating to the Hellenistic era. This inscription mentions a gymnastic association of "fellow ephebes" alongside those who are called "friends" and "brothers" (*OGIS* 189; 89 or 57 B.C.E.). As San Nicolo points out, it is uncertain whether the "brothers" are to be taken literally here, or whether ἀδελφοί is used as a synonym for φίλοι and συνέφηβοι, fellow members of the guild (*Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, 1:33–34 n. 4).

[65] See H. W. Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of Athletic Guilds," *ZPE* 10 (1973): 197–227 on *IGUR* 235–248. Cf. *IEph* 1084, 1089, 1098.

certainly involves undertakers (νεκροτάφοι), the successors of our embalmers (χοαχύται) of the Ptolemaic period.[66] These undertakers of the Roman period were formed into guilds, and this occupation, which involved the transportation, embalming, and burial of the dead, was taken on by both men and women.[67] The letter in question is written from Papsaus to Asklas, who is addressed both as "friend" (φίλος) on the outside address and as "brother" in the letter opening (*PPetaus* 28). In light of the evidence discussed thus far, Daniel seems right in arguing that these are not merely "conventional, meaningless terms of address," but rather reflections of the everyday terminology used among members of these (and other) guilds.[68] According to the body of the letter, Papsaus was in trouble and seeking the help of his fellow undertaker. Papsaus had sent to Asklas the body of a Roman legionary to be sent on to its final destination, but for some reason the body had not reached its final destination. As a result Papsaus was faced with possible disciplinary action by the ἡγεμών, which, as Daniel shows, was most likely the guild president (not a Roman military officer or the provincial prefect in this case). Although partly to blame, here a fellow guild member, as "brother" and "friend," was sought for help.

V. Conclusion

Owing to the nature of our sources, we cannot be sure that fictive sibling language was widespread within associations or that it had the same meaning that "brothers" developed within some Christian circles. Yet what is clear is that many scholars have underestimated the evidence and significance of fictive kinship language within associations and organizations of various kinds (ethnic, cultic, occupational, gymnastic, civic, and other groups) in the Greco-Roman world. Inscriptions from Greece, Asia Minor, and Greek cities of the Danube and Bosporus, as well as papyri from Egypt, suggest that familial language was used in a variety of small-group settings in reference to fellow members as "brothers" or (less often) "sisters," as well as to leaders as "mothers," "fathers," or "papas." The happenstance nature of evidence from epigraphy would suggest that we are catching only momentary glimpses of what was most likely common usage within some other associations about which we happen to know less. In paying more attention to the materials we do have, we begin to see common ground among some associations, synagogues, and Christian congregations in the expression of identity and belonging—this notwithstanding the fact

[66] Cf. Otto, *Priester*, 1:108–10, 2.180 n. 1.
[67] See San Nicolo, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, 1:97–100.
[68] Daniel, "Notes," 41.

that it is extremely difficult to measure the relative importance or depth of meaning attached to such familial language in specific instances.

What sorts of social relations and obligations accompanied the metaphorical use of familial language within associations? Although there is little direct information about the meanings that members of associations attached to calling a fellow member "brother," we can nonetheless make some inferences from literary discussions of familial relations, which help to clarify the real-life experiences and expectations that would give meaning to the metaphor or analogy.

Although presenting ideals of family relations from a philosophical perspective, Plutarch's discussion *On Brotherly Love* nonetheless reflects commonly held views that would inform fictive uses of these terms of relation in the Greek world.[69] For Plutarch and others, the ideal sibling relation is marked by "goodwill" (*eunoia*; 481C), and brothers are "united in their emotions and actions" (480C). Foremost is the ideal of solidarity and identification. "Friendship" (φιλία) is one of the strongest analogies that Plutarch can evoke in explaining (in a Platonic manner) the nature of relations among brothers and between parents and children: "For most friendships are in reality shadows, imitations, and images of that first friendship which nature implanted in children toward parents and in brothers toward brothers" (479C–D [LCL]; cf. 491B). Conversely, we have seen that the term "brothers" was a natural way of expressing close social relations among friends in an association.

For Plutarch and others in antiquity, there is a hierarchy of honor (τιμή, δόξα) that should be the basis of familial and other relations. Brothers come before friends: "even if we feel an equal affection for a friend, we should always be careful to reserve for a brother the first place . . . whenever we deal with occasions which in the eyes of the public give distinction and tend to confer honor (δόξαν)" (491B [LCL]). Beyond this, nature and law "have assigned to parents, after gods, first and greatest honor (τιμήν)" and "there is nothing which men do that is more acceptable to gods than with goodwill and zeal to repay favors to those who bore them up" (479F [LCL with adaptations]).

These Greco-Roman family ideals of solidarity, goodwill, affection, friendship, protection, glory, and honor would be the sorts of values that would come to the minds of those who drew on the analogy of family relationships within group settings. When a member of a guild called a fellow "brother," that member was (at times) expressing in down-to-earth terms relations of solidarity, affection, or friendship, indicating that the association was a second home.

[69] Cf. Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers*, ch. 6.

JBL 124/3 (2005) 515–532

CRITICAL NOTES

REFLECTIONS ON CULTURE AND SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC MODELS

In an article published recently in this journal, Alan Kirk offered fresh insights into a long-standing problem by using an anthropological model of reciprocity.[1] Kirk dissolved the tension between the seemingly reciprocal "Do unto others" and the more exclusive "Love your enemy" by showing that the texts presuppose but deliberately challenge ancient expectations of reciprocity. Kirk's article provides us with an opportunity to reflect on the importance of methodological clarity, especially in the form of constructing (and choosing) culture-appropriate models. The timing of this opportunity is good because the use of anthropological and sociological models in biblical exegesis is becoming more popular.

A consistent thorn in the side of social-scientific criticism, among other fields, has been the validity of applying models cross-culturally.[2] In most instances this concerns taking models developed in the modern world (e.g., honor and shame, psychoanalysis, functionalism, cognitive dissonance, rational choice theory) and applying them to the ancient world. Questions of this sort are valid and the responses complex, but we have in Kirk's article a different sort of cross-cultural application of a model. By relying on a model of reciprocity developed in "primitive" cultures and applied to the Greco-Roman world, Kirk forces us to consider whether all ancient (or premodern) cultures are the same, or whether their differences require alterations in the models we use to understand them.

The essay by Marshall Sahlins that forms the backbone of Kirk's model of reciprocity is entitled "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange" and was published in a book entitled *Stone Age Economics*.[3] The titles here are telling. Sahlins was studying "primi-

[1] Alan Kirk, "'Love Your Enemies,' the Golden Rule, and Ancient Reciprocity (Luke 6:27–35)," *JBL* 122 (2003): 667–86.

[2] Michael Herzfeld, "Honor and Shame: Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Moral Systems," *Man* 15 (1980): 339–51; Richard Horsley, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (New York: Crossroad, 1989); Cyril S. Rodd, "On Applying a Sociological Theory to Biblical Studies," *JSOT* 19 (1981): 95–106; Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "Methodological Considerations in the Debate over the Social Status of the Early Christians," *JAAR* 52 (1984): 519–46. Even more recently, see the riveting debate between David G. Horrell and Philip F. Esler (David G. Horrell, "Models and Methods in Social-Scientific Interpretation: A Response to Philip Esler," *JSNT* 78 [2000]: 83–105; Philip F. Esler, "Models in New Testament Interpretation: A Reply to David Horrell," *JSNT* 78 [2000]: 107–13).

[3] Chapter 5 in Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972). The critical participants in the early debate on exchange and reciprocity in primitive cultures

tive" cultures, which he defined as those "lacking a political state," found most commonly in the form of hunter and gatherer tribes.[4] In this sense, Sahlins cannot have imagined that his model of reciprocity would be abstract enough to apply to all cultural and social situations, least of all archaic, premodern, or modern contexts, that is, those with a state and central form of government such as existed in the Greco-Roman period that Kirk studies.

The cultural and social presuppositions and context employed by Sahlins work directly against any attempt to apply the model unaltered across cultures. In "primitive" societies, Sahlins surmised that reciprocity could be understood as a linear plane at the ends of which sit two poles characterized by, respectively, selfless and selfish behavior. The basis of all premarket exchange, for Sahlins and other economic anthropologists, is the social relationship—"material flow underwrites or initiates social relations."[5] All forms of exchange inaugurate a social relationship of some sort. For this reason, Sahlins differentiated his types of reciprocity based on an understanding of social distance (how far from the kinship center does an exchange occur?).

Modeled as a series of concentric circles, a society based on kinship has the household and immediate family at the center. Just beyond, yet still closely related to the household, sits the village. Beyond the village sits the tribe, another level removed from the family, and beyond that the greater world in which intertribal exchanges would occur. Within this social structure, reciprocity is differentiated by two factors: whether imbalance in exchange can be tolerated, and how long one is willing to wait for reciprocation. When social distance changes, these two factors change accordingly. Sahlins thus founded his three types of reciprocity—generalized, balanced, and negative reciprocity—on the combination of social distance and the allowable time line of reciprocation. Though these types of reciprocity are well known today, a brief look at them helps to clarify their cultural limitations.

Sahlins's generalized reciprocity includes a broad range of exchanges, but they are for the most part united by the degree of intimacy between giver and receiver and by the relative degree of selflessness and compassion that characterizes the giving: the pure gift (such as a mother's breast-feeding), the free gift (such as hospitality), and food sharing among kinsmen within the household and village. Because these exchanges occur within the close kinship unit, imbalance within the exchanges is tolerated, almost indefinitely if necessary.[6] Another way Sahlins distinguishes generalized reciprocity is to claim that within it, material concerns are subordinated to social concerns—what matters is not the return but the support of the social system. Sahlins's is clearly a functionalist perspective, focusing as he does on how reciprocity serves to stabilize society. This is evident also in how he favors generalized reciprocity as the perfect form of reciprocity, from

---

include Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Routledge, 1935); Marcel Mauss, "L'essai sur la don," *Année sociologique* 1 (1923–24): 30–186; Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York: Rinehart, 1944), esp. ch. 4, entitled "Societies and Economic Systems"; and Alvin Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," *American Sociological Review* 25 (1960): 161–78.

[4] Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, 188.

[5] Ibid., 186.

[6] Ibid., 194.

which the others depart as they move farther from the intimate center of the kinship unit.

As the name suggests, balanced reciprocity cannot tolerate an imbalance in the exchange, and for this reason the time frame within which reciprocity can occur is shorter and the social relations less intimate (greater social distance). Not surprisingly, in balanced exchanges, the material concerns are more pressing, and a natural balance must be struck lest imbalance break the social contract and exchange cease. Examples of balanced exchanges include normal gift exchange (gift for gift), trade, buying and selling, peacemaking, and marital exchange; and these occur, according to Sahlins, in the tribal sector, that middle ground between the close family and village, on the one hand, and the world outside the tribe (other tribes), on the other.

For Sahlins, negative reciprocity is the least pure, least intimate form of reciprocity, and its concerns are purely material and not social, since it seeks to give not altruistically or even with some balanced self-interest but with the goal of gaining at the expense of another.[7] Because of this, and as Sahlins's model of concentric circles around the kinship unit showed, negative reciprocity should occur only outside the family, village, and tribal sectors, with intertribal interaction. Typical negative reciprocity includes haggling, bartering, gambling, cheating, stealing, and deception.

Sahlins's model of reciprocity, despite (or perhaps owing to) its profound influence on the field, has been challenged by anthropologists studying primitive economics and necessarily adapted by those studying other cultures.[8] The main feature of Sahlins's model that limits its cross-cultural applicability is his focus on social distance, a problem that manifests itself in a number of ways. Social distance presupposes that kinship is the central social institution that governs all others, and this works well in primitive cultures. It does not, however, work as well in the Greco-Roman world, in which fictive-kinship institutions (particularly the fictive-kinship relationships of slavery, patronage, and benefaction) share the stage with kinship. Because of Sahlins's exclusive focus on kinship as the social center, his model has father–son exchanges parallel to the exchanges that take place between the chief and his following or the acts of generosity that a "big-man" undertakes in order to establish dominance—Sahlins considers all of these examples of generalized exchange.[9] Because generalized exchange in the Greco-Roman world does not count such exchanges as parallel, this means that the Sahlins model will lose precision when imported to a different (and nonprimitive) context, a lack of precision that is carried over into Kirk's discussion of reciprocity in the Greco-Roman world.

The different social and cultural context of the Greco-Roman world, in which strict kinship shares the stage with fictive-kinship, requires a model of exchange that focuses not on social distance but on status distance.[10] Such a model has been provided

[7] Ibid., 195.

[8] Among many others, see Takie Sugiyama Lebra, "An Alternative Approach to Reciprocity," *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975): 550–65; Sally Price, "Reciprocity and Social Distance," *Ethnology* 17 (1978): 339–50.

[9] Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, 205–9.

[10] This is a fitting category because the Greeks and Romans were so "status conscious" (Richard P. Saller, "Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction," in *Patronage in Ancient Society* [ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill; Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient

by Ekkehard and Wolfgang Stegemann.[11] A focus on status distance enables the critic to discern types of exchange that Sahlins's version of social distance conflates.[12] Above all, it acknowledges that exchanges within the family unit are unique. Sahlins's (and Kirk's) focus on the *nature* of the exchange (ostensibly selfless or selfish, categories that should by no means be considered mutually exclusive) leads him to suppose that the selfless giving of a mother to a child is similar to the act of patronage a prominent person might make to a poet, association, or city. Status distance forces the critic to recognize that these are different forms of exchange. The family is a coherent (economic and social) unit within which status is not necessarily equal, but status does not govern the nature of the exchanges that take place; in contrast, an act of patronage presupposes a difference in status, in which one party is patron and the other client (or master and slave, or benefactor and beneficiary).[13] The result is the removal of kinship exchanges from the category of generalized exchange—hence the Stegemann model of reciprocity distinguishes between *Familiäre Reziprozität* and *Generelle Reziprozität.*[14]

Likewise, a focus on status distance brings some nuance to our understanding of balanced reciprocity. For the Stegemanns, balanced reciprocity (*Ausgeglichene Reziprozität*), in contrast to generalized reciprocity, requires both a balanced exchange of goods (in terms of relative value) between parties and in addition "gleicher Status-symmetrische Bezeihung."[15] This can include a wide range of exchanges that are themselves distinct, but this is not a problem since we are constructing an abstract model. Balanced reciprocity includes gift exchange, loan allowance and repayment, and buying/selling (market exchange is also a form of balanced exchange[16]).[17]

Society 2; London: Routledge, 1989], 57). "Status" in the ancient world is a complex equation composed of such factors as gender, education, ethnicity, language, education, wealth, power, freedom, and so on, expressed so well still by Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

[11] Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte: Die Anfänge im Judentum und die Christusgemeinden in der mediterranen Welt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 43; Eng. trans., *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century* (trans. O. C. Dean, Jr.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999).

[12] Thomas F. Carney, before the Stegemanns, recognized that the setting of the Greco-Roman world with its patronage and clientage involved an adaptation of the simpler categories of exchange presented by Sahlins (Thomas F. Carney, *The Economies of Antiquity* [Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1973], 64).

[13] Saller, "Patronage and Friendship," 49; idem, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 8–11; S. R. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 2.

[14] Stegemann and Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 43. That this move would be necessary was fairly predicted by Takie Lebra in two complaints he made concerning Sahlins's understanding of "generalized reciprocity." The first was that exchanges among kin can be much more complex than Sahlins allows, and the second that great generosity occurs between strangers (e.g., outside the kin group). See Lebra, "Alternative Approach to Reciprocity," 551.

[15] Stegemann and Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 43.

[16] John Davis discusses some of the ways in which market exchange is as social as the most altruistic forms of reciprocity. See John Davis, "An Anthropologist's View of Exchange," *Social Anthropology* 4 (1996): 221.

[17] Gary Stansell, "Gifts, Tributes, and Offerings," in *The Social Setting of Jesus and the*

Gift exchange involves the exchange of goods that are of equal or greater value to the initial gift. There is a relationship here to generalized exchange: if a gift is made, but the receiver is unable to reciprocate with something of equal or greater value, the recipient becomes a client, and the giver becomes a patron, and status difference is either created by the imbalance or inscribed; conversely, if the receiver is able to repay with something of equal or greater value, the status symmetry is inscribed, and the exchange remains that of a gift. Gift exchange does not fit into the framework of generalized exchange (as Sahlins and Kirk have it) because the bestowal of a gift does not in and of itself make a client of the recipient, nor does the counter-gift make the initial giver a client suddenly. Balanced reciprocity requires a balance, and thus demands reciprocity, but it does not involve the shifting status of the giver/recipient.[18] Further, part of what differentiates gift and patronal exchange is the different level of access each party has to the required goods and services in the first place, and this even more deeply inscribes the status differences involved.

There are a number of ways in which Kirk's use of the language of reciprocity reflects the imprecision of Sahlins's model (at least when imported into a Greco-Roman setting). For instance, in keeping with the Sahlins model, Kirk treats both gift exchange and patronage in a discussion of generalized exchange.[19] This would naturally not alert him to the imprecision (or more accurately the conflation) of language reflecting different types of exchange. Note, for instance, his sentence: "Entailed in acceptance of a *favor* is the moral obligation to make a return in some way and so to enter upon the obligations of an ongoing *friendship*."[20] Admittedly, the language of friendship was a common trope in patronage and clientage ("favor"), but a model should not duplicate the confusing use of shared terminology, especially since Greco-Roman partners in exchange knew full well the differences between real friends and "friends" as clients.[21]

Gospels (ed. Wolfgang Stegemann, Bruce J. Malina, and Gerd Theissen; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 356. In general, however, Stansell frames his treatment of gifts in the broadest possible way, counting as a gift anything that is given (whether between family, clients and patrons, or friends). His treatment of the gift, though excellent and thorough, is too broad therefore for a technical discussion of types of exchange. See also his "The Gift in Ancient Israel," *Semeia* 87 (1999): 65–90.

[18] Market exchange is balanced not necessarily because buyer and seller have the same status (they might nor might not) but because status does not influence the exchange; so at that moment the status of each is equal, even if in other circumstances relative status might be unequal. See C. A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (Studies in Political Economy; London: Academic Press, 1982).

[19] Kirk, "Love Your Enemies," 675–77.

[20] Ibid., 675, emphasis mine.

[21] See Barbara K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 134; Saller, "Patronage and Friendship," 57; E. R. Wolf, "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies," in *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies* (ed. M. Banton; A.S.A. Monographs 4; New York: Tavistock Publications, 1966), 1–22, esp. p. 16; and Barry S. Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War: Class, Faction, and Policy, 403–386 BC* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 22–23; K. C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 75. See also David Konstan, "Patrons and Friends," *Classical Philology* 90 (1995): 328–42, who argues that when some clients referred to themselves or their patrons as friends, we should understand this to be an expression of the intimacy and non-exploitative nature of that particular relation-

This is reflected as well in the way Kirk moves back and forth between the two types of exchange while discussing reciprocity in general: "*Benefaction* is also the 'starting mechanism' for initiating social bonds, for establishing relations: 'If *friends* make *gifts*, *gifts* make *friends*.'"[22] Now it might be simply that Kirk is using terminology like "benefaction" and "friend" loosely, but both the model and the social context require specificity since these are nearly technical terms for the Greeks and Romans.

Finally, let me mention Kirk's treatment of the term χάρις: "The dynamic of open-ended exchange among friends—that is, generalized reciprocity—coheres around the term χάρις, which designates both the concrete favors that friends do reciprocally for one another and the gratitude shown in return."[23] This citation illustrates, again, how the model Kirk uses leads him to mix his categories of exchange. Kirk may have benefited from more recent work (only some of which was not available when he wrote the original article) on χάρις and generalized reciprocity, which shows that χάρις does not occur between actual friends but rather between patrons and clients.[24]

Although the main point of Kirk's article is sound because the ancient sources he uses are strong, the problem is that his model works at odds with those sources and the culture that produced them. I would suggest that this occurs precisely because the reciprocity model Kirk uses in this instance is not quite appropriate to the cultural setting. This might sound like splitting methodological hairs, but as an increasing number of scholars use social-scientific models for the first time, this is a good opportunity to remind ourselves about the importance of considering cultural difference when selecting the models we use.

Zeba A. Crook
zeba_crook@carleton.ca
1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6, Canada

---

ship; in other words, we should not think that in every instance friend is a euphemism for client (though he admits it was used euphemistically in other instances).

[22] Kirk, "Love Your Enemies," 674, emphasis mine. The citation is from Mary Douglas's foreword, "No Free Gifts," in Marcel Mauss's *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (trans. W. D. Hall; New York: Norton, 1990), xv.

[23] Kirk, "Love Your Enemies," 678.

[24] See, e.g., for instance, Zeba A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (BZNW 130; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004); James R. Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); David A. deSilva, "Patronage and Reciprocity: The Context of Grace in the New Testament," *ATJ* 31 (1999): 32–84; James R. Harrison, "Benefaction Ideology and Christian Responsibility for Widows," in *NewDocs* 8:106–16.

"SIGNIFICANT RESONANCES" WITH MEPHIBOSHETH IN 2 KINGS 25:27–30: A RESPONSE TO DONALD F. MURRAY

In a recent article in *JBL*, Donald Murray reconsiders the well-known scholarly crux in the final four verses of 2 Kings regarding Jehoiachin's release and what this episode communicates about the future of Israel.[1] The work of three scholars figures prominently in his discussion. Martin Noth suggests that these verses bring the story of Jehoiachin up to date without changing the Deuteronomist's "pessimistic" assessment of Israel's history. Gerhard von Rad's more "optimistic" reading contends that these verses supply a hope for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. Hans Walter Wolff's analysis of the Deuteronomistic History's kerygma focuses on the call for exilic Israel to return (שוב) to YHWH.[2] Murray states that his own reading "is more akin to Hans Walter Wolff than to either Noth or von Rad."[3] He contributes to the debate surrounding this episode by paying close attention to the immediate context, internal structure, language, and

I am grateful to Nyasha Junior for her careful reading and valuable critiques of earlier drafts of this article. I am solely responsible for any of its shortcomings.

[1] Donald F. Murray, "Of All the Years the Hopes—or Fears? Jehoiachin in Babylon (2 Kings 25:27–30)," *JBL* 120 (2001): 245–65. Murray provides a concise review of the scholarship on these verses. See also Frank Moore Cross, *Cannanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274–78; Jon D. Levenson, "The Last Four Verses in Kings," *JBL* 103 (1984): 353–54.

[2] Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die Sammelnden und Bearbeiteten Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (1943; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957), 107–8; idem, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 97–99; Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomium-Studien* (FRLANT n.s. 40; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1947), 52–64; idem, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (SBT 9; London: SCM, 1953), 74–91; Hans Walter Wolff, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes," *ZAW* 73 (1961): 171–86; idem, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomic Historical Work," in *The Vitality of the Old Testament Traditions* (ed. Hans Walter Wolff and Walter Brueggemann; Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 81–100. Murray acknowledges that 2 Kgs 25:27–30 does not factor heavily into Wolff's analysis of the Deuteronomistic History's kerygma.

[3] Murray, "Jehoiachin in Babylon," 247. He rejects von Rad's view, since Jehoiachin dies as "a modestly pensioned client in perpetual detention in Babylon" without any heirs mentioned in the Deuteronomistic History. Nor does he agree with Noth's view because Murray claims that vv. 27–30 show a latent positive movement that is incompatible with a completely pessimistic understanding of the text.

"significant resonances" of these verses with the rest of 2 Kings 25 and other biblical texts.[4]

Picking up on a key text in Wolff's argument, Murray concludes his article by claiming that Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 8:46–53 serves as one of the "other biblical texts" that has "significant resonances" with 2 Kgs 25:27–30.[5] Following Christopher Begg, he notes that 2 Kgs 25:27–30 does not include anything that would suggest a heartfelt repentance by Jehoiachin, as required by 1 Kgs 8:47–48.[6] Yet he still sees an attenuated allusion to 1 Kgs 8:50b in 2 Kgs 25:27–30.

> [I]n portraying an instance of the victor's mercifully alleviating the suffering of the vanquished, this final episode of Kings exemplifies the substance of Solomon's petition in 1 Kgs 8:50b. . . . If there is here an attenuated allusion to 1 Kgs 8:50b, it serves as a token presaging not a hopeful future for an heir to the Davidic promise but a more tolerable future for all vanquished Judeans. In contrast to the relentless devastation depicted in the preceding episodes in 2 Kgs 25, that hope is not to be despised. But . . . it is also a hope not to be exaggerated.[7]

To be sure, 1 Kgs 8:46–53 does not suggest that repentance will lead necessarily to a restoration of Davidic kingship. As Richard Nelson writes regarding 2 Kgs 25:27–30, "Repentance in itself will lead to nothing better than a good life in exile (1 Kings 8:50)."[8] This is not to dismiss the importance of hope for a good life in exile, but rather to note that the allusion addresses issues of quality of life in exile as opposed to matters of kingship.[9] Thus, if one grants this allusion, Murray's conclusion that the end of Kings could

[4] As Murray notes ("Jehoiachin in Babylon," 247 n. 7), his reading strategy of attending to the internal rhetoric of vv. 27–30 and the relation of these verses to the rest of 2 Kings 25 has similarities to Erich Zenger's work, "Die deuteronomistische Interpretation der Rehabilitierung Jojachins," *BZ* n.s. 12 (1968): 16–30. Along similar lines, see also Gottfried Vanoni, "Beobachtungen zur deuteronomistische Terminologie in 2 Kön 23, 25–25,30," in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt, und Botschaft* (ed. Norbert Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 357–62.

[5] Wolff's work does not connect 2 Kgs 25:27–30 with Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8. For more on this connection, see also Levenson, "Last Four Verses in Kings," 360.

[6] Murray, "Jehoiachin in Babylon," 247 n. 8, 264. Begg makes this point by contrasting 2 Kgs 25:27-30 with other Deuteronomistic additions in which Wolff finds a note of exilic hope based on YHWH's grace following repentance (cf. Deut 4:29–31; 30:1–10; 1 Kgs 8:33–34). See Christopher T. Begg, "The Significance of Johoiachin's Release: A New Proposal," *JSOT* 36 (1986): 51.

[7] Murray, "Jehoiachin in Babylon," 264–65.

[8] Richard Nelson, *First and Second Kings* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1987), 268.

[9] Along similar lines, Mordechi Cogan and Hayim Tadmor argue that Evil-merodach's elevation of Jehoiachin's status over other kings in Babylon (2 Kgs 25:28) does not necessarily suggest a hope for the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, but rather may promote hope for the prospects of the exiles. "Exilic readers might have found some measure of consolation in the preferred treatment of their aged king; from this point of view the book of Kings does end on a positive note. . . . The motif of the elevation of a Judean to a position of influence at a foreign court was a popular one in exilic literature, e.g., the story of Daniel at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, and that of Mordecai at the court of Ahasuerus" (*II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 11;

provide a hope for a more tolerable future presents a plausible function for the final episode in Kings based on its resonance with the substance of 1 Kgs 8:50b. Yet, while his general conclusion remains suggestive, the attenuated allusion rests on an attenuated connection between the substance of the two texts. Since 2 Kgs 25:27–30 contains no direct mention of repentance (שוב) one would find this thematic allusion more compelling if an overlap in vocabulary or imagery between the two texts existed.

Murray makes two passing references to such overlaps between 2 Kings 25 and 2 Samuel 9.[10] I will argue that, by further examining the resonance of the story of Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 with Mephibosheth's story in 2 Samuel, one can strengthen Murray's case that 2 Kgs 25:27–30 presents little hope for the restoration of Davidic kingship, but still presents hope of a tolerable exilic future. Several scholars have noted the resonance between the respective depictions of the fates of Jehoiachin, who is the last of David's house, and Mephibosheth, who is the last of Saul's house.[11] Yet, if they consider the interpretative significance of this resonance at all, they usually understand it as a comment on kingship rather than a comment on the prospects for life in exile.[12]

After reviewing the connections between the last Davidic kings and Mephibosheth in 2 Kings 25, I will examine how these connections build on a resonance between Saul's and David's houses in 1 Kings 11. I will conclude by arguing that, on a thematic level, Jehoiachin's fate further parallels Mephibosheth's fate in relation to their respective houses. A review of the ways in which the fate of Mephibosheth and Saul's house has resonance with that of the Davidic dynasty strengthens Murray's case regarding what 2 Kgs 25:27–30 communicates about the future of Israel.

Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988], 330, 330 n. 5). For recent arguments that the final redactor of 2 Kgs 25:27–30 saw Israel's identity as now organized around the Torah rather than Davidic kingship, see Meik Gerhards, "Die Begnadigung Jojachins—Überlegungen zu 2 Kön 25,27–30 (mit einem Anhang zu den Nennungen Jojachins auf Zuteilungslisten aus Babylon)," *BN* 94 (1998): 52–67; Walter Dietrich, "Niedergang und Neuanfang: Die Haltung der Schlussredaktion der deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes zu den wichtigsten Fragen ihrer Zeit," in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times* (ed. Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 45–70.

[10] Murray, "Jehoiachin in Babylon," 257 n. 33, 259 n. 40.

[11] See, e.g., Bruce Birch, "1 and 2 Samuel," *NIB* 2:1273; Anthony R. Ceresko, "The Identity of 'the Blind and the Lame' (*ʿiwwēr ûpissēaḥ*) in 2 Samuel 5:8b," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 29–30; Jan Jaynes Granowski, "Jehoiachin at the King's Table: A Reading of the Ending of the Second Book of Kings," in *Reading between Texts: Intertextuality and the Bible* (ed. Danna Nolan Fewell; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 183–84; Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel* (OTL; trans. John S. Bowden; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 300; P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 261; Robert Polzin, *David and the Deuteronomist: 2 Samuel* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 103–4.

[12] For example, Cheryl Exum writes, "Jehoiachin's rueful fate echoes hauntingly the fate of Mephibosheth, the last of the house of Saul, which David displaced. He, too, was to end his days in virtual house arrest, a prisoner at the royal court. David's house has come to this; its dynastic hopes rest precariously on a Mephibosheth *redivivus* " (*Tragedy and the Biblical Narrative: Arrows of the Almighty* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 149).

I

When considering the descriptions of the fates of the last two Davidic kings in 2 Kings 25, scholars have noted allusions to two prominent and recurring motifs associated with Mephibosheth: his place at the king's table (2 Sam 9:7, 11, 13; 19:29) and his disability (2 Sam 4:4; 9:3, 13; 19:27). They connect Jehoiachin's and Mephibosheth's fates through the imagery of the table. Possible differences exist in the respective situations of Jehoiachin and Mephibosheth. If one reads with the MT, 2 Sam 9:10 suggests that Mephibosheth's daily portion, unlike that of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 25:30), came from his own estate rather than the king's table.[13] Yet the LXX suggests that Mephibosheth's portion, like that of Jehoiachin, came directly from the king's estate.[14] In any case, suggestive linguistic connections exist. According to 2 Kgs 25:29, Jehoiachin "ate bread continually" (ואכל לחם תמיד) before the Babylonian king Evil-merodach. Similarly, 2 Sam 9:7 reports that "[Mephibosheth] will eat bread at [David's] table continually" (ואתה תאכל לחם על־שלחני תמיד). The word "continually" (תמיד) is used twice to describe both Jehoiachin's and Mephibosheth's eating habits within the court of a political enemy (see 1 Kgs 25:29, 30 and 2 Sam 9:7, 13 respectively).

Others connect the fates of these two houses through the imagery of disability.[15] For example, Anthony Ceresko notes that Mephibosheth's "lameness" (פסח; 2 Sam 9:13; 19:27) connects him to Zedekiah, the last member of David's house to rule in Jerusalem.[16] According to 2 Kgs 25:7, "the eyes of Zedekiah were blinded" (ואת־עיני צדקיהו עור) by the Babylonians following the slaughter of his sons. Aside from their use in the descriptions of Mephibosheth and Zedekiah, the two roots פסח and עור often appear as a pair elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 4:11; Lev 21:18; Deut 15:21; 2 Sam 5:6, 8; Jer 31:8; Job 29:15). This pattern suggests some overlap in the characterizations of the "blind" Zedekiah and the "lame" Mephibosheth, who also becomes disabled following the slaughter of his family (2 Sam 4:4).[17] The Deuteronomistic History concludes with the last Davidic kings sharing motifs that had characterized the last Saulide. Both Zedekiah's and Jehoiachin's fates evoke prominent motifs in Mephibosheth's characterization.

[13] See Anson F. Rainey, "The Samaria Ostraca in Light of Fresh Evidence" *PEQ* 99 (1967): 39; idem, "The *Sitz im Leben* of the Samaria Ostraca," *TA* 6 (1979): 91.

[14] One should follow the LXX, since the MT seems to imply a distinction between Mephibosheth and the consumers of the food Ziba provides by ending the verse with a disjunctive clause with the subject, Mephibosheth, placed before the verb for emphasis. See McCarter, *II Samuel*, 259, 262.

[15] For a more detailed treatment of the complex use of disability imagery in relation to Saul and David's houses, see my "Reconsidering the Imagery of Disability in 2 Samuel 5:8b," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 422-34.

[16] Ceresko, "Identity of 'the Blind and the Lame,'" 29.

[17] Two very different circumstances surround the reports of their disabilities. Mephibosheth's disability results from an accident, while Zedekiah's disability results from torture.

II

One should not find it surprising that the end of the Davidic dynasty recalls the fate of Saul's house. While the Deuteronomistic History makes a clear distinction between the fates of Saul's and David's respective houses early in David's career (2 Sam 6:21; 7:15), the demise of Saul's kingship haunts declarations regarding David's house at another crucial juncture in the history of the Davidic dynasty. In 1 Kgs 11:11, YHWH tells Solomon that YHWH will "certainly tear (קרע אקרע) the kingdom from you and give it to your servant." The root קרע appears four times in just three verses in 1 Kgs 11:11–13, and each time it appears in reference to the divine "tearing apart" of the kingdom (ממלכה; cf. v. 31).

While קרע refers often to the tearing of clothes, there are only four other places in the Bible outside of 1 Kings 11 where it refers to the (always divine) "tearing apart" of a kingdom (1 Sam 15:28; 28:17; 1 Kgs 14:8; 2 Kgs 17:21).[18] In all four occurrences, the torn kingdom refers either to the realm of Saul or to that of David. Thus, YHWH's punishment of Solomon appears very similar to the punishment of Saul in 1 Sam 15:28. In this verse, Samuel states, "YHWH has torn (קרע) the kingdom of Israel from you [Saul] this day and given it to your neighbor" (cf. 1 Sam 28:17).[19] Linguistic connections between the declarations in 1 Samuel 15 and 1 Kings 11 bring together the fates of Saul's and David's houses. Thus, it fits that their respective outcomes in 2 Samuel 9 and 2 Kings 25 will use vocabulary that connects the fates of these two houses once again.[20] These overlaps in both the declarations and realizations of the respective fates of Saul's and David's houses would seem to lend support to Noth's position over von Rad's position. Considering the rejected status of Saul's kingship (1 Sam 13:13–14; 15:10–35), if the history of David's house parallels that of Saul's house at crucial junctures, then the

[18] 2 Kings 17:21 uses the word ישראל without ממלכה in reference to the divine tearing apart of the Davidic empire, but the referent is clearly the same as in the other passages.

[19] Several scholars connect 1 Sam 15:28 and 1 Kgs 11:11. See Bruce Birch et al., *A Theological Introduction to the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 246; P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation, with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 268; Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, 70; Ronald Youngblood, "1, 2 Samuel," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary with the New International Version of the Holy Bible* (ed. Frank Gaebelein; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 3:678. Scholars debate the date of 1 Sam 15:28, with views ranging from pre-Deuteronomistic to postexilic dates; see Bruce Birch, *The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy: The Growth and Development of 1 Samuel 7–15* (SBLDS 27; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 94–108; Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975), 102; John van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origin of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 258–64.

[20] Polzin sees the drawn-out and slow demise of both royal houses throughout the books of Samuel and Kings as mirroring each other and making an important Deuteronomistic comment on kingship. He writes, "For Saul's reign is simply a preview of David's, and every king of Israel and Judah after him. In fact, Saul's reign appears to be the Deuteronomist's prefiguring image of kingship itself as described throughout the History" (*Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History*, part 2, *1 Samuel* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989], 213).

notion that this final episode could engender hope for the restoration of a Davidic kingship appears strained.[21]

Yet, according to 1 Kgs 11:12–13, YHWH does not "tear apart" David's kingdom as completely as YHWH tears apart Saul's kingdom. YHWH declares to Solomon that the punishment will not take place in Solomon's lifetime "for the sake of David your father" (למען דוד אביך, v. 12). Furthermore, a portion of the kingdom will remain in David's house "for the sake of David, [YHWH's] servant" (למען דוד עבדי, v. 13). Again, one hears faint echoes of the fate of the last Saulide. While 1 Kgs 11:11–13 recalls the rejection of Saul's kingship, it also recalls the ostensible kindness extended to Saul's descendants on account of the fulfillment of a covenant between David and Jonathan. Robert Polzin observes that both Solomon and Mephibosheth receive some degree of kindness because of their respective fathers.[22] In 2 Sam 9:7, David promises to show kindness to Mephibosheth "for the sake of Jonathan your father" (בעבור יהונתן אביך, cf. 2 Sam 9:1; 21:7).[23] Although this is a very attenuated resonance, one should note that in both cases, the descendants of Saul and David retain a portion of the family's former holdings, albeit a severely reduced portion (2 Sam 9:7; 19:30; 1 Kgs 11:13, 36). Both houses survive because of a covenant made with these two "fathers" (2 Sam 7; 1 Sam 20:14–15; cf. 1 Sam 24:22).

The resonance with the fate of Saul's house in 1 Kgs 11:11–13 does not bode well for the future of Davidic kingship. At the same time, the resonance with Mephibosheth's fate presents hope that the dynasties that displace them will treat the remnant of David's house kindly. One sees a similar dynamic in 2 Kgs 25:27–30. By recalling the fate of the last Saulide, these verses reinforce the point that hopes for a restored Davidic

[21] The critical difference between Saul's and David's kingships lies in the fact that YHWH made an unconditional promise to David of an eternal dynasty (2 Sam 7:15–16), but made no such promise to Saul. Instead, YHWH provides conditions for Saul's kingship (1 Sam 12:14–15, 25). See Terence E. Fretheim, "Divine Foreknowledge, Divine Consistency, and the Rejection of Saul's Kingship," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 596–99. Yet, as Begg observes, if the Deuteronomist saw Jehoiachin's release as connected to Nathan's prophecy in 2 Samuel 7, one might expect a "fulfillment notice" in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 since, as von Rad himself notes, the Deuteronomist frequently employs such notices throughout the books of Kings. For example, see 1 Kgs 14:7, 8a, 9b–11, 13b fulfilled in 1 Kgs 15:29; 1 Kgs 16:1–4 fulfilled in 1 Kgs 16:11–12; Josh 6:26 fulfilled in 1 Kgs 16:34; 2 Kgs 9:7–10a fulfilled in 2 Kgs 9:36; 1 Kgs 21:19b, 20b–24 and 22:38 fulfilled in 2 Kgs 10:17a; 1 Kgs 13:2 fulfilled in 2 Kgs 23:16; 2 Kgs 21:10–14 fulfilled in 2 Kgs 24:2. See Begg, "Significance of Jehoiachin's Release," 55; cf. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 78–81. For a detailed treatment of such prophetic judgments and their fulfillment, see Walter Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972). While it remains an argument from silence, the lack of a "fulfillment notice" lends support to reading 2 Kgs 25:27–30 as related to issues of quality of life in exile rather than the continuation of the Davidic monarchy.

[22] Polzin, *David and the Deuteronomist*, 105.

[23] I am not suggesting that the nature of these two covenants is the same, only that one can see a thematic resonance between the two passages due to the motif of a covenant with a father. On the nature of the Davidic covenant, see Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1985), 97–101; Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and Ancient Near East," *JOAS* 90 (1970): 184–203.

kingship appear to have ended. Yet the figure of Mephibosheth also recalls the fact that the loss of the monarchy was not the final word for the house of Saul. While he never became king, the last Saulide lived rather well in the court of another king. In this sense, one may note thematic parallels between Jehoiachin's and Mephibosheth's fates. One has good reason to be suspicious of both David and Evil-merodach's motives. As many scholars observe, David's ostensible kindness to Mephibosheth could have benefited David both politically and economically.[24] Murray argues that when Evil-merodach "speaks kindly" to Jehoiachin (וידבר אתו טבות) in 2 Kgs 25:27, it does not guarantee that the king has altruistic intentions. He points to a linguistic parallel with Jer 12:6, where God warns Jeremiah not to trust those who "speak kindly" to him (וידבר אליך טבות).[25] Yet, regardless of the respective kings' motives, both houses survive beyond kingship and live, at least ostensibly, in a place of honor.

III

Moving from connections based mostly on vocabulary and imagery, one may further connect Mephibosheth's and Jehoiachin's fates on a thematic level. Murray has demonstrated how, when read in the context of 2 Kings 25, Jehoiachin's release "is presented on the one hand as the last in a series of devastating events for Judah . . . but on the other hand also something of a new departure within that series."[26] This presentation parallels Mephibosheth's relationship to the series of devastating events for the Saulides in the early chapters of 2 Samuel.

Since at least Isaac Abrabanel (1437–1508 C.E.), scholars have suggested that the notice about Mephibosheth's disability in 2 Sam 4:4 signals his ineligibility for kingship. Yet rabbinic interpreters have seen v. 4 as reporting Mephibosheth's status both as ineligible for the throne and as key to the survival of Saul's house. Abrabanel proposes that Ishbosheth's assassins did not go after Mephibosheth because they thought his disability rendered him politically powerless. Similarly, Isaac Acosta suggests that his disability made him ineligible for kingship, so he was not assassinated. Thus, his disability indirectly saved his life. Moshe Alshekh of Safed observes that v. 4 comes before Ishbosheth's death to assure the reader that God preserved Saul's house. He argues that,

[24] See David Gunn, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation* (JSOTSup 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978), 96–97; Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murder, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 343; Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel*, 300–301; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 265.

[25] Murray, "Jehoiachin in Babylon," 254–55; cf. Begg, "Significance of Jehoiachin's Release," 52–53.

[26] Murray, "Jehoiachin in Babylon," 250; see also 248–50. If 2 Kings ended at v. 26, after detailing the fall of Jerusalem and the monarchy throughout ch. 25, the last word would have been that "all the people, from the smallest to the greatest" returned to Egypt. As C. L. Seow notes, the Deuteronomistic History would have ended with an ironic reversal of the exodus ("I and II Kings," *NIB* 3:294; cf. Richard Elliot Friedman, "From Egypt to Egypt: Dtr1 and Dtr2," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* [ed. Baruch Halpern and Jon D. Levenson; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981], 167–92).

through Mephibosheth, God preserved Saul's lineage, since 1 Cor 9:40–41 notes that Mephibosheth (Meribbaal) fathered Micah and Micah's sons were Pithon, Melech, and Tahrea (the LXX includes Ahaz).[27] Thus, on the one hand, by continually drawing attention to his disability (see 9:3, 13; 19:27), Mephibosheth's story becomes the culminating event in the demise of Saulide hopes for kingship. Indeed, reminders of the death of key Saulides accompany the first notice about his disability. 2 Samuel 4:1–7 narrates the assassination of Ishbosheth, and although v. 4 introduces Mephibosheth, it also reminds the reader of Saul's and Jonathan's deaths.

> Jonathan the son of Saul had a son whose feet were crippled (נכה רגלים). He was five years old when the report about [the deaths of] Saul and Jonathan came from Jezreel [cf. 1 Sam 29:1], and his nurse lifted him up and ran. But when she hurried to run, he fell and was lamed (ויפסח). His name was Mephibosheth.

On the other hand, although introduced against the backdrop of Saul's and Jonathan's deaths and in the middle of Ishbosheth's assassination, Mephibosheth survives. 2 Samuel 4:4 reports that he is a member of the house of Saul, but while other members die, he lives. Similarly, in 2 Samuel 21, Mephibosheth survives once again while other Saulides die. While David negotiates the transfer of seven of Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites for execution, v. 7 notes explicitly that Mephibosheth survives because of the covenant that David made with Jonathan. In 2 Sam 19:29a, Mephibosheth himself draws attention to this distinction. He says to David, "For my father's entire house was nothing except dead men before my lord the king, but you set your servant [Mephibosheth] among those who eat at your table." While he makes this point to emphasize David's graciousness toward him and to flatter the king, he creates a sharp distinction between his fate and the fate of the other members of Saul's house, a distinction one sees hints of in 2 Samuel 4 and 21. Whereas they are dead men, he survives.

On the one hand, the repeated references to Mephibosheth's disability mark his character as culturally unfit to rule. Indeed, the house of Saul will retain the throne no longer. On the other hand, the repeated references to his survival in the midst of the

[27] For more on these rabbinic interpretations of v. 4, see Shmuel Yerushalmi, *The Book of Samuel II* (trans. Moshe Mykoff; New York: Moznaim, 1993), 89–90. Jehoiachin's surprising survival in the midst of the destruction of royal Davidic family may also parallel Joash's survival amidst the destruction of the royal Davidic family in 2 Kings 11. As Iain Provan writes, "[Jehoiachin] reappears in the narrative, in fact, in a manner strikingly reminiscent of the appearance of Joash after the earlier destruction of the 'whole royal family'. He survives like Joash, unexpectedly, in the midst of carnage; and he represents, like Joash during the Athaliah's reign, the potential for the continuation of the Davidic line at a later time, when foreign rule has been removed" ("The Messiah in the Book of Kings," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts* [ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard Hess, and Gordon Wenham; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995], 75). At the same time, one should note that while Samuel and Kings record the fact that Mephibosheth has a child (2 Sam 9:12), they do not mention Jehoiachin's children, who are named only in 1 Chr 3:17–18. Yet 2 Kings does report that the Babylonians killed Zedekiah's sons (25:7). In this sense, the destruction of David's line seems more complete than Saul's line in the Deuteronomistic History.

destruction of Saul's lineage mark his character as one who survives in an honored position under the protection of a new king. Both of these themes resonate with Jehoiachin's circumstances at the end of the books of Kings.

By attending to these attenuated allusions to Mephibosheth and the fate of Saul's house, one can read the end of Kings as presenting the exiles with not a glorious but a tolerable future. Although it offers little significant hope for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy, 2 Kgs 25:27–30 does suggest that vanquished Israel may survive, and even live well, in exile. As Murray suggests, one should neither despise nor exaggerate this hope.

Jeremy Schipper
jschipper@siena.edu
Siena College, Loudonville, NY 12211

ELISHA'S TRUE PROPHECY IN 2 KINGS 3

2 Kings 3 recounts the story of a rebellion against Israel by the king of Moab. Israel, together with its allies Judah and Edom, leads a punitive expedition that invades and occupies most of the rebel territory. The rebellion is ultimately successful, however, after Israel abruptly breaks off its siege of the Moabite king's last stronghold and returns home. The reason given is a "great anger" that befell them after the Moabite king sacrificed his son on the city wall.

The biblical account leaves two mysteries unsolved: why Israel, on the brink of victory, gave up the fight, and why the prophet Elisha, who had foretold victory and on whose predictions the allied armies relied, made a false prophecy. It is the second question that I wish to address in this note.[1]

The discomfort of commentators with the failed prophecy is illustrated by Burke O. Long, who writes that "certain thematic inconsistencies, or tensions, lurk beneath the surface" of the narrative. He then invokes the customary stock-in-trade of the biblical commentator—the incompetent redaction of two inconsistent traditions. The "oracle-actualization narrative," which demanded total victory, shaped but failed to eliminate the stubborn vestige of an earlier tradition recounting incomplete victory.[2]

"Incomplete victory" is a euphemism, as is Long's earlier description of the outcome as "a less than total defeat of Moab."[3] The plain fact is that Israel lost the war. For Joe M. Sprinkle, this does not mean that Elisha's prophecy failed. His reasoning is that Israel was being punished for violating the rules of law laid down in Deut 20:1–20 by cutting down fruit trees and not offering peace terms. What Elisha did not say was that after Israel fulfilled these prophecies, YHWH would judge them for doing what Elisha predicted they would do.[4]

Assuming that Sprinkle is correct in regarding Israel's conduct as a violation of the rules of war, and assuming that Deuteronomy's laws applied,[5] his interpretation is still to

[1] For the first question, see Raymond Westbrook, "Law in Kings," in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography, and Reception* (ed. Baruch Halpern and André Lemaire; Formation and Interpretation of OT Literature; VTSup; Leiden, Brill, forthcoming) and the literature cited therein.

[2] Burke O. Long, "2 Kings III and Genres of Prophetic Narrative," *VT* 23 (1973): 337–48, here 339, 347.

[3] Ibid., 340.

[4] Joe M. Sprinkle, "Deuteronomic 'Just War' (Deut. 20, 10-20) and 2 Kings 3, 27," *ZABR* 6 (2000): 285–301.

[5] The forthcoming article cited in n. 1 above questions these assumptions.

be rejected, because it does not conform to the text of the prophecy. Sprinkle states: "Indeed, the narrator does portray Elisha's prophecies as coming true: the trenches dug by the Israelites did fill with water apart from rain. . . . Moreover, Israel did strike and *destroy cities*, [emphasis added] cut down fruit trees, stop up wells, and ruin fields with stones just as Elisha predicted (3, 19.25)."[6]

That is not what is predicted in 2 Kgs 3:19. The text explicitly refers to *every* fortified city, and Qir-Hareshet was certainly a fortified city. The prophecy as explained by Sprinkle did not come true, because divine punishment intervened too soon, when the last stronghold was still standing.

It is my view that Elisha's prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. Given Elisha's patent hostility to King Jehoram, it is not surprising that he wished to see Israel's campaign fail.[7] He did not, however, offer a deliberately false prophecy. Such a tactic was possible on the part of YHWH, but would have been explicitly stated, as in the case of the prophet Micaiah in 1 Kgs 22:19–23. Elisha made a true prophecy: it was the misfortune, or misguidedness, of King Jehoram, that he failed to interpret the words of the prophecy correctly.

Elisha made a number of consecutive predictions:

1. The wadi will fill with water for you to drink (v. 17).
2. He shall give Moab into your hand (v. 18).
3. You will smite (הכיתם) every fortified city of the Moabites (v. 19).
4. You will fell every good tree (v. 19).
5. You will stop up all the wells (v. 19).
6. You will spoil all the good fields with stones (v. 19).

The order of the predictions should have put Jehoram on his guard. Predictions 4-6 describe standard tactics used in warfare. They would compel retreat of the population into the fortified cities, where they could be reduced by assault or starvation. Such tactics should therefore have been preliminary to, or concomitant with, taking the fortified cities, not presented as subsequent. It was a hint that smiting the cities was also to be foreseen as a mere tactic itself, not as the culmination of the campaign. That being so, predictions 3-6 could be seen as limitative of how Moab would be given into Israel's hand, they being actions by Jehoram's troops and not by God.

The key to Elisha's prediction, however, lies in the verb נכה (in the hiphil), used of the fortified cities. In such a context, it would normally mean "destroy, conquer." This is what the Israelites do to all the Moabite cities (and, to underscore the point, another, more specific verb is used in 2 Kgs 3:25—הרס—not נכה, as in the words of Elisha)—all the Moabite cities, that is, until they come to the last, Qir-Hareshet.[8] That city is

[6] Sprinkle, "Deuteronomic 'Just War,'" 298.

[7] In 2 Kgs 3:14 Elisha only grudgingly agrees to prophesy because of the presence of King Jehoshaphat of Judah. Subsequent events save the armies of Israel and Judah from destruction—indeed, by divine intervention—but do not bring Israel the victory it sought over its rebellious vassal. Significantly, the final notice of Israel's defeat in v. 27 makes no mention of Judah.

[8] Verse 25 describes the campaign in the same sequence as the prophecy: destroying cities and laying waste the surrounding land. The sequence is broken, however, by the capital city remaining at the end, contrary to the prediction in v. 19 that *every* fortified city would be smitten, ostensibly prior to laying waste the countryside.

besieged, and we are given a gratuitous and seemingly irrelevant piece of information about the besieging army's tactics: at the end of v. 25 we are told that the slingers surrounded it and smote it (יכוה). Unfortunately, stones flung from slings would be totally ineffective against a city wall. They did not even stop the Moabite king from sacrificing his son on the wall, presumably in full view of the besiegers.

The effect of the slingshots, however, coincides with the simple meaning of the hiphil form of the verb נכה, which is to strike, without necessarily causing any damage at all. Compare Exod 21:12, where a man strikes another and he dies, with Exod 21:15, where a man is punished for the mere act of striking his father or mother, irrespective of whether he injured them or not.

The message of v. 25 is therefore deeply ironic, to show that the prophecy had been fulfilled to the letter. Jehoram's troops did indeed "strike" every Moabite city. In all cases but the last, "strike" also meant "destroy," but it was the last that mattered.[9]

Herodotus tells the story of King Croesus of Lydia, who consulted the oracle at Delphi as to whether he should attack Persia. The oracle replied that if he should send an army against the Persians, he would destroy a great empire (1.53). After his defeat at the hands of Cyrus, Croesus sent his chains to Delphi to reproach the god for persuading him to attack the Persians. The god replied that Croesus had no right to complain: he should have sent to ask whether the oracle spoke of Croesus's or of Cyrus's empire. As he had not understood the oracle properly, he had only himself to blame for the consequences (1.90–91).

Elisha's prophecy is part of the same literary topos: the deceptively worded prediction that acts as a trap for the unwary. Elisha predicted a course of events; he did not predict victory, except in the mind of the listener. Like Croesus, Jehoram fell foul of ambiguous language.

Raymond Westbrook
rwestb@jhu.edu
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD 21218-2690

[9] Cf. Judg 20:18–48, where the oracle informs the Israelites twice about the tactics to be used, but only on the third occasion does it explicitly predict victory (v. 28).

JBL 124/3 (2005) 533–587

BOOK REVIEWS

Book reviews are also published online at the Society of Biblical Literature's WWW site: http://www.bookreviews.org. For a list of books received by the *Journal,* see http://www.bookreviews.org/books-received.html

The Turn of the Cycle: 1 Samuel 1–8 in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives, by Serge Frolov. BZAW 342. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004. Pp. xiv + 275. $98.00 (hardcover). ISBN 3110181231.

This book takes seriously the conviction that retrenchment among scholars in recent decades into synchronic and diachronic camps is regrettable, unnecessary, and in fact, reversible. The volume is a revised dissertation supervised by Marvin A. Sweeney, and thus reflects the version of form criticism developed by Rolf Knierim and Sweeney at Claremont, although Frolov differs in certain nuances here and there. The focus is the first eight chapters of 1 Samuel, a composite text often given less attention than the book of Judges before it or the rest of 1 Samuel after it, for a variety of reasons.

The unit under investigation presents many difficulties, including its composite plot with sometimes competing story lines, tying together biographical information for the important figure of Samuel, the corrupt Shiloan priesthood, and the wanderings of the ark of the covenant. Themes of this unit include consecration of children to the temple, privileges and abuses of the priesthood, the role of the cult, and others, many of which make little or no contribution to the extended narrative of the Former Prophets. How these first eight chapters of 1 Samuel hold together and how they make a contribution to the whole are not entirely clear. In a useful survey of both diachronic and synchronic approaches to these chapters (pp. 6–27), Frolov demonstrates that the synchronic approaches have failed to disprove the unit's composite nature, and that in fact, the subdivisions most often identified by synchronic studies are invariably similar, if not identical, to the sources identified by diachronic criticism. At the same time, synchronic studies have recently highlighted the formal and conceptual links, and retrieved an appreciation for a high degree of order in these chapters.

The last portion of Frolov's introductory chapter is essentially a serious engagement of the discipline at its most critical methodological need: answering synchronic-oriented scholarship's arguments against diachrony and answering diachronic-oriented scholarship's arguments against synchrony (pp. 27–36). Frolov succeeds in demonstrating that both frames of reference are perfectly valid and that we have no theoretical warrant for eschewing one over the other (p. 29). He illustrates how biblical studies arrived

at this unfortunate bifurcation by drawing on a comparison with recent work in physics, to show how divergent and mutually exclusive accounts of the studied object offered by "two paradigms are not only equally comprehensive but also equally true" (p. 30). Frolov asserts that it is not necessary to choose between synchronic or diachronic exegetical methods and appeals instead to a "dissipative, or dynamically unstable system" (p. 32), which is characterized by (1) openness to an influx of information, and (2) fluidity, making dramatic transformation possible in response to the change of this influx. The behavior of such a system is predictable until certain external parameters are exceeded, and the system moves away from the equilibrium toward destabilization. At this point, bifurcation occurs, resulting in differing stable states, neither of which is privileged over the other. As this all relates to textual methodology, Frolov asserts that the reader's understanding of a text is a dynamically unstable system, fed constantly by the information received in the process of reading. For 1 Samuel 1–8, Frolov assumes a default frame of reference that is synchronic, but which loses its stability with each new indication of diachronic development. Thus he begins with a presumption of synchrony, while at the same time observing properties that push the reading out of equilibrium, opening the door for an alternative, diachronic approach (p. 35).

The rest of the volume demonstrates this methodology. Frolov's reading concludes that 1 Samuel 1–7 can only be read as a complex composition, which includes also ch. 8 (hence the inclusion of all eight chapters in his study, as opposed to a division between chs. 7 and 8; pp. 37–52). As a literary unit, these chapters create dissonance within the Deuteronomistic History (DH) regarding the monarchy, cultic centralization, and other central themes. Diachronically, these eight chapters comprise a post-Deuteronomistic polemic against several themes of the DH. Synchronically, the reading loses equilibrium when held in balance with the rest of Genesis–Kings and calls for a nonlinear, multidimensional reading, which shows that the author was ambivalent about the Deuteronomistic agenda. In either case, the thrust of the Former Prophets is driven by non-Deuteronomistic elements.

While I am by no means qualified to appraise the parallels adduced from the field of particle physics, the attempt to begin one's work with a synchronic reading, while also considering all indications of diachrony (e.g., doublets and repetitions, contradictions of thought or of geographical and personal names, syntactic breaks, linguistic shifts, etc.) is obviously desirable. In fact, the real contribution of this volume is Frolov's discussion of methodology and the way he brings into focus the need for both synchronic and diachronic approaches. Unfortunately, various methodologies in recent decades have been perceived as mutually exclusive, when instead they may be viewed in relation to each other along a continuum between two extremes. On the one side of the continuum are those who analyze sources without regard for rhetorical effect or final form. In the case of 1 Samuel 1–8, scholars have identified (1) Shiloh narratives, (2) the Ark Narrative, and (3) Deuteronomistic speeches and editorial pieces linking the whole together. Those who err on the source-oriented side of the continuum have little or no regard for the authentic whole or structural unity. This approach is atomistic and has been soundly criticized in recent decades as highly speculative and lacking in consensus. On the other side of the continuum are those who overemphasize the final form and its rhetorical effects, showing no regard for the diachronic development of the sources behind the final form of the text, and their role in ancient Israel's history, insofar as that role is discernible. Typically scholars in this vein eschew the sociohistorical origins of a text, are

agnostic at best about any source analysis and antagonistic at worst. This extreme fails to take seriously the multifarious texture of the final form and the role and function of the sources in Israel's society prior to the final redactional activity. Frolov's introduction alone makes this volume an important contribution for anyone interested in the synchronic-diachronic gridlock, although we may quibble with him over the extremely laconic definitions of "diachronic" as tracing evolution over time, and "synchronic" as treating the biblical texts as "compositions created at one go" (p. 8).

At times, Frolov seems to lean too far to the side of synchronic readings. This comes to the surface, for example, not by his insistence on beginning with synchrony, which is only logical, but when he traces the history of scholarship on 1 Samuel 1–8 (pp. 6–27), comparing and contrasting the results of source-, form/traditional-, and redaction-critical approaches with those of more recent synchronic investigations. He characterizes the former as consistently falling into the trap of viewing the Hebrew Bible as lesser than the sum of its parts, although the early history of form criticism may be said to have actually viewed the Bible as greater than the sum of its parts. The more recent synchronic approaches, by contrast, have a single common denominator in the midst of their many differences, according to Frolov: these approaches all consider the Hebrew Bible to be equal to the sum of its parts. Frolov's point seems to be that diachronic approaches, be they source-, form-, or redaction-oriented, are by definition incapable of balancing the text's final form with their atomistic tendencies, whereas synchronic approaches have it right. In a sense, we have been prejudiced from the opening chapter to see all diachronic approaches as flawed.

However, it is possible to see the long history of diachronic research on these chapters as culminating in a great achievement; that is, wide agreement about the basic "building blocks" behind 1 Samuel 1–7, despite the many varieties of descriptions and theories about their origins. We are hardly justified in accepting the results of diachronic research (i.e., the various sources behind the text), while at the same time rejecting the methodologies because they do not agree in all the particulars. To his credit, Frolov acknowledges that the unit breaks of synchronic studies, be they "scenes," "acts," or "episodes," are usually the same "building blocks" identified by older diachronic scholarship. Building on the work of Sweeney and Knierim, Frolov chooses to begin with the synchronic structure of a text but he allows the text's default "frame of reference" to set the exegetical process, which may be either synchronic or diachronic. As the exegete arrives at a point of destabilization of this frame of reference, the method may change depending on the viability of the alternative approach.

I applaud any serious attempt at rapprochement between synchronic and diachronic approaches. Indeed, many in biblical studies now acknowledge that so-called "literary" approaches to the Hebrew Scriptures are not inconsistent with historical criticism, and in fact, never have been (see John Barton, "Intertextuality and the 'Final Form' of the Text," in *Congress Volume, Oslo 1998* [VTSup 80; ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 33–37; Daniel B. Mathewson, "A Critical Binarism: Source Criticism and Deconstructive Criticism," *JSOT* 26 [2002] 3–28). If we are to move to a genuine *tertium quid,* greater attention needs to be paid to the methods by which we approach a text or extended narrative with both synchronic and diachronic sensitivities. The rise of literary studies of the Bible over the past thirty years makes it incumbent upon us to combine older diachronic approaches with the so-called synchronic methods. Although I believe many of today's literary critics routinely overstate the degree to which

scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries neglected or obfuscated the literary unity of biblical books, it is nevertheless true that they often failed to give enough attention to the "final form." As many in the synchronic camp have asserted, we cannot dispense with either the diachronic or synchronic when interpreting Hebrew narrative. But rarely does one today find a truly mediating position between them. In most cases, individual scholars will lean to one extreme or the other, sometimes merely nodding begrudgingly to the other approach, as though they are aware of this rather unfortunate and unwanted step-sister but not particularly inclined to do much about her. Frolov's contribution is exemplary in striving for the appropriate balance, and in many respects he achieves it. He is to be commended for leading us in the right direction.

Bill T. Arnold
Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY 40390

Königtum und Gottesherrschaft: Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Monarchiekritik, by Reinhard Müller. FAT 2/3. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004. Pp. x + 309. €59.00 (paper). ISBN 3161483197.

Nineteenth-century scholarship identified a cluster of biblical texts that seemed to oppose the monocephalous state per se. Their principled political program allegedly originated in the Iron I period, possibly in opposition to Canaanite practices. Such a view has persisted in the discipline of Hebrew Bible despite manifold difficulties, including the lack of evidence for republicanism in Near Eastern antiquity and the fact that the biblical texts in question do not stem from the prestate era and may not oppose monarchy itself, but rather abuses thereof. It is unsurprising, therefore, that in the context of renewed attention to Israelite kingship (as seen in books by Baruch Halpern, Steven L. McKenzie, Marvin Sweeney, Stuart Lasine, Victor P. Hamilton, and others, as well as in many articles) the traditional view has recently come under fire from various quarters. Müller joins the fray by arguing that the so-called antimonarchic texts actually engage royal ideologies in several ways, none of them strictly speaking antimonarchic.

This readable monograph includes eight chapters along with an introduction and conclusion. The chapters examine, respectively, Jotham's fable (Judg 9:7–15) as a caricature of monarchy; Gideon's speech (Judg 8:23ff.) in the context of the book of Judges; interpretive texts ("Midraschim und Paradigmata") in Judges 8–9; the argument for and against monarchy in 1 Samuel 8; the crowning of Saul in 1 Sam 10:17–11:15; the conflict between the desire for a king and the service of YHWH (1 Sam 12); the law of the king in Deut 17:14–20; and Joshua's "Landtag" in Joshua 24. Each chapter begins with a redaction-critical analysis in which Müller proposes a textual history (sometimes centuries long) that underpins his understanding of the meaning of each text.

Müller argues for several conclusions that will prove controversial. First, only the Jotham fable comes from the period of the monarchy, with the rest being later. Second, none of these texts opposes monarchy in principle, though the Jotham fable does ridicule kingship. Third, the antimonarchic texts did not exist outside their literary setting but grew in stages within it. For example, 1 Sam 7:22–8:15 reveals no fewer than eight stages of accretion. Fourth, the literary blocks in which the antimonarchic texts sit postdate the redaction of the books of Kings, with the stories of the judges being dependent on those of kings, rather than the other way around. Fifth, the reference in many

so-called antimonarchic texts to *Heilsgeschichte* situates the texts in a period after the codification of the Torah, in which the monarchy was under severe criticism and stood in sharp contrast to a notion of YHWH's sovereignty.

On many points Müller offers useful insights into the pericopes at hand, and he convincingly shows reasons to doubt a very early dating for the texts. Certainly, the refusal in various units embedded in the DH to equate kingly actions with the will of God (in sharp contrast to the views of the royal psalms or *mutatis mutandis* Chronicles, much less the many ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions that bear witness to a common Near Eastern theology of power) deserves the attention Müller gives it.

Yet many readers will disagree with significant parts of this book. First, some scholars will find Müller's elaborate redaction-critical reading of these texts to be extremely speculative and thus unconvincing. Undoubtedly, these texts grew over time, but we lack strong criteria for reconstructing in detail the process of accretion or ascertaining how long a time intervened between them, whether minutes or centuries. Second, though a late date has become more widely accepted, Müller offers no real criteria for dating the bulk of these texts to the Persian period, and indeed such a date seems unlikely given both the tiny population of early Persian Yehud and the difficulty of explaining why postexilic authors would oppose or even critique an institution that no longer existed, particularly since they do not directly reflect on the details of Israel/Judah's life under kings (even while the Chronicler glorified past rulers). Third, the claim that some of these depend on the DH and even assume the codification of the Torah strains credulity, since little Deuteronomistic language appears in some of them, and since the adduced connections to broad theological ideas in the Pentateuch probably predate the completion of that corpus.

On a broader note, Müller's work, along with other recent monographs from Germany, invites American scholars to rethink some of our assumptions and methods. Without succumbing to the too-easy reductionism of final-form readers for whom no sources are recoverable, we should deepen our discussion of precisely how the biblical editors use their sources. A good example appears in this volume on pages 43ff., in which Müller discusses the linkage of the Gideon and Jerubbaal stories. Granted that perhaps these were originally tales of separate figures, we still must ask why an editor put them together and did so without smoothing out discrepancies. What made the editor think they belonged together, and how does their combination impinge on a reading of each individually? Müller does not ask such questions but merely asserts a complex process of accretion. Surely we can do better.

Again, this book raises the theologically momentous question of the relationship between kingship and divine rule. Why did the tension between the two arise? One possibility is to explain the tension as the result of the failure of Israelite/Judahite monarchy to stave off imperial incursions from Mesopotamia. But we are not certain that the relevant texts are that late, and indeed there are reasons for dating them earlier. More to the point, the fact that Chronicles does not draw such a negative conclusion from the same historical events means that some other factor must have intervened. I suggest that one possible contributing factor must have been a residual tradition locating power in Israel outside the monarchy, perhaps in landed elites (which 1 Sam 8 may presume) and certainly in the priesthood (see Deut 17). How old was this tradition? Might it have been as old as the Iron I, prestate era? We cannot, I think, rule out this option.

Thus this volume, while it offers a stimulating close reading of the relevant texts

leaves many questions open. For compelling us to reexamine an important set of issues, Müller deserves our thanks, even if his solutions may convince some more than others.

Mark W. Hamilton
Abilene Christian University, Abilene, TX 79699

Circumscribing the Prostitute: The Rhetorics of Intertextuality, Metaphor and Gender in Jeremiah 3.1–4.4, by Mary Shields. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004. Pp. viii +184. $120 (hardcover). ISBN 082646999.

Circumscribing the Prostitute is Mary Shields's revised dissertation, written under the guidance of Carol A. Newsom at Emory University. It is a fine analysis of Jeremiah 3:1–4:4, with particular attention to the unit's intertextual relationships, metaphorical language, and gender construction. The monograph is informed by sophisticated theoretical assumptions that are deployed in ways that produce a plausible and at times artful reading of the text in its present form.

Shields argues that the prophet weaves "a rich and complex rhetorical tapestry" from three primary threads—intertextuality, metaphor, and gender. This tapestry is designed to convince the audience that "their political and religious actions have been wrong and that they must change their ways before it is too late" (p. 1).

Before examining rhetorical strategies, Shields establishes the boundaries and literary environment of the text under examination. She follows the vast of majority of scholars who divide Jeremiah 2–6 into two parts: 2:1–4:4 and 4:5–6:30, although she treats 3:1–4:4 as a subunit of the former based on textual and thematic considerations. Jeremiah 2 sets the stage for 3:1–4:4 by introducing the central images, rhetorical strategies, and metaphors, and specifically a juridical backdrop that employs intertextual links to establish legal precedent. These indices are designed to persuade the audience that a change in behavior is crucial to its future.

After providing a functional overview of the book, including a structural examination of the polyphonic text, Shields develops her thesis in nine chapters. Chapter 1 is a theoretical grammar of sorts; Shields draws on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva in her analysis of the interplay between Jer 3:1–5 and Deut 24:1–4. These two texts are particularly disposed to such study, as they form a rather natural web of textual (and cultural) voices that converge in engaged dialogue. While the prophetic literature is replete with intertextual and cultural echoes and allusions, here we encounter an undisputed citation with its own distinctive values and meanings. First Shields examines the intertext, Deut 24:1–4, a legal text that addresses the blurring of well-defined social and symbolic categories, specifically the "confusing of hierarchy, lineage, property lines and paternity" (p. 35). Next she explores the textual workings of Jer 3:1–5, especially the play on the deuteronomic text in Jeremiah. Among other points of interest Shields notes that Jer 3:1–5 functions as a dialogic performance in which a community of readers—both past and present—participates in the developing conversation between Yahweh and the people. The interpretive move from legal citation to disputation ultimately serves to shatter the community's systems of security.

In ch. 2, Shields extends the notion of dialogue "to the cultural conventions with which a text plays" (p. 51). That is to say, Shields broadens the intertextual web beyond literary texts to cultural networks of meaning and conventions of gender. Once again Jer

3:1–5 is well suited for such an exploration. It is laden with legal allusions and textual citations, sexual images and innuendos, as well as defining gender categories. The text exploits an array of evocative metaphors and cultural assumptions to bring to light Israel's religious and political infidelities. When Israel, Yahweh's wife, forsakes her divine husband to play the harlot, she transgresses the most fundamental of cultural boundaries—sexual boundaries that are clearly delineated and enforced by an arsenal of social and symbolic restraints. Indeed, such behavior threatens not only the process of power distribution and proper societal boundaries but more importantly the very order of creation. Furthermore, by addressing the male audience with the feminine form and by identifying the readers/hearers as whores, the prophet employs powerful rhetorical tools aimed at shaming the community into submission.

While this gendered language may be an efficient metaphorical technique to pressure men to change their behavior, especially their infidelity to Yahweh, its effect on women is quite otherwise. The rhetoric functions symbolically and literally: it not only cautions women about forsaking Yahweh but also reinforces certain cultural boundaries that marginalize them; it accentuates the dire consequences of overstepping mores that reinforce male interests. Moreover, when the text symbolically identifies the deity with men and not women, depicting God as husband and Israel as an adulterous wife, it reinforces a "patriarchal prescription of proper female roles" (p. 70) and caricatures female sexuality. Such imagery is dangerous for women *and* for men.

In ch. 3, Shields outlines the theoretical underpinnings of metaphor as employed in the study (highlighting the works of Donald Davidson, David E. Cooper, and Wayne Booth). Following this brief but valuable discussion she hones in on Jer 3:6–11 and its use of (extended) metaphor, intertextuality and intratextuality, and conventions of gender. When one compares Jer 3:6–11 with the previous text, Jer 3:1–5, it is obvious, as commentators have long noted, that the two represent different forms, styles, and (likely) provenances. Jeremiah 3:6–11 is a prose piece written in third person and in the form of an "extended metaphor" which develops the language and symbolic implications of sexual promiscuity. Against the background of certain cultural assumptions of gender, the metaphor of marital promiscuity and the web of intertextual and intratextual relationships create a powerful rhetorical catalyst. For example, the text plays on an underlying anxiety associated with the "lack of male control over female sexuality" (p. 90) and as such "allows a male audience to identify with the husband's plight" (p. 90) which in turn exerts pressure to change (unacceptable) behavior.

In chs. 4–8, Shields continues her close reading of the text, with special attention given to intertexuality, metaphor, and gender. In the company of other scholars Shields sees Jer 3:12–13 as a strange "climax and turning point" in the larger literary unit; it forms an intertextual web of meanings around the law of Deut 24:1–4 and plays on social understandings of gender as a way to subvert conventional expectations. While all textual and cultural indices thus far lead to the conclusion that the divine–human relationship is broken beyond repair, the text unexpectedly invites those precluded by law the opportunity to return to God.

Subsequent sections of the text map out facets of the new relationship between Yahweh and the people; that is to say, Jer 3:14–4:4 marks out the contours of Yahweh's unexpected reordering of life. Jeremiah 3:14–18 draws upon a new set of intertexts (including Isa 2:2–4) and metaphoric constructions to speak Judah's unexpected future (Yahweh as father or lord and Judah as sons). In this new vignette, female imagery fades

as the vision of the ideal world takes shape. This is no accident. Women are no longer present to threaten the proper workings of the symbolic universe or blur existing social categories! Alert to transitions in gender and relational metaphors in the construction of this new order, Shields notes that "in vv. 1–18 the male gender is constructed as central to society and to its proper maintenance, while the female gender, the 'other', is the vehicle for portraying evil, disruption and chaos" (p. 114). This is clearly a significant observation.

Notwithstanding the force of this insight, female imagery reappears in Jer 3:19, momentarily, and it would seem, in a positive light. Perhaps to emphasize Israel's uniqueness among the nations and the great debt of gratitude due, the prophet depicts the nation as a daughter who is given the best inheritance from her father. This distinctive father-daughter metaphor, however, is promptly undermined by the daughter's lack of gratitude and obedience; it is further eroded by the subsequent image of the woman/wife overstepping sexual boundaries to play the harlot. At this point, the text returns to direct address in order to strengthen the case that the men of Judah have been disloyal to Yahweh.

In the remainder of the literary unit (3:21–4:4)—while entertaining most directly the prospect of repentance and restoration—male imagery governs the discourse: Israel is depicted as son(s) rather than wife/daughter, and God remains in the role of father. First a liturgy of repentance is placed in the mouth of the wayward sons of Israel (3:21–25): after a long time in a faraway land, God's rebellious sons return home acknowledging their wrongdoing and reestablishing their position in the patriarchal line. The closing rhetorical arguments clarify expectations for returning to Yahweh (4:1–4). Once again masculine imagery and address dominate. While this shift is obvious in the image of circumcision, it is less so in the agricultural metaphors of breaking up fallow ground and not sowing among the thorns (4:3). In the final chapter, Shields summarizes her findings and encourages further study of intertextuality, metaphor, and gender in the prophetic literature. I think her rich exegetical work makes the case quite eloquently.

One aspect of this book that I found somewhat puzzling was its treatment of audience or implied reader, and the related matters of oral and written prophecy. Shields is attentive to these complex areas and by and large adopts a synchronic approach to the biblical material. Not unlike other recent approaches to Jeremiah, she is more concerned with the dialogical character of the text than with diachronic questions such as dating various voices/strata (e.g., p. 7). Notwithstanding this commitment to the final form of Jeremiah, Shields at times accepts certain historical-critical assumptions. For example, she notes that "the *exilic* (my italics) voice in 3:14–18 engages the *earlier* (my italics) verses . . ." (p. 7). Moreover, her governing claim that "*the prophet* (my italics) weaves a rich and complex rhetorical tapestry designed to convince the people that their political and religious actions have been wrong and that they must change their ways before it is too late" (p. 1) seems to suggest a preexilic setting. That is to say, Shields suggests that Jer 3:1–4:4 largely addresses a preexilic Judean audience that could still change their behavior and avert disaster. In this regard Shields draws on the nineteenth-century work of Rudolf Smend (*Lehrbuch der Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* [Freiburg i.B.; Mohr, 1899]) and a recent monograph by J. G. McConville (*Judgment and Promise: An Interpretation of the Book of Jeremiah* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993]). Both ask historical questions and both present plausible cases for their

position. However, consistent with a synchronic approach, Shields might have done well to refrain from historical queries in order to explore the rhetorical strategies involved in presenting the fate of Judah as conditional and forward-looking (p. 6). Rather than attempting to pressure a preexilic audience to change—perhaps the intent of the oral word—the written word in its larger *Sitz im Buch* may serve an altogether different set of objectives; for instance, the written text may function as a theodicy that establishes the culpability of the listening community, exonerates Yahweh of blame and mismanagement, and demonstrates that the end of Judah's world (developed further in subsequent chapters of Jeremiah) is fully just and justified.

In all, Shields's *Circumscribing the Prostitute* represents a serious attempt to apply the rhetorics of intertextuality, metaphor, and gender construction to Jer 3:1-4:4. Her use of Bakhtin and Cooper makes such a reading compelling. Shields's chosen text, Jer 3:1–4:4, is suited well for the analysis; it is fluid, interactive, dialogic and replete with textual echoes, voices, and counter voices. While one may not find all of Shields's observations equally convincing, her exegetical work and theoretical underpinnings are lucid and generative. Indeed, such an interpretive approach might prove fruitful not only for other prophetic texts in the Bible but also for their *nachleben*.

Louis Stulman
University of Findlay, Findlay, OH 45840

Das Edikt des Artaxerxes: Eine Untersuchung zum religionspolitischen und historischen Umfeld von Esra 7,12–26, by Sebastian Grätz. BZAW 337. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2004. Pp. ix + 343. €98.00, $127.00 (hardcover). ISBN 3110179679.

The past decade has witnessed a dramatic rise in interest in the texts and contexts of the Persian period. Accompanied by a general tendency to assign a later date to many biblical texts, as well as the development of interpretative paradigms within biblical studies which place a larger emphasis on the finished text rather than its sources, this interest has helped generate an ever-increasing view that the Hebrew Bible in general is a Persian-period book, the compilation and codification of which is congruent with the imperial interests and policies of the Achaemenid rulers who governed western Asia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.. Grätz's book, a slightly revised version of his dissertation at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, calls for a reevaluation of this view and a reexamination of the sources cited in support of this thesis. In particular, Grätz identifies a twofold aim to his study: (1) specific analysis of Artaxerxes' edict authorizing Ezra to teach and enforce the law of God and the law of the king in the province of Yehud (Ezra 7:12–26) and its validity with regard to historical reconstructions, and (2) a larger assessment of nonbiblical texts from the Achaemenid period in view of Peter Frei's thesis of imperial authorization (p. 1).

Grätz is methodologically consistent. He begins his study by repeating Antonius H. J. Gunneweg's warning that a confusion of historical and literary questions, which is not infrequent in Ezra-Nehemiah studies, should be avoided in favor of a strictly literary analysis (p. 3). Although Grätz addresses both literary and historical questions, he is careful to stay within the limitations of what a text-focused approach can answer. This approach may be more suited to offering corrective critique than positive propositions, but as such it is highly successful and certainly needed. Having stated his methodologi-

cal premises, Grätz describes his understanding of the relationships among the different textual traditions pertaining to Ezra-Nehemiah as well as 2 Esdras (here 3 Esra, as the text is commonly called in German scholarship). This section offers few surprises. He affirms the more recent dominant opinion that 2 Esdras is not a fragment of an earlier, larger (Chronistic) text, and that 2 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah are literary works in their own right which make independent use of other sources. Regarding the textual traditions within the canonical book of Ezra-Nehemiah, Grätz sees the Ezra story (Ezra 7–10; Neh 7:71b; 8:1–12) as presupposing and responding to the Zerubbabel story of Ezra 1–6 (pp. 35–43), while the Nehemiah memoir (Neh 1–6; 12–13) constitutes an originally independent literary tradition (pp. 44–61). Each of these three textual units, however, offers a different solution to the question of membership in the *ethnos* of Israel, of which the Ezra story with its focus on law is perhaps the most the rigorous (p. 286). This thesis is intriguing and could have benefited from some additional analysis, but it is not central to the larger goals of this study.

By far the largest part of the book is appropriately taken up by an in-depth analysis of the commission of Ezra through the letter of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7:12–26. Grätz offers a translation with very extensive textual notes (pp. 65–78), and an excursus on the designation of Ezra as כהנא ספר דתא די־אלה שמיא (pp. 67–70). Having established his premises and his text, Grätz begins to form thematic connections, first with quite evidently relevant biblical traditions (Moses, Josiah) then with larger concepts, such as the image of the "king who bestows" and the people who respond with contributions (*der schenkende König und das spendende Volk*, pp. 92–98) or the enforcement of laws (pp. 98–102). In doing so, Grätz also enlarges his textual scope to include extrabiblical evidence about royal donations or legal sanctions. The initial impression resulting from this comparison is that the letter of Artaxerxes finds a high degree of thematic connectivity to Hellenistic literature. This impression is further supported by an analysis of genre, which employs the same comparative method. In this section of the book Grätz offers the most serious and convincing challenge to Frei's theory of imperial authorization, which posits Ezra 7:12–26 as a royal edict in the form of a letter. He concludes in response to Frei that the letter of Artaxerxes is not an example of a *lex sacra*, but rather a bilateral cultic donation. In other words, we are dealing not with a simple donation by the Persian monarch supplemented by popular generosity, but rather with a two-part donation contract with the conditional support of cultic operations dependent (*dogma*) on the proper enforcement and observance of the law by the people (*dosis*). Here Grätz makes methodological use of a theory first developed by Bernhard Laum (*Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike: Ein Beitrag zur antiken Kulturgeschichte* [Leipzig, 1914]) and developed by Anneliese Mannzmann (*Griechische Stiftungsurkunden: Studien zu Inhalt und Rechtsform* [Fontes et Commentationes 2; Münster: Aschendorff, 1962]). As an appropriate text for comparison Grätz cites and examines the trilingual inscription of Letoon (pp. 113–37), which was also used by Frei in support of his thesis. According to Grätz, the Letoon inscription is not representative of Persian imperial policy but is rather an example of Greek law and social organization. As such, it represents the earliest specimen of Greek legislation concerning a bilateral donation, which is more commonly found in the Hellenistic era, especially in the third century B.C.E. (pp. 138, 187).

In ch. 4, Grätz tests this conclusion that the letter of Artaxerxes is more reflective of Greek and Hellenistic practices than of Persian policy against an examination of

inscription based evidence of Achaemenid imperial policy toward conquered peoples. He questions the applicability of the Cyrus cylinder to this discussion, since it is modeled after the royal ideology of Neo-Babylonian texts, and was primarily designed to legitimate Cyrus's rule to the priesthood of Marduk in Esagila rather than to present a novel administrative direction. Grätz also considers the inscription on statues of Udjahorresnet and of Darius I in Susa, a collection of Egyptian texts from the time of Darius I, the letters from Elephantine, the Gadatas inscription, as well as inscriptions from Ephesus regarding the imposition of capital punishment for sacrilegious acts, dating to the end of Achaemenid rule in 334 B.C.E.. On the basis of these examples, he concludes that Persian imperial policy was not so much religio-ideologically motivated as it was politically pragmatic within a financially restrictive context. The tendency of Achaemenid monarchs was to allow for the restoration of religious sanctuaries and cults whenever it was politically advantageous for them, rather than to sponsor their development in order to implement a consistent imperial ideology throughout their conquered territories (p. 263). A direct and deliberate involvement in local religious cults was therefore atypical for Persian kings. By implication, a commission by Artaxerxes of Ezra to regulate temple matters and to teach and enforce the law of Yahweh and of the Achaemenid king would be historically improbable and more likely represents a fictional account reflecting Hellenistic practices that were projected back onto a Persian context.

Grätz's analysis is quite comprehensive and well presented. His argumentation is sound and its structural organization, moving from a very detailed literary examination of biblical evidence to an increasingly expanding scope of inner-biblical and extrabiblical, Greek, Persian, and Hellenistic points of comparison, is very successful. A possible point of critique is Grätz's reliance on a fairly old theory regarding the Hellenistic practice of bilateral cultic donations (based on studies from 1914 and 1962) without a discussion of possible recent advances offered within the field of classical history. However, any further scrutiny on this issue would likely have to be offered from outside the discipline of biblical scholarship.

Grätz concludes that Frei's thesis of imperial authorization is not supported by the available evidence, and that Ezra 7:12–26 in particular is more likely indicative of a Hellenistic rather than an Achaemenid context. Going beyond his self-imposed methodological restriction to text-based evidence in order to indicate possible trajectories of his analysis, Grätz notes that archaeology has produced relatively little evidence of Persian material culture in Yehud and that more recent demographic research suggests rather small population figures for Yehud (which also calls into question J. P. Weinberg's model of a citizen-temple community, which would require a higher number of inhabitants). As such "the Achaemenid period remains, in some respect, a dark age" (p. 279). Given the proliferation of Persian-period studies over the past few years, such a verdict seems surprising. Of course, Grätz's study is not the first critique of this sort to be voiced, but it is arguably the most comprehensive and serious challenge to date to a premise about the extent of Persian involvement in the Levant, which has influenced a significant number of studies in the last decade. One can hope that this book will stimulate further research and discussions in this area in years to come.

Armin Siedlecki
Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322

Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E., by Rainer Albertz. Translated by David Green. SBL Studies in Biblical Literature 3. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2003. Pp. xxii + 461. $49.95 (paper); $210.00 (hardcover). ISBN 1589830555/9004127178.

This study appeared first in German as volume 7 in the *Biblische Enzyklopädie.* All the volumes in this series have a common structure: (1) the "biblical" picture; (2) the history; (3) the literature; and (4) theological contributions. The focus of this volume is very much on the third category, the literature, on which Albertz presents an outstanding summary and synthesis of scholarship (300 pages). The English version seems to be a straightforward translation from the German (spot checks did not show any evidence of revisions).

In his introduction to the English edition, Albertz notes the inevitable comparison of his study with the last major work in English on the exilic period: Peter Ackroyd's *Exile and Restoration* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968). The main differences in structure are, first, that Albertz includes discussion of reflexes of the exilic age in later literature such as Daniel, Tobit, and Judith; second, he places a good deal more emphasis on historical reconstruction, not least because of recent archaeological discoveries. In addition to these two points a third could be added (though not mentioned by Albertz): Ackroyd said almost nothing about Ezra-Nehemiah, whereas Albertz takes it fully into account.

Albertz's historical reconstruction is an important contribution to the debate. He refers to the recent publication of texts (unfortunately, obtained on the antiquities market) that appear to refer to a Jewish community in exile in Babylonia. (A further description of these texts is now in the press: Laurie E. Pearce, "Judeans in Babylonia," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* [ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming].) He interacts with Hans Barstad's interpretation of Judah during this period (*The Myth of the Empty Land: A Study in the History and Archaeology of Judah During the "Exilic" Period* [Symbolae Osloenses 28; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996]) but comes to the conclusion of a greater disruption and loss of population: of eighty thousand about 600 B.C.E., twenty thousand were deported and a similar number were killed, leaving about forty thousand in the land.

Of particular interest is Albertz's section titled "The Thwarted Restoration" (pp. 112–32), which covers the years 538–520 B.C.E., when the Jewish community was reconstituted in Judah (according to Ezra 1–6). The Cyrus Cylinder does not indicate a general policy of returning all deported peoples to their homeland nor of restoring all local ruined temples. On the other hand, Cyrus had a conservative policy of restoring local cults so as to keep the local population loyal, but this policy was at odds with the interests of the Persian nobility. This led to a revolt against Cambyses' rule and eventually to Darius I's seizure of the throne. In Ezra 1–6 are two traditions of the return: one in the name of Sheshbazzar and one associated with Zerubbabel and Joshua. Because Darius was glad of a group professing loyalty and wanting to return, he supported them, even allowing bloody sacrifice and promising financial support for the temple. Far-reaching restoration of the preexilic monarchy seemed possible and justified the risk of returning (though the returnees probably numbered no more than ten thousand by 520 B.C.E.). The leadership of the Golah expected restoration of the Davidic monarchy, but

the nationalistic hopes that aroused made the Persians fear a new uprising. Tattenai was sent to investigate, resulting in Zerubbabel's removal (perhaps also that of Haggai and Zechariah). In return, Darius reconfirmed his promises and provided generous financial support for the temple and cult.

There were other groups in Judah besides the party of religious nationalism, one of which was the priestly reformers who espoused the place of Joshua alongside Zerubbabel. The removal of Zerubbabel therefore gave them the opportunity to establish priestly independence. Another group was the lay leaders descended from the Shaphanide party who had remained in Judah during the exile; the final end of the Davidic monarchy gave them the opportunity to enact the Deuteronomistic social reforms. The lay leaders allied with the priestly reformers for a coalition form of government that offered a more reliable leadership for the Persians. They bestowed on Ezra quite astonishing privileges, granted to few temples in the Persian Empire, but it was at the expense of the poorer classes of Judah.

The third section, the longest part of the book, is a thorough survey of "the literature of the exilic period." The focus is on the tradition history, of which Albertz is a master. Albertz places more emphasis on traditio-historical study in German (and German-speaking) scholarship than is the case these days in Anglo-American scholarship. Thus, many readers will be grateful for the detailed discussion and the extensive bibliography. The literature he includes (because it was written or heavily edited in the exilic period) is Micah, Zephaniah, Amos, Hosea, Habakkuk, "the exilic patriarchal history," the Deuteronomistic History, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah.

The final section, on the "theological contribution," is short but should not be neglected. Albertz argues that the exile produced some of the most important theology in Israel's history, not least that of Deutero-Isaiah. He divides his discussion into (1) the theological appropriation of Israel's calamitous history, (2) the theological interpretation of history, (3) foiling imperial theology, and (4) God's glory and the separation of powers. Perhaps it is inevitable that Albertz is exercised by the history of Germany in the twentieth century, which presses him to make comparisons between it and the Israelite response to its history in various of the exilic writings, concluding, "The exilic discussion is . . . a successful example of how a nation can deal creatively with it own guilty past" (p. 438). His immediate concern is how the German church should respond to its own guilty past, but his observations have implications for the whole of Christianity.

Since Albertz brings his discussion down to 520 B.C.E. and the "restoration" in the early Persian period, he and I discuss some of the same period (see my *History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period 1: Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* [London: T&T Clark, 2004]). I differ from him on some fairly basic issues with regard to the Persian period, such as whether the Persian administration really favored the Jews and granted them special privileges as alleged by the book of Ezra, but rather than trying to itemize these here it would be better for readers to look at the arguments for themselves. With this volume Albertz has fulfilled the basic aims of the series in which it was originally published, but he has also written a volume that can be read and appreciated on its own. It gives a thorough coverage of the exilic period, with many useful insights and interpretations. Anyone wanting to know more about this crucial period in Judean history would do well to begin with this volume.

Lester L. Grabbe
University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX, England

The Priest and the Great King: Temple–Palace Relations in the Persian Empire, by Lisbeth S. Fried. Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 10. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004. Pp. xvi + 266. $39.50 (hardcover). ISBN 1575060906.

Lisbeth Fried's *The Priest and the Great King* is an ambitious monograph in the Biblical and Judaic Studies series from the University of California, San Diego. The subject of Fried's inquiry is the nature of the relationship between the Achaemenid administration and temples throughout the empire. Fried examines this relationship in order to determine the system of imperial governance and control in Achaemenid Persian Empire, especially with a view to the situation in Yehud. Particularly, Fried is concerned to evaluate the relative merits of three major theories: (1) the bureaucratic model of imperial control proposed by S. M. Eisenstadt, which assumes that empires exercise strict control over their territories in order to ensure that resources are directed from the periphery toward the center and concomitantly do not allow local elites to cultivate power and control local resources; (2) the theory of imperial authorization for local customs and norms commonly associated with Peter Frei and Klaus Koch; and (3) the theory of self-governance that posits limited exercise of control from an imperial center except to ensure that taxation runs smoothly. In the introduction, Fried anticipates her own conclusion that Eisenstadt's theory best explains Achaemenid imperialism. Although her initial research may not have been conceived in this way, there is a sense in the monograph that this early hypothesis shapes the conclusion with the evidence filtered to achieve the desired result.

Still, it is impressive the way that Fried considers and goes about her task. Rather than limiting the analysis to the situation in Yehud, Fried assumes that the relationship between the Achaemenid administration and the Jerusalem temple was likely similar to the relationships between the Achaemenid administration and temples in other parts of the empire—an eminently reasonable proposition. Thus, Fried sets out to "examine the three hypotheses against archival and inscriptional data from the temples of the western satrapies of Babylon, Egypt, and Asia Minor" (p. 6). In the course of this analysis, Fried sifts through an awesome catalogue of primary texts. On that basis alone, Fried ought to be commended and this monograph considered a worthwhile addition to professional or personal libraries. On the other hand, it also makes the task of evaluating Fried's evidence very difficult: requiring the expertise of an Assyriologist, an Egyptologist, a specialist in Achaemenid Asia Minor, and a biblical scholar.

In analyzing temple–palace relations in Babylonia, Fried primarily surveys the archival data from the temples of Eanna at Uruk and Ebabbar at Sippar. Fried notes that the extant archives are mostly limited to the Neo-Babylonian period and the early Achaemenid period up to Darius and that they contain seemingly banal commercial and economic information. She analyzes this data for its most salient contributions to the problem at hand: the identity of the temple personnel, their relationship to the central administration, and the nature of the allocation of resources. Fried concludes that the highest positions in the temple were appointments by the central administration or were responsible to it, either directly to the Great King or his satrapal governor, and that the Achaemenids stopped payments to the temples so that the resources flowed only one way, from temple to palace. This, she argues, comports with Eisenstadt's theory of imperial control rather than the other theories of imperial authorization and self-governance.

Apart from these conclusions, Fried rightly observes that the situation in Babylonia, as a satrapy near to the central administration in Persia, may not reflect the situation throughout the rest of the empire, especially in peripheral regions. Fried next discusses temple–palace relations in Egypt. In contrast to the situation in Babylonia, Fried observes that there is a greater wealth of archival material. Her analysis starts with a general overview of the native pharaonic administration of the temples in the pre-Achaemenid periods and then continues with the impact of the Persian administration. She argues that the great majority of temples in Egypt fell into disrepair and did not receive support from the Persian government. Those that remained were subject to strict oversight by the Persian satrap and legal systems. Fried reaches this latter conclusion primarily on an interpretation of texts from Elephantine, those of the priests of Khnum as well as the Jewish community.

The next geographical domain for Fried's analysis is Asia Minor. She scrutinizes five major inscriptions that she considers representative: Darius's Letter to Gadatas, a stela describing a border dispute between Miletus and Myus, the Donation of Droaphernes, a decree of Mylasa against the opponents of Mausolus, and the Trilingual Inscription of Xanthus. In each case, Fried provides the text, an evaluation of the date, place, and purpose of the inscription, and the relevant historical context for it. It is noteworthy that Fried defends the authenticity of the inscription of Darius's Letter to Gadatas, which has been the subject of some dispute. Again, Fried concludes that the inscriptions are inconsistent with the theories of imperial authorization and self-governance and consistent with Eisenstadt's theory of imperial control.

At this point Fried turns to the subject of temple–palace relations in Yehud. In this last chapter she starts out with an overview of the sources, in particular their different character as literary rather than archival or inscriptional sources, and provides an analysis of the temple-building project in light of the broader ancient Near Eastern typology to which it conforms. She follows this with a consideration of the ideological presentation of Cyrus in Isaiah as well as a systematic analysis of the governance in Yehud. The last sections of the chapter are an interpretation of the missions of Nehemiah and Ezra as well as later developments in light of the Eisenstadt bureaucratic model. Naturally at this point, Fried is concerned to show that the situation in the rest of the empire, as argued in the previous chapters, applies to the situation in Yehud.

In general, the monograph is characterized by a lucid and easily readable writing style. The organization, in particular, is excellent, with chapters and subdivisions that follow logically and consistently with the overall direction of the argument. The synthetic, macro-level approach is also very appealing, especially when scholarship seems increasingly focused on finer points and ever-narrower specialties. In pursuing such an approach, however, Fried suffers from one of the characteristic problems in any such study, namely, the tendency to homogenize. She posits a very monolithic and static administrative system that changes neither with time, geography, or strategic interests.

In addition, I could not help but feel that Fried is not so much concerned to evaluate the three hypotheses as she is to prove that Eisenstadt's model is the correct one. This in turn creates a certain suspicion that Fried is not always fairly representing scholars such as Frei and Koch, Pierre Briant, and Muhammad A. Dandamaev. Indeed, in considering the work of these scholars, there is a distinctive element of the argument that Fried appears largely to ignore. In the overall structure of the argument, Fried and these scholars are not all that dissimilar. They would all agree, for example, that the

Achaemenids imposed Persian administrators throughout the empire and that these administrators could exert considerable control over their territories—the point to which Fried goes to considerable lengths to prove. Where these scholars diverge, however, is on the question of internal autonomy, and Fried seems not to appreciate the nuance(s) implied by her colleagues on this question. Rather, she argues that the adjudication of various disputes by Persian administrators, as reflected in the many archival and inscriptional texts she analyzes, proves the lack of autonomy. Yet the evidence of the very privileges and rights claimed in these disputes by the parties may very well serve as an indicator that, in the absence of any disputes, the parties otherwise enjoyed a significant degree of internal autonomy. The Persian adjudication is the attempt to reconcile the autonomy of two or more parties, obviously to the satisfaction of the Great King. Also, the simple fact that the Persian administration did not require allegiance to its religious system in the provinces further suggests a degree of internal autonomy that Fried never really addresses in the monograph. Finally, because Fried limits herself to temple–palace relations, she does not consider other political relationships that bear on her evaluation of the Eisenstadt bureaucratic model, whereas these are taken into consideration by the scholars she disputes. Notably, there is no discussion, for example, of the Eshmunezer Sarcophagus Inscription, which testifies to a situation that significantly undermines Fried's thesis of a homogenous administration that exerted strict control everywhere in the empire through governors and temple appointments. Indeed, the political situation in the Phoenician cities, and also within the Qedarite Arabic kingdom, in this period ought to bear on Fried's analysis.

Overall, there is no question that Fried's monograph deserves careful attention by those who are interested in the Achaemenid Persian period and specifically the issue of temple–palace relations in Yehud and throughout the empire. Her analysis is an important contribution to the ongoing debate about imperial control and the state of autonomy of subject peoples during this period.

Kenneth A. Ristau
Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA 16803

The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction, by Matthew J. Goff. STDJ 50. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003. Pp. xi + 276. $105 (hardcover). ISBN 900413591.

While the scholarly study of 4QInstruction is still fairly young, several major studies, including the publication of the text in DJD 34, have tackled this fascinating and sometimes enigmatic wisdom text. Matthew Goff's study, a revision of his doctoral dissertation under John J. Collins, is a fine addition to this growing body of scholarship.

The central feature of Goff's study, and one that has clearly been a prominent concern of scholarship on this text is "how 4QInstruction should be understood in relation to wisdom and apocalypticism" (p. 27). Indeed, 4QInstruction is a text that blurs the traditional boundaries between wisdom and apocalypticism as scholars have traditionally constructed these categories. In ch. 1, Goff provides an excellent and fair review of the major scholarly studies of 4QInstruction. At this stage, such a review is most welcome because, in previous scholarship on the book, we see just the sort of category confusion that 4QInstruction creates. So, for example, Armin Lange (*Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* [STDJ 18;

Leiden: Brill, 1995]) "understands 4QInstruction as the eschatologizing of biblical wisdom" (p. 10), and he sees the work as support for Gerhard von Rad's contention that apocalypticism is an outgrowth of Israel's wisdom tradition. On the other side, Torleif Elgvin ("An Analysis of 4QInstruction" [diss.; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997]) argues that the practical wisdom and the apocalyptic elements of the book actually represent two separate strata, and thus 4QInstruction is composite—a wisdom layer and an apocalyptic layer. These two studies, then, exemplify the difficulty that 4QInstruction presents to the standard scholarly construct.

Goff maintains that neither of these studies really gets to the core problem of how wisdom and apocalypticism relate in this text. For Goff, the wisdom and apocalyptic elements cannot be so easily disentangled because they are closely interrelated in 4QInstruction. He remarks,

> 4QInstruction is a pedagogical composition devoted to the ethical development of its intended audience. It accomplishes this by giving instruction in the tradition of biblical wisdom on practical topics such as debts and family. It also does this by disclosing divine mysteries that provide knowledge on topics such as the extent of God's dominion over the created order and the imminence of his judgment. These teachings reflect its apocalyptic worldview. The author of 4QInstruction wanted the addressee to live in the light of the revelation given to him. The knowledge that had been disclosed was intended to encourage him to live ethically and piously. 4QInstruction's apocalyptic worldview provides the broader theological context in which its concern for the addressee's ordinary life is to be understood. (p. 28)

In the subsequent chapters of the book, Goff explicates this summary argument.

In ch. 2, Goff examines the *raz nihyeh*, or "mystery that is to be." The *raz nihyeh*, whatever else it might be, is revealed knowledge that has already been given to the book's addressee. The content of the mystery, although not explicitly articulated in the book, appears to include knowledge of God's divine plan for creation up to the eschatological judgment (p. 37). For those who know it, like the addressee, the mystery frames all the teaching of the book and gives it a rationale. Thus, the mystery also pertains, and gives meaning to, all the practical teaching in the book.

Goff sees the intersection between wisdom and apocalypticism in this chapter in the issue of epistemology. He argues that "[t]he epistemology of 4QInstruction is closer to that of apocalypticism than biblical wisdom" (p. 51). Essentially, the difference here is that in 4QInstruction the addressee acquires knowledge through revelation rather than on his/her own. Goff contrasts this approach with that of Ben Sira, for whom esoteric speculation is to be avoided (3:21–24) and revealed and mantic wisdom is deeply problematic (34:1–8). Yet 4QInstruction does offer instruction of a practical sort without resorting to revelation. For Goff, this observation shows that the book "is more inconsistent in its use of revelation than is generally the case in apocalyptic literature" (p. 53). But he concludes that 4QInstruction "illustrates that in the second century BCE a wisdom text could have an apocalyptic worldview" (p. 66). Goff compares the epistemology of 4QInstruction to Daniel and *1 Enoch*, whose sages "have access to higher wisdom" (p. 50). The sages/seers of these more traditional apocalyptic books have knowledge revealed to them, and thus they represent an epistemology that contrasts with the sapiential contemplation of the natural world from which the sage derives knowledge.

To this point, Goff's analysis is right on the mark, but one matter he does not address that brings the wisdom and apocalyptic traditions closer together is the mechanism of transmission of this revealed knowledge. Goff is not clear about whether he accepts that the *raz nihyeh* is a written composition, and indeed the verbs associated with it are somewhat ambiguous. The addressee is told to "gaze upon" the mystery, a phrase that Goff understands as indicating perhaps some kind of visionary experience, but when the mystery is referred to in the past, it is revealed to the ear of the addressee. Further, one is to meditate on the mystery and study it, verbs that would indicate that the addressee has access to a written text. Thus, although the knowledge given to the addressee is of mysteries and these do not seem to be made public, they still are transmitted as a body of revealed knowledge in some already digested form, either as a written composition or some body of oral teaching (or both?). This same sort of transmission of knowledge and instruction occurs in *1 Enoch*, where Enoch hands down his revelation to his son Methuselah in the form of books (82:1–4) that he will then transmit to his descendants, and in Daniel, whose revelation comes to those "at the time of the end" in a book (12:4). Thus, in both sapiential (books like Proverbs and Ben Sira) and apocalyptic contexts, knowledge is transmitted in organized and digested formats, but the authority that undergirds that teaching/knowledge (and perhaps the epistemological assumptions) differs dramatically between the two.

Chapter 3 takes up one specific passage in 4Q417 that refers to the "vision of Hagu." Goff understands the "vision of Hagu" to be "associated with a heavenly book in which is inscribed the judgment against the wicked," and it "seems to provide knowledge of good and evil" (p. 122), knowledge that enables the addressee to conduct himself morally, but also that provides the wisdom that he is like the "spiritual people." 4QInstruction sets these spiritual people over against the "fleshly people," from whom he has been separated. These two different groups "represent two different ways of being human" (p. 122), and thus, there is a right and a wrong path set before the addressee. In this way, the "vision of Hagu" constitutes an interface between wisdom and apocalyptic that provides the addressee with revealed knowledge based on an exegesis of Genesis 1–3 that enables him to know angelic wisdom that was also known to Adam *and* that shows him the right path to follow.

Goff devotes ch. 4 to the theme of poverty and the elect status of the addressee, themes that are central to the book. For Goff as for previous scholars, the emphasis on and frequency of claims about poverty provide important indications about the social context of the book. So, for example, the large body of admonitions about how to handle loans and surety indicate that the addressee is not cut off from the rest of society. But, as Goff correctly observes, 4QInstruction does not betray any real interest in "the poor" as a segment of Jewish society. The addressee seems to be the focus of the concern about poverty, and Goff agrees with those scholars who argue that this interest reflects a real state of poverty, although not complete destitution, on the part of the addressee. Goff observes, however, that although the addressee may be poor, "his elect status is portrayed as a form of wealth" (p. 151). He argues that this may be one reason why, in contrast to a work like the Epistle of Enoch, 4QInstruction also does not contain invective against the rich. The addressee may be poor in reality, but he is really wealthy. Yet 4QInstruction treats what Goff calls a "range of different economic positions," which suggests to him that the book actually has multiple addressees "and that they were at a

variety of poverty levels" (p. 162). He deduces from these observations that the book was "addressed to commoners."

Goff concludes that the implied social context of 4QInstruction, in which the addressee operates "in a free and open economic context," contrasts with that of the undisputed sectarian works from Qumran, even though the sectarian texts also connect elect status with poverty. But while the social context might be relatively clear, the audience of 4QInstruction is not. First, can we say anything more about the "commoners" who apparently come from a range of economic (but primarily poor) backgrounds and who receive this revealed knowledge? Are they able to read a text like 4QInstruction? If not, how do they have access to its teaching? Second, while scholars usually speak of the *mēbîn* as the addressee of the book (this is also Goff's preference), his conclusion about multiple economic situations also forces him to refer to a "group of people" for whom the book was meant (p. 167). This confusion, which certainly seems evident in 4QInstruction, could be partly a function of the fragmentary nature of the text's remains. One implication of this situation, if we take it as reflecting 4QInstruction generally, is that the identity of the "addressee" may shift throughout the work. A statement like, "Some texts clearly present the addressee as a farmer or an artisan," indicates that Goff is aware of this possibility, but he does not really give it full play. Yet such a conclusion would make sense of the ubiquitous term *mēbîn* together with the evidence that suggests multiple addressees.

If ch. 4 highlights certain sapiential aspects of 4QInstruction, ch. 5 moves in the other direction. Goff notes, "4QInstruction is distinguished from traditional wisdom by its eschatological perspective" (p. 168). Here again, 4QInstruction problematizes the categories of wisdom and apocalypticism. The text frequently refers to judgment, and "the addressee is understood to already have had some eschatological instruction" (p. 171). Goff argues that the text's eschatology draws on ancient Israelite traditions about theophanic judgment and that it "encourages people to improve their conduct in this world." Thus, he concludes, "4QInstruction's ethical teachings are rooted in an eschatological perspective" (p. 215).

The chapter also takes up 4QInstruction's relationship to *1 Enoch*, Daniel, and the Qumran sectarian literature. Goff grants that the author of 4QInstruction might have been familiar with Enochic literature, but if he was, "he took from it general ideas without alluding to Enochic literature directly" (p. 189). Goff successfully shows that while there are similarities among *1 Enoch*, Daniel, Qumran, and 4QInstruction, the differences are also quite pronounced. 4QInstruction has a different understanding of history from Daniel and *1 Enoch*, and, although a number of similarities might connect the Qumran sectarian texts and 4QInstruction, their different social contexts and the prominence of eschatological motifs in the Qumran texts that are absent from 4QInstruction cause Goff to deemphasize any connections between the Qumranites and the author and audience of 4QInstruction (p. 171).

In ch. 6, Goff draws out the implications of the previous chapters and tries to situate 4QInstruction within Second Temple Judaism at large. He argues that the language of 4QInstruction reveals "a sectarian mentality" and asks about the relationship with the Qumran community. Even though a number of features of 4QInstruction are compatible with the sectarian texts from Qumran, "4QInstruction has no red-flag markers of provenance from the Dead Sea sect" (p. 223). He concludes, however, that the text has

some relationship with the Qumran group. It was popular among them, as the number of copies indicates, and the group certainly would have found many of its ideas congenial. Goff ultimately concludes that the Qumran community read it with interest and borrowed from it.

As to its date and social location, Goff argues that 4QInstruction was written in the second century B.C.E. While he notes that a number of factors might indicate an early second century date, there are enough uncertainties to remain more general. Goff distinguishes 4QInstruction's social location from that of a work like Ben Sira. Whereas all indications are that Ben Sira originated in an aristocratic setting, 4QInstruction betrays no such location. Its emphasis on poverty, its instruction to women (or at least one woman), and its lack of any clear aristocratic interest convince Goff that its audience was "commoners." 4QInstruction was written for people brought together by the economic circumstances that they faced, not by theological disputes or foreign oppression. "4QInstruction offers its intended audience a way to find dignity and respect amidst degrading circumstances" (p. 229).

4QInstruction also brings into the foreground the problem of the relationship between wisdom and apocalypticism in Second Temple texts. Goff demonstrates effectively that much of previous scholarship on this text is constrained by the categories that scholars have created. He has shown conclusively, in my estimation, that in 4QInstruction we have a text that integrates sapiential and apocalyptic material. The two cannot be neatly separated into discrete literary strata for, as Goff has shown, they depend on one another in this work. 4QInstruction may be a wisdom book, but it transforms wisdom by situating it in an apocalyptic worldview. It thus represents a "trajectory" of Jewish wisdom in the Second Temple period that differs from that of works like Sirach, even though the two works share much in common.

One question that Goff's conclusions raise is whether there is any connection between the social context that he reconstructs for 4QInstruction and its combined use of wisdom and apocalyptic. Does the use in 4QInstruction of various aspects of apocalypticism, such as knowledge by revelation, eschatological judgment, or inclusion among the spiritual people/elect have anything to do with the addressees' relatively low socioeconomic status and social vulnerability? Does the claim that election is a form of wealth reflect the audience's apparent inability to do anything to change the status quo? A contrast may be found in Ben Sira, a person of higher status than the *mēbîn*, who warns his apparently aristocratic students of the dangers of seeking revealed knowledge (3:21–24). The way in which 4QInstruction sets up eschatological reward for proper ethical behavior now does seem somewhat analogous, for instance, to the expectations of the Epistle of Enoch that the rich and poor will receive eschatological recompense, even if the two works' respective attitudes toward the wealthy differ. While admittedly Goff does not set out to address this issue, his analysis of 4QInstruction, especially his discussions of the work's audience and social location, raises questions of this sort.

The combination of wisdom and apocalypticism in 4QInstruction, as much as in any text from the Second Temple period, highlights how much our modern scholarly categories are explanatory constructs but constructs nonetheless. Goff's excellent study reminds us of the extent to which we often reify those categories when we look at ancient Jewish texts. In this book, Goff treats a wide range of issues connected with 4QInstruction, only a few of which I have highlighted in this review. 4QInstruction will

certainly continue to attract scholarly attention, and scholars who grapple with this wisdom text will most certainly need to engage Goff's important study at the same time.

Benjamin G. Wright III
Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA 18018

The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel, by Brian J. Incigneri. Biblical Interpretation 65. Leiden: Brill, 2003. Pp. xiv + 426. $165.00 (hardcover). ISBN 9004131086.

The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark in Its Historical and Social Context, by Hendrika N. Roskam. NovTSup 114. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Pp. xvi + 288. $129.00 (hardcover). ISBN 9004140522.

Two recent books from Brill seek, independently of each other, to reopen one of those questions that is of perennial interest to many yet perennially unsolvable: the provenance and purpose of the Gospel of Mark. These two studies reveal that provenance is, in fact, the *crux interpretum* for the explanation of authorial intent: while both authors agree on the dating of Mark, their vastly different explanations concerning Mark's purpose cannot be distinguished, and rightly so, from the provenance they each, respectively, establish. Incigneri places Mark and his community in Rome, and Roskam in the Galilee: clearly both cannot be right, but can they both be wrong?

I begin with a summary of both books. Incigneri argues in three stages that there is no airtight proof that Mark was composed in Syria or the Galilee, that there is no airtight proof against a Roman provenance, and that every detail in Mark—large and small, rhetorical and historical—reflects that Mark and his community were located in Rome (chs. 2, 4). I shall assess the logic and persuasiveness of his evidence below. On the other hand, Incigneri persuades that, like Matthew and Luke, Mark and his community knew about the destruction of the temple (ch. 3). Since Mark and his community were in Rome, they had to be extremely careful not to fan the flames of Roman hostility and suspicion, so Incigneri sees in Mark a coded text designed to console (ch. 5) and assure (ch. 6) his audience, who knew about and were troubled by the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the victorious arrival of Vespasian and his son Titus, and who recalled a period of intense suffering under Nero in the 50s, but who could not risk being openly critical of the Roman political situation. Finally, Incigneri argues that Mark's unflattering portrayal of the disciples was designed to show his readers that if Jesus could forgive those who denied and abandoned him, then the Markan community could do likewise for those who may have denied and abandoned the community under duress (ch. 7).

Roskam undertakes her task differently. She opens by arguing that an analysis of Markan redaction reveals a primary concern with the suffering of his readers (ch. 1). I am not sure this chapter was worth the work. Since it is widely acknowledged that suffering is a main concern of Mark, to have established it by recourse to Markan redaction, which by its very nature cannot offer secure results, and especially by relying mostly on Mark/Q overlaps, seemed the least efficient and most contentious way of going about this task. This suffering, Roskam contends, took place in the Galilee in the aftermath of

the Jewish war (ch. 2). She establishes the Galilee as the location of the community, as others have done, by referring to (1) Mark's depiction of the last instructions to the disciples to meet Jesus in the Galilee, (2) to Mark's poor geographical knowledge of everywhere *but* the Galilee (which of course requires her to argue, *pace* many others, that Mark's depiction of Jesus' travels in the Galilee are all geographically accurate), and (3) Mark's references to people (James the younger and Joses) who were known to the Galileans but not likely to anyone else.

The key to understanding the suffering of Mark's community is found, according to Roskam, in the reference in 13:9 to believers being brought before sanhedrins, synagogues, governors, and kings. This reflects that the Jewish leadership after the Jewish war was concerned to keep the peace themselves and would hand over troublemakers in order to avoid violent Roman intervention (ch. 3). Given this environment, Roskam concludes that Mark's purpose was to quell both Jewish and Roman suspicions of Christians: Jesus was authorized by God and was thus a legitimate object of Jewish worship, and he had no political aspirations and thus was no threat to the *pax Romana* (ch. 4). Mark's depiction of Jesus as commanding silence concerning his identity (the so-called Messianic Secret) and his miraculous healings (ch. 5), as well as his depiction of Jesus' death as the result of Jewish ill will and not anti-Roman political ambitions (ch. 6), were all designed to show that Jesus was no threat to the Romans, despite being crucified, and so neither would his followers pose a threat. To complete the book, Roskam offers a modest corrective on the genre of Mark (ch. 7). She argues that, while "ancient biography" is in essence a correct generic category, the designation fails to tell us anything about the *purpose* of the writing. She would therefore characterize Mark as "an apologetic writing in biographical form" (p. 236). That is, its purpose was to defend the faith and Jesus' innocence to those followers who might have been about to apostatize under external hostile pressure.

Since provenance seems to decide purpose—Incigneri's Roman Mark is a coded text of biting criticism of the Roman elite, and Roskam's Galilean Mark is a benign text showing the validity and harmless nature of Jesus—it is worth carefully assessing whether *either* author has mounted a persuasive argument on provenance. I start with Incigneri because his is the more complex argument. For Incigneri, Mark is a coded text meant to criticize the Roman political elite in a way that would be simultaneously obvious to the Christian readers—otherwise it would lose its emotional impact—yet opaque to their enemies. He writes that, because of the past experience and continued threat of persecution, Mark needed to use "cryptic allusion[s] . . . understandable only to insiders" (p. 226), and that "[i]t would have been unwise to circulate a document, even privately, that might further incriminate Christians, one that might appear critical of the emperor, of Titus, or of Roman society" (p. 227). So, for example, Incigneri argues that the story of the healing of the blind Bartimaeus (Mark 10:46-52) is intended to echo but also challenge the (presumably) widely known story of Vespasian healing a blind man (Tacitus, *Histories* 4.81). Similarly, the story of James and John arguing about who of them is greater is a criticism of the political ambitions of Titus and Domitian.

The very issue of "subtle" criticism is one problem with Incigneri's reading of Mark. Granted, if the unnamed but faithful women in Mark's Gospel (12:44; 14:9) are a coded tribute to Christians martyred in Rome, this is indeed subtle. The words *dynamis*, *sōtēr*, *euangelion*, *kyrios*, being political in nature, are coded criticism of Rome's use of these same terms; Mark uses them of Jesus in order to show how wrong-headed was the

imperial use of them. But how subtle would it be to use such terms of Jesus in this politically charged environment? Maybe it was subtle criticism of imperial ideology to have a dove land on Jesus and not an eagle (as a way of mocking Roman imperial ideology), but would the open condemnation of "signs and omens" and false prophets (13:21-22), widely acknowledged as anti-Vespasian propaganda, have been very subtle? The problem is that if much of the criticism of Rome is actually not very subtle, then why the need for *any* cryptic allusions and coded language at all? Thus, his arguments for reading certain passages as cryptic allusions are not persuasive.

Another problem with Incigneri's reading of the cryptic allusions, all of which "prove" Roman provenance, is that they take on an almost allegorical dimension: James and John are actually allusions to Titus and Domitian; Jesus represents Vespasian; Herod Antipas represents Titus; the "Strong man" (Mark 3:27) is Vespasian; the parable of the divided kingdom is about the civil war; and it goes on and on. Incigneri's reading of the Gospel is incredibly close, and he has shown considerable imagination in suggesting possibilities for what *could* lay in the background. But one wonders whether the original reader/hearer could really have been expected to have kept up with this whirlwind of allusions and coded events and players, especially when the key players like the emperor and his sons are allegedly represented by so many different characters in the Gospel. This is important, because, while Incigneri admits that Mark's readers may not have understood all the allusions, it is also central to his argument that the text was *emotionally* charged for the readers, and, in order for this to have been the case, they would have had to understand most of the allusions.

Another problem is Incigneri's claim, with each coded allusion he uncovers, that we have further proof of a Roman provenance. In the end, however, not one item of all the evidence he points to in support of a Roman setting—the Latinisms in Mark, the political language, references to taxes, allusions to the civil war and the Jewish war, the tearing of the veil, etc.—*proves* a Roman setting. At most it can be said to be *consistent* with a Roman setting. The allusions and coded language Incigneri points out do—potentially—become meaningful *if* the Gospel was composed in Rome in the early 70s, but that is the very problem we are trying to solve. To use those details, therefore, to argue for such a provenance is tautological. Conversely, Incigneri claims that the sheer number of details consistent with a Roman provenance proves his point, but methodologically this too is flawed reasoning: allusions, clues, echoes, and coded language that are faint or weak individually, which he admits is the case at times, are not strengthened by their number.

Incigneri does well to point out that the evidence adduced in favor of a Syrian or Galilean provenance can be interpreted in other ways. He is also right that "there is no internal or external evidence that contradicts a Roman setting" for the Gospel (p. 96). But what he fails to recognize is that the evidence he presents in favor of Roman provenance is no more airtight than was the evidence for Syria or the Galilee. Incigneri appears to be motivated by the questionable and naïve assumption that having destabilized Syrian and Galilean provenance, Rome is the default option because of Eusebius's claims about Mark and Peter. In short, Incigneri shows that we cannot be certain Mark's provenance was either Syria or the Galilee; but he has failed to show that we can be any more certain that it was Rome.

Roskam's arguments for a Galilean provenance are more secure, if for no other reason than that they are not as fanciful as Incigneri's readings. Roskam is right that Jew-

ish authorities, as reflected in Josephus, were often quick to deliver up troublemakers to the Romans in the hope that Rome would not have to step in. This was the case with Jesus son of Ananias, Jonathan of Cyrene, and Theudas. But these cases are useful as analogs for explaining the death of Jesus, since each of these characters were similarly messianic, attracted crowds, and made various threats against the establishment. They are less useful as analogs for Mark's community, since, as far as we know, such communities lacked similarly colorful and charismatic figures. Roskam claims that simply being followers of a person who had been executed under suspicion of sedition against Rome would have been enough to attract unwanted attention, but this strikes me as unlikely. At the very least, the figures drawn from Josephus illustrate how Jewish authorities dealt with real and potential troublemakers, but they do not tell us anything about Mark's community.

Roksam shares with Incigneri the claim that Mark sought to ensure that Jesus appeared as nonthreatening to Roman imperial policy. For Roksam this is illustrated through the Messianic Secret, the Markan concern not to show Jesus gaining notoriety through his miracles and healings, and his presentation of Jesus as a suffering righteous one. But Roksam's attempt suffers as much as Incigneri's. First of all, it is compelling enough to argue that Mark's presentation of Jesus rejecting traditional political definitions of Messiah, and failing to free Jerusalem when he arrives there, is Mark's way of depoliticizing Jesus. But would depicting Jesus' death as the result of a malicious plot on the part of the Jewish leaders have pleased Jewish authorities in Mark's surroundings? What Roksam claims might have pleased Roman ears would surely have displeased Jewish ones, yet he claims that Mark's Gospel needed to avoid the ire of both. It is difficult to see how this could have been accomplished on the Jewish front. On the other hand, Roksam's claim that Mark has depoliticized Jesus suffers the same weakness as Incigneri's: Mark opens his Gospel by referring to the *euangelion* of the "son of God," two titles carrying significant Roman imperial weight, and he consistently uses other similarly political terms such as *sōtēr* and *kyrios*. So the question must be asked of both authors: can Mark's intent actually have been to render Jesus politically neutered?

A key verse in Roskam's reconstruction of Mark's provenance and purpose is Mark 13:9; indeed it is interesting to see how different a role this passage plays for these two scholars. First, Roksam argues that Mark redacted an earlier saying referring to followers being handed over to synagogues (reflected in Q 12:11–12) so that it included sanhedrins, as well as Gentile governors and kings. This must therefore reflect a pointed Markan concern with suffering in his community at the hands of these authorities. Initially, this passage is only used to prove that Mark was concerned with suffering, but later it becomes the center piece for Galilean provenance, since Roksam argues it reflects the elite Jewish practice of handing troublemakers over to Roman authorities. This is a problem. On the one hand, the situation envisaged in this passage may well be older than Mark, and therefore not refer to Mark's period at all. These are the risks of Markan redaction—the process is such that assured results of Mark's redactional concerns are difficult to produce. On other hand, the situation envisaged could refer to any number of places in addition to the Galilee, and thus cannot be thought unique of the Galilee in the 70s. Having said that, it is possible that the reference is not to any concrete suffering at all, since both authors agree that Mark's perception of the suffering of his readers is the only thing of which we can be certain, but not that there was necessarily

actual suffering. The perception of the risk of suffering could have occurred anywhere in the Roman Empire.

Incigneri's interpretation of Mark 13:9 is interesting. One would think that such a passage would be crippling to his claim of Roman provenance. However, Incigneri claims (he does not argue) that in this passage Mark was giving a "veiled tribute" to the apostle Paul (p. 297), who *was* brought before sanhedrins, synagogues, governors, and kings, while Mark's audience would never have been. Here is yet another example of how Incigneri's claim that Mark must have been written in Rome shapes an interpretation he could never have made without coming to that conclusion first. Further, Incigneri assumes (again) that Mark knew or even knew of Paul, of which there is no evidence. Roksam's arguments for a Galilean provenance and her interpretation of this passage are less problematic than Incigneri's, but they are no more persuasive or airtight.

There is one last issue that arises in both books that I would like to examine: authorial creativity. Incigneri's focus on the relationship between author, social location, and rhetorical purpose leads him to argue time and again that stories ostensibly set in Palestine in the 20s were designed to allude cryptically to a Roman setting in the 60s–70s, and that the arrangement of stories was intended either to promote Mark's criticism of Roman power and society or to increase its emotional impact on his traumatized readers. In practically every pericope, it would seem, Incigneri finds Markan creativity, and Mark's motivation to create a rhetorically secretive yet powerful sermon begins to far outweigh his motivation to record a history of the founder. This same sense comes through Roskam's work, though much less intensely. In a number of places her arguments are based on the premise of heavy Markan redaction, and she acknowledges that Mark's primary concern was apologetic and not historical. She implies that if ancient biographies were already not primarily preoccupied with factual accuracy (p. 227), then Mark's primary aim being apology set within a biographical framework will make accuracy even less of a concern.

Incigneri is correct that awareness of the rhetorical power of a work in conjunction with its historical and social location (if those can be known definitively) is a potentially fruitful supplement to redaction criticism, but it will require us to acknowledge that such writings are a great deal more the creative work of the author than a reflection of history. And, by extension, if this is the case for Mark, how much more removed from historical accuracy must have been Matthew and Luke, who relied on Mark as a source? Both often refer to Markan creativity; in the end, however, Incigneri is unwilling to entertain the logical conclusion that Mark "composed it out of nothing" (p. 365), and Roskam does not address this implication of her work.

It perhaps bears repeating that Incigneri has justifiably challenged the convenient consensus of a (more or less) Syrian provenance for Mark, and of a dating prior to the fall of Jerusalem. He provides as close a reading of Mark as is surely possible, and a plausible explanation for the portrayal of the disciples, though not one that has to occur in Rome to make sense. But this book fails to prove its central thesis: that Mark can *only* have been written in Rome. Roksam's strongest contributions are her arguments (following the same rationale as Incigneri) for dating Mark after the destruction of the temple and her suggestion that Mark should be characterized more precisely as a form of apologetic biography. One hopes that these powerful arguments for dating Mark might

become widely accepted. Incigneri has taken a daring approach, and I am convinced there is value even in those studies that try something new but fail. Roskam's study was less daring, and I could not help thinking that too often she was simply reinventing arguments and conclusions that are already well known and widely held.

Unfortunately, after reading both of these thorough attempts to reconstruct the provenance and purpose of Mark, I am inclined to agree with Dwight N. Peterson's pessimism: that when conclusions are grounded on vague and illusory evidence, as they always will be in questions such as this, the effort it takes to reconstruct communities behind the Gospels and what little is gained by doing so makes the whole enterprise increasingly "not worth the trouble" (*The Origins of Mark: The Markan Community in Current Debate* [Biblical Interpretation 48; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 202).

Zeba A. Crook
Carleton University, Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6 Canada

"But It Is Not So Among You": Echoes of Power in Mark 10:32–45, by Alberto de Mingo Kaminouchi. JSNTSup 249. London: T&T Clark International, 2003. Pp. x + 244. $125.00 (cloth). ISBN: 0826466656.

Jesus' Defeat of Death: Persuading Mark's Early Readers, by Peter G. Bolt. SNTSMS 125. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xx + 360. $80.00 (hardback). ISBN: 0521830362.

Following a trend in NT studies, two recently revised doctoral dissertations employ intentionally eclectic interpretive strategies to analyze Mark's Gospel. Alberto de Mingo Kaminouchi offers a literary investigation of the final passion prediction and its narrative aftermath (10:32–45), but considers as well the social and cultural contexts in which the Gospel was produced. In contrast, Peter G. Bolt applies narratology and reader-response criticism to his more historical project, namely, examining the reception by Mark's early readers of the Gospel's healing and exorcism accounts. Both authors are concerned with the theological and ethical implications of their interpretations and, although the results are mixed, both offer valuable insights into Mark's Gospel.

Kaminouchi argues that Mark presents as Jesus' key teaching and, therefore, as the Gospel's central motif, a subversive understanding of power. The Markan Jesus offers a view of power—defined broadly as the "practice of authority" (p. 5)—that is informed by, but antithetical to, established first-century power structures and dynamics. Instead of accepted networks of control, Jesus proposes a praxis of leadership liberated for authentic service as "slaves of all" (10:44). Mark advocates for this alternative model of governance within the group of Jesus' followers, and Kaminouchi extends this challenge to the contemporary church.

Kaminouchi's literary analysis relies on the "echo principle" conceived by Eric Havelock, a concept derived from studies of oral cultures and the residual effect of orality on the writings of early literate societies by Milman Parry and others, and applied to Markan studies by Elizabeth Struthers Malbon and Joanna Dewey. The theory behind the echo principle is that first-century texts contain communication techniques typical of oral custom because authors initially continued to conceptualize in oral patterns after writing became widespread, and books were distributed through oral presentation. An

echo is the formulaic repetition of a grammatical or thematic motif throughout a writing that assists readers in following and remembering the story's plot and themes.

Kaminouchi considers 10:32–45 to be the climactic passage in the narrative unit that encompasses the three passion predictions (8:27–10:45). This section of Mark's drama deals primarily with matters of christology and discipleship and, within this thematic framework, 10:32–45 centers on the issue of power. Kaminouchi's structural scheme is based principally on a recurring pattern in the passion prediction accounts, which constitutes the narrative's most pronounced example of the echo principle: Jesus announces his passion (8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34); the disciples fail to understand the prophecy (8:32; 9:32; 10:35–37); their failure prompts Jesus to teach about discipleship (8:34–9:1; 9:35; 10:41–45).

With the passion announcement (10:33–34) serving largely to cast the rest of the passage in the "shadow of the cross" (p. 89), Kaminouchi views the major part of the pericope as a literary diptych, both halves of which "convey equivalent teachings about power" (p. 206). The first half (10:35–40) consists of an irony-filled conversation between Jesus and the sons of Zebedee that is meant to correct the brothers' misunderstanding about the nature of Jesus' eschatological δόξα. Leadership in the new community will not involve the privileged positioning that the petition of James and John anticipates. The dialogue between Jesus and these prominent disciples is in reality a parody, lampooning power as the brothers understand it. Couched in the language of glory is the disclosure that Jesus' power is rooted in his crucifixion and that those who would share his destiny must likewise share its heritage of suffering. The second half of the diptych (10:41–45) makes explicit the implications of this disclosure through a sequence of sayings that moves from oppressive to liberating models of power. Kaminouchi concludes that the governing metaphor of these sayings, slavery (δοῦλος, διάκονος, and λύτρον), challenges leaders to renounce the established hierarchical and tyrannical practices of power and instead promote an alternative community of disciples.

Kaminouchi incorporates elements from social-scientific and sociorhetorical criticism into his literary analysis to support this interpretation, arguing that the various historical contexts in and from which NT texts emerged are a necessary concern for any literary critic pursuing the meaning and rhetorical effect of ancient texts. He detects thematic, structural, and linguistic links between 10:32–45 and two passages that depict the exercise of power by individual despots: Herod's beheading of John (6:14–29) and the trial of Jesus before Pilate (15:1–15). In both accounts, rulers who appear free to decide matters within their jurisdictions are forced by the power structures they allegedly command to act against their own wills. Kaminouchi argues that the options available to Herod and Pilate were controlled by two first-century social institutions, namely, patron–client networks and values of honor and shame. This sociocultural lens makes sense of the ambiguous οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχιεν τῶν ἐθνῶν in 10:42. The consensus view is that it is ironic (with some exceptions, e.g., Robert Gundry, T. W. Manson, and C. E. B. Cranfield). Kaminouchi agrees that the phrase is ironic, but argues that the irony is neither that rulers and constituents mistake God's control of affairs for the apparent authority of human regimes nor that coercive domination of people does not represent genuine power as other Markan commentators have suggested. Rather, the irony is that "those who apparently rule" are in fact not autonomous or even emancipated, but enslaved by the very sociopolitical relationships that on the surface appear to sustain their regimes. Jesus' response to James and John indicates his independence

from the systems of power that entrap politicians such as Herod and Pilate and in which the disciples express a desire for rank. Instead, Jesus' role is to liberate humanity not only from sin but also from the webs of power that ensnare the world. In Mark, therefore, discipleship involves understanding and wielding power in a radically different and subversive way, one that shares in Jesus' authority through suffering in service, that is, as slaves for an alternative society.

Consideration of the complexity of views about Pilate's reputation would have usefully informed Kaminouchi's sociopolitical argument, and he could have utilized Gundry's (*Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992], 923–24) observation that παρέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ in 15:1 fulfills the prophecy that Jesus would be turned over (παραδίδωμι) to the Gentiles in 10:33 to strengthen the linguistic and thematic relationship between 10:32–45 and the Pilate episode. In addition, the constructive insight about the influence of social institutions in political decisions risks shifting responsibility from leaders to society in general. "Networks of power" should not become scapegoats that excuse the unwillingness of those in leadership roles to stand against social pressure in the face of injustice. Nonetheless, the interpretive results of Kaminouchi's integration of sociocultural and literary analyses are incisive.

Kaminouchi concludes by applying his findings to the ethics of the Roman Catholic Church's hierarchical structure of governance. This section, while interesting and relevant given the scandals that have beset that denomination, is the study's least satisfying piece. First, Kaminouchi's discussion of the issue is too brief to make an effective contribution to the dialogue about the appropriate delegation of authority within Roman Catholicism and seems out of place with the exegetical focus that is the book's raison d'être. Second, his vision is parochial and contrary to his stated objective "to provide a critique of the misuse of the language of power and service in both academe and the church" (p. 3). Kaminouchi never addresses the church beyond Catholicism, nor does he consider the academy. Indeed, the recent decision by the AAR's Board of Directors to separate that group's annual meeting from the SBL's is only one example of the need to address the academic community's "theology of power" (p. 3). Third, limiting such a conversation to the church and the academy ignores the important implications his interpretation has for society more broadly. Although the instructions in Mark are directed specifically to the leaders of the Jesus movement, in the context of the Gospel's consistent concern for how authority is exercised, the passage's vision of power should be applied to all societal institutions. Despite these minor objections, Kaminouchi has written a very fine study, one that contributes significantly to the understanding of Mark 10:32–45 and the Gospel's interest in the dynamics of power.

Bolt's thesis is that first-century Greco-Roman readers understood the sicknesses, disabilities, chronic disorders, and demon possessions which afflict the characters in Mark's healing and exorcism accounts as representative of the ubiquitous threat of death that dominated daily life in antiquity and caused constant anxiety for the ancient psyche. This understanding led readers to view the suppliants as victims of death (in various manifestations) whose circumstances are changed in their encounter with Jesus. In the healing narratives, Jesus defeats death as embodied in the suppliants' illnesses, and the broader narrative links these instances with Jesus' own death and resurrection. Mark's readers identified with the circumstances of the suppliants so that reading the healing miracles in light of the Christ event released them from their fear of death and inspired hope for their own victory over death, that is, their resurrection.

In addition to perpetual fear of death's power and proximity, Bolt argues that commonly held cultural assumptions about magic and imperial power also shaped readers' understanding of these stories. The widespread practice of magic was connected with illness because illness and demons were closely related. Curse tablets, for example, often attacked people's health and spells were used frequently to protect health or cure disease. Magic and medicine were likewise associated, as magic was the last in the sequence of sources—after physicians and gods—upon which people relied for health care. Indeed, Bolt cautions that it is inaccurate to distinguish too sharply between magic, science/medicine, and religion/miracle in antiquity because physicians and priests occasionally resorted to magic and magicians sometimes used medical means.

As for imperial power, Bolt argues that the "golden age view" of the emperor was spreading to the provinces. The imperial propaganda machinery disseminated positive information concerning the imperial role, promoting the view that the emperor was the source of all good things, including life. The Jesus movement was among the groups critical of Rome and sought to undermine imperial claims by suggesting that the emperor was responsible for the proliferation of death across many nations. Jesus movement preachers and, later, writers proposed an alternative view of reality with an alternative ruler who brought life to those who found themselves living in death's shadow.

There is much to commend in Bolt's study. He offers a careful interpretation of each miracle account and of the function of these stories as a group in the broader Markan narrative. Moreover, by examining the healing and exorcism miracles together and utilizing literary and sociohistorical analysis instead of form criticism, he lifts up stories and characters oftentimes given minimal consideration or overlooked altogether. His attention to these characters and his appreciation of them as key, if minor, actors in the narrative and not simply functionaries of Mark's overall plot are constructive for reading these accounts and the Gospel as a whole. As Bolt suggests, readers miss valuable interpretive possibilities when, as has usually been the case, they subordinate these characters and stories to the conflict with Jesus' opponents. The book also exhibits good understanding of magical practices in the ancient world and comprehensive familiarity with primary sources attesting to them. In addition, Bolt's recognition of ancient magic's interest in illness and, therefore, its potential for helpfully informing the interpretation of the healing and exorcism narratives is a genuine contribution to NT studies. That said, Bolt's interpretation flattens the miracles by claiming that they all represent the same thing, death. In addition, he acknowledges that most of the magical material he draws from postdates the first century, and his attempt to argue for the applicability to the NT of data on magical practices that span a millennium (600 B.C.E.–600 C.E.) is unconvincing.

There are more serious flaws in Bolt's argument, however. His definition of Mark's "early readers" as "those who potentially read/heard Mark once it was placed in the public domain. . . . [that is,] those who lived in the Graeco-Roman world of the latter part of the first century" (p. 8) is too amorphous to be meaningful or to correspond to any actual individual or group. His is an ideal reader constructed, as he tacitly admits, to allow the miracles to be examined using the social template described above. As a number of narrative studies have argued, implied readers such as Bolt's usually mirror the interpreter. Nonetheless, Bolt maintains that the constructed audience represents real "flesh-and-blood readers," that he is able through social description to recover the mind of Mark's early readers and that this analysis allows for the identification of implied with actual

readers. Bolt's approach ultimately collapses into historical analysis, what Stephen Moore (*Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 77–78) has called a thinly veiled argument for authorial intention: aware of the audience's sociocultural location and that social circumstances are determinative of the readers' reception, the author of Mark shaped the story to produce exactly the response the critic proposes.

With respect to Bolt's social description, even if one accepts the premise that everyone who lived at the time was impacted by illness and death, magic, and the imperial government, it is problematic to assume that their influence on persons of diverse ethnic, religious, geographical, philosophical, social, and other circumstances was identical (Bolt concedes that these phenomena would have been experienced differently in different places, but makes no effort to consider such potential variation in his analysis). Bolt fails to compare his reception theory to the interpretations of the authors of Matthew and Luke—probable early readers of Mark who left a record of their understanding of the healing and exorcism stories—to determine whether actual readers had the reading experience he claims for them. In addition, he overstates the distress of first-century readers over their mortality. His claim that people's daily lives were dominated by fear of death on account of that era's low life expectancy (twenty to twenty-five years) and periodic deadly plagues is anachronistic. Three millennia from now, when life expectancy is, say, 150 years, would it be accurate for some commentator to look back on the twenty-first century as a time of living "under the 'shadow of death'" (p. 27)? Bolt demonstrates that ancient authors exhibited a keen sense of human mortality, but not that their sensitivity was more acute than writers of any other period. Awareness of death becomes more pronounced as life nears what is considered its normal duration, or if, through illness or accident, the probability of a normal life span is diminished. Bolt's argument that Mark's early readers identified the suppliants as "intra-narrative reflections of themselves" (p. 15), therefore, needs refinement. Readers with similar physical or psychological conditions might indeed identify with these characters. Readers encountering the suppliants might even be moved to explicit awareness of their own mortality. But healthy readers would likely not "recognize themselves in [the] characters and 'find [their] subjectivity in that representation'" (p. 16). Rather, readers would perceive ill or possessed characters as different from themselves, as "other." We sympathize with folks in unfortunate circumstances but, if not facing similar problems, are typically adamant and relieved that they are not like us. In the end, therefore, although his study contains worthwhile insights, Bolt's literary reception proposal cannot be sustained.

William Sanger Campbell
College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, MN 55811

A Feminist Companion to Luke, edited by Amy-Jill Levine, with Marianne Blickenstaff. Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings 3. Cleveland: Pilgrim, 2004. Pp. 315. $21.00 (paper). ISBN 0829815929.

A Feminist Companion to Luke makes a welcome contribution to the already substantial field of feminist scholarship on Luke. Amy-Jill Levine and Marianne Blickenstaff have adeptly edited new and classic essays providing thought-provoking insights into Luke, particularly its numerous references to women. These articles form a discus-

sion conducted in an almost-forgotten sense of "companion": they elicit an image of sitting together (*com*) at table and breaking bread (*panis*) around a common topic. Not all participants agree, but hopefully all will be fuller and richer in knowledge at meal's end.

Featured questions at this dinner conversation are familiar: What are readers to make of Luke mentioning more women than the other canonical Gospels? Is the number of women an indication of Luke's pro-woman stance or even that "Luke" is a woman? Or do numbers mislead, teaching us something only about men? Does Luke support or restrict women's agency? Is there anything liberating in the text for women, or should it be dismissed as further evidence of biblical androcentricity? In her introduction, Levine states that Luke is read as both celebratory of and discriminatory toward women. Luke is especially challenging, in fact, a "storm center," precisely because interpreters support both readings with the text. At stake for feminist interpretation is not simply the practice of reading with and for women but both positing women's history as that which is worth remembering and facilitating the location of strategies for continuing such work. Levine proposes that readers must engage in a twofold approach: analyzing history and suggesting a constructive praxis toward liberation. Anything one-sided or rooted exclusively in the past shall force us to fail future generations (p. 22).

Most essays here explore relevant well-known questions and Lukan passages, and virtually all address highlights and fallacies of conventional wisdom and scholarship on some level. Robert Karris's "Women and Discipleship in Luke" (pp. 23–43) reviews two dominant and conflicting interpretive conclusions on Luke and women: the text is positive or negative. Karris comments that revisiting Luke shows that the author may have had a more affirming view of women's discipleship than was previously thought. Readers should not heap responsibility onto the Gospel writer because reading communities, and not text, have changed over time (p. 43). Karris hopes new methods will help "revision" Luke's attitude toward women. A most thorough-going challenge to such a positivistic outlook is Mary Rose D'Angelo's "The ANHP Question in Luke-Acts: Imperial Masculinity and the Deployment of Women in the Early Second Century" (pp. 44– 69). D'Angelo rightly argues that feminist analysis of power relationships must consider construction of both male and female gender roles and regimes. She places Luke-Acts in its Roman imperial gender context, making a shift that sets an ambitious but overdue agenda for further feminist inquiry. Expanding upon her earlier work, D'Angelo addresses the narrator's use of ἀνήρ/man as language inscribing apostolic authority and imbuing author and addressees with masculinity. Luke-Acts emphasizes the correctness and desirability of Roman gender codes and family values and, therefore, the entire imperial project. Even if Luke-Acts does not portray Roman authorities in a favorable light, the characters in the text aspire to be more Roman than the Romans themselves—where women are not central but "auxiliary."

Two other notable articles take Luke's Roman imperial context seriously with different results. Brigitte Kahl's "Reading Luke against Luke: Non-uniformity of Text, Hermeneutics of Conspiracy and the 'Scriptural Principle' in Luke 1" (pp. 70–88) posits multiple audiences seeing a coded text written by/for a minority group struggling to survive, and perhaps flourish in resistance to, repressive Roman rule. For Kahl, one way Luke deals with his reality is to construct carefully a text heard differently by authorities valuing "security" and countercultural communities. This "hermeneutics of conspiracy" informed by semiotic analysis decodes Luke 1's time structure: imperial father-time ver-

sus gestation mother-time, culminating in messianic son(s)-time. The Magnificat's preservation implicates Luke as a narrative of rebellion, providing a "key" to unraveling the scriptural (justice-based) principle of the Gospel and the whole Bible. Turid Karlsen Seim intimates such unraveling in "The Virgin Mother: Mary and Ascetic Discipleship in Luke" (pp. 89–106). She invigorates virgin birth debates by connecting family terms to ascetic practice, noting that when such language is used in an ascetic context it signals the formation of a new community where God, not human men, is responsible for procreation with women. Celibacy subverts ordinary imperial gender constructs and remains in tension with natural motherhood.

The remaining articles are methodologically innovative and significantly challenge interpretive histories of focal Lukan texts. In "'Do You See This Woman?' A Liberative Look at Luke 7:36–50 and Strategies for Reading Other Lukan Stories against the Grain" (pp. 106–20). Barbara Reid employs the politics of sight, suggesting that we "undergo cataract surgery," no matter how painful, and look again at the anointing woman. Similarly, Teresa Hornsby's "The Woman Is a Sinner/The Sinner Is a Woman" (pp. 121–32) asks a crucial question: "what is it about Luke's narrative that makes readers want to identify the woman as a prostitute?" (p. 121). Her deconstructive approach "turns the table" on Luke 7:36–50, rendering it a story as much about Jesus' proper manliness as about the improperly denigrated woman. Speaking of denigration, Esther de Boer's "The Lukan Mary Magdalene and the Other Women Following Jesus" (pp. 140–60) studies Luke's portrayal of history's most famous courtesan in a context of discipleship and healing, inferring that Luke's women did play prominent roles uncharacteristic of their assigned sex in the beginnings of the church. Unfortunately, Luke does not preserve the details. De Boer's conclusions are somewhat anticipated by Ben Witherington III's brief yet classic treatment "On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples– Luke 8:1–3" (pp. 133–39).

Several articles concern Mary and Martha, a notoriously difficult story for women. Victoria Koperski charts the contours of feminist liberationist hermeneutics in some detail. In "Women and Discipleship in Luke 10:38–42 and Acts 6:1–7: The Literary Context of Luke-Acts" (pp. 161–96), she claims that even feminist scholars fall into traditional historical-critical traps, such as determining original authorial intention, rather than renewing a Christian message of liberation for new generations. Shifting attention from author to literary patterns uncovers striking readings of Mary and Martha. Likewise, Loveday Alexander ("Sisters in Adversity: Retelling Martha's Story" [pp. 197–213]), Warren Carter ("Getting Martha Out of the Kitchen: Luke 10:38–42 Again" [pp. 214–31]), and Pamela Thimmes ("The Language of Community: A Cautionary Tale" [pp. 232–45]) criticize the historical emphasis on making Mary and Martha enemies or participants in a zero-sum discipleship game with Jesus. Thimmes and Carter provide especially compelling proposals not to "give up" on Mary and Martha but to use context to see their partnership and implications for women's ministries more optimistically.

The final two essays offer resources for viewing Luke with explicitly nonmainline Protestant eyes. Carol Schersten LaHurd's "Reviewing Luke 15 with Arab Christian Women" (pp. 246–68) asks what happens to interpretation when the reader is neither "white" nor Western. LaHurd conducted interviews in northern Yemen and frames an alternative woman-positive reading of the parables in Luke 15. In her analysis, it is

Western feminist scholarship, not biblical texts, that are more open to scrutiny. Italian scholar Maria-Luisa Rigato considers the charge to remember at the tomb ("'Remember . . . Then They Remembered': Luke 24:6–8" [pp. 269–80]) as women's special task that the Catholic hierarchy should not forget while on a path toward oneness ("no male and female") of church body. Remembering that women and men were together from the beginning is a charge from the risen Lord that needs to be commemorated.

The question of why Luke works so hard to construct a narrative appearing to both celebrate *and* silence women, and maintaining the loaded tension between those two inclinations, is not given sustained consideration here. Though Luke might make a relatively airtight case for "normal" masculinity and femininity, the "orderly account" on gender is itself a cultural fiction. These essays largely assume the naturalness of men and women as subjects in the text. The tone of the volume would be even stronger were more weight given to recent developments in gender studies, including the study of masculinity. Clearer consistent connections to gendered power dynamics in Luke's Roman imperial context should provide new questions for feminist interpretation as well.

A Feminist Companion to Luke is intelligent and accessible. A productive resource for research and teaching, it shows that divergent perspectives are permissible and desirable. Including men's contributions in a feminist interpretation volume dispels lingering concerns that attention to women in the NT is "women's work," subordinate to "real" (men's) labor of theological reconstruction and patriarchal affirmation: feminism is for everybody, indeed. This book provides impulses for further conversation and encourages a bright future for feminist studies, specifically the task of making alternate social structures a reality in this world. Attending to this task more boldly recognizes one of Luke's main aims: the material realization of God's radical reign on earth among coworkers and companions, some of whom are "under the radar," in resistance to global imperial rule. Such potential is really something to break bread about together.

Davina C. Lopez
Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY 10027

"My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!" Christian Siblingship in Paul, by Reidar Aasgaard. Early Christianity in Context; JSNTSup 265. London: T&T Clark, 2004. Pp. xii + 361. $55.00 (paper). ISBN 0567084817.

This book, a revision of the author's doctoral dissertation produced at the University of Oslo in the late 1990s, is an examination of the deceptively simple question concerning why Paul speaks of Christians as "siblings." That is to say, what is the precise meaning(s), background, and rhetorical function of this form of address as it is found in the Pauline corpus? (For Aasgaard, the authentic correspondence of Paul is in line with the general scholarly consensus: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon.) Aasgaard's justification for selecting this metaphor in particular, from among the many metaphors Paul employs, is most succinctly given by the simple observation that "the sibling metaphor occurs far more frequently in his letters than do any of the others" (p. 3).

Given that this book is based upon a dissertation, the first thing that many readers

will be concerned with is the issue of "readability." Happily, although the book's size and detailed (occasionally exhaustive) analyses attest openly to its origins, the structure and format make this volume serviceable for Pauline specialists. Aasgaard himself states that the carefully structured chapters, with their occasionally "extensive" chapter summaries, are intended "as a reading aid for those who may wish to skip some chapters or parts of them" (p. 9).

Part 1 of the book serves as both a theoretical and methodological preface to the work as a whole and as a review of previous scholarship. Lurking behind the question as to the meanings of "sibling language" are several closely related methodological concerns, chief among which is the issue of "metaphorical language." On this point Aasgaard handles his sources well, referencing George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) (and more recent research on the subject) and emphasizing the connection between "sibling language" and "family" metaphors. The study of any metaphor involves an analysis of both its "source domain" and its "target domain" (i.e., the area from which a metaphor is taken and the area to which it is applied) and careful attention to the issue of whether a metaphor is "conventional," "basic," "dead" or "alive," and so on. As Aasgaard notes, much of the recent theoretical literature on metaphor in the tradition of Lakoff and Johnson emphasizes the integral role that metaphor plays in language, and, given the attention paid to Pauline metaphors such as the "body of Christ," the lack of scholarly attention focused on one of his most frequent metaphors is all the more troubling.

Part 2 focuses on "Family and Siblingship in Antiquity" and is probably the section that most bears reading by a more general scholarly audience (i.e., non-Pauline specialists). Aasgaard summarizes scholarly materials in both biblical studies and classics on questions of family structure (in the Bible and in Greek and Roman times) and prevailing cultural attitudes toward the relationships within the family in antiquity. Chapter 6 contains a study of Plutarch's treatise *De fraterno amore,* the "only complete text left from Antiquity" to focus on the relationship between siblings and to deal explicitly with φιλαδελφία (p. 93). This analysis helps to contextualize more fully the range of attitudes toward sibling relationships in the literary materials that Aasgaard utilizes. He helpfully distinguishes between ideals and the day-to-day reality, noting that although the ancient Mediterranean emphasis on honor and shame made them "core values," prevailing "cultural ideas" were often in conflict with one another. Thus, although "ideals of family honour were important" and "the ideal of family harmony was central," there "also existed a popular myth of a decline in the quality of family life from a golden age towards a crisis" (p. 60). In particular, while the ideals of harmony and the expectation of mutual support and love among siblings existed "possibly as a topos" (p. 91) through a wide range of materials, "a majority of lawsuits" from the Roman period "seems to have addressed inheritance conflicts between family members" (p. 92). That is to say, siblings likely fought frequently over their inheritances. Therefore the emphasis upon dealing with familial conflict in an internal manner and the notion of harmony among siblings may have reflected ideals that were formulated in contrast to the actual reality. Thus the unique status of Plutarch is notable, for whom the relationship between siblings is "distinguishable from other family relations" and "is also different from friendship." It "is not a voluntary, but an obligatory relationship" (p. 106).

Despite his conclusion that the "metaphorical use of family language was

widespread in Antiquity," the sibling metaphor itself "appears rarely to have been very central. And only occasionally can we infer that sibling notions played a part in . . . [the] self-understanding . . . [of] groups and individuals" (p. 116). The rather sparse nature of the evidence, although it often seems to aid in understanding Paul's use of the metaphor, contrasts sharply in terms of sheer number of occurrences as well as centrality in Paul.

Part 3 of the book is dedicated to the specifically Pauline use of sibling language throughout the individual letters and passages. This section is the most "exegetical," as most of it is concerned with the careful analysis of specific passages within Paul's writings, although there is information gathered concerning the distribution and "mapping" of Paul's use of metaphors drawn from the family, the preponderance of which shows it to be a "central source domain" for Paul (p. 130). This section deals with examples of the various uses of the sibling metaphor, such as the notion of such language reflecting the relationship of Christians with Christ and God (ch. 9, Rom 8:29), and the various elements and rhetorical devices employed. For example, Paul's references to φιλαδελφία (ch. 10, 1 Thess 4:9–12; Rom 12:9–13), the "weak and the strong" (ch. 11, 1 Cor 8:1–11; Rom 14:1–15:13), and the Roman dislike of the seemingly common act of public litigation among family members (ch. 12, 1 Cor 6:1–11) are all carefully explored. Aasgaard also examines Paul's use of sibling address, which constitutes "ninety per cent of his total use of address" (p. 262), and his references to "false" brothers in "instances of internal conflict" (p. 303). Aasgaard emphasizes the use of the sibling metaphor as an accentuation of Christian identity, while simultaneously discussing Paul's rhetorical use of the metaphor in each individual letter. Most intriguing of all is the observation that "when Paul describes *himself* by way of family metaphors, he *never* employs the sibling metaphor. Instead, he uses parent metaphors in almost all letters" (p. 293, italics added). This last observation, particularly in light of the book's repeatedly drawing attention to the ubiquity of the sibling metaphor, strikes me as among the most interesting aspects of Aasgaard's analysis of the Pauline material.

A single, short concluding chapter and two tables constitute part 4 of the book. Aasgaard suggests that rather than seeing Paul's use of sibling language as originating in his ethics, theology, ecclesiology, or the like, the broader social background and dynamics likely preceded Paul's thinking. Thus, in Paul the "metaphor is on the way toward assuming connotations peculiar to its use in a Christian context," but is simply not there yet (p. 308). Aasgaard concludes his study by pointing to Paul's distinctive use of a metaphor, not his creation of a new or original metaphor unique to early Christianity.

There are few obvious shortcomings to this volume, and its organization and strengths should make it useful for Pauline scholars interested in rhetoric, metaphor, and the social context of early Christianity. Aasgaard gathers a wealth of information regarding the parallels to Greco-Roman practices and institutions like voluntary associations, and his integration of various issues surrounding rhetorical *topoi,* power dynamics, and social structures is commendable. However, the few shortcomings of this book are embedded in its very organizational utility and its comprehensiveness. It is on this issue that the origins of the book as a dissertation are most telling, and perhaps unavoidable given the requirements of doctoral research. That is to say, although this volume is a handy resource for reference purposes and well organized, most readers will not read this volume "straight through." A reader interested in the results of the analysis or the

larger issues raised will simply not read through all the data amassed, but then should not feel under any obligation to do so either.

Indeed, most scholars should head straight to the concluding chapter and only delve into those sections that interest them rather than subject themselves to what can become a tedious amount of detail. The desire not to omit any relevant reference is distracting, and, although I am a fan of the footnote's role in adding information and further discussion, Aasgaard is not always a master of the form. On p. 290, for example, after reading in n. 25 that "Schäfer 1989: 359–66 underestimates the aspect of power in Paul's notions on imitation," does one really need to read in n. 27 that "Schäfer 1989: 366–68 underestimates the authority/authoritarian element of Paul's appeal here"? Admittedly, the two are discussing slightly different issues and verses (although from the same passage, 1 Cor 4:14–21), but surely this kind of belaboring will only serve to discourage readers rather than engage them further.

Aasgaard, as mentioned above, seems well aware of this issue of format, but I would have preferred it to be even more directly addressed structurally, perhaps by making the chapter summaries serve as opening rather than closing sections in each chapter. That is to say, although the structure invites and encourages the "skipping" of sections, it could have been embraced in a much more rigorously reader-friendly manner.

A more substantial criticism, and one that only gradually formed in my mind as I worked through this volume, was the timid nature of many of the conclusions reached and the tendency to qualify and balance every stated conclusion. This may have its roots in the same "dissertation-style" desire for comprehensiveness, but stylistically I often felt as if Aasgaard was being too guarded or was hedging his bets. Examples can be multiplied, but a few will suffice. After reading statements such as "Paul *probably* addresses *actual* tensions at Rome, but he does so in a *generalized and oblique way*" (p. 211 n. 171, italics added), and reaching conclusions that Paul uses sibling language to further group cohesion "*possibly* beyond what was generally customary in the social environment" (p. 230, italics added), it is hard not to feel somewhat vexed. And although I am well aware that the purpose and audience of Romans is a source of much scholarly debate, to read the following in a discussion of Paul's use of the weak/strong dichotomy and its relationship to the sibling metaphor is frankly wearisome in its qualifications.

> Paul in Rom. 14.1–15.13 treats an actual conflict; the conflict is primarily of a religious character; however, socio-economical aspects are also of importance, but far less than in 1 Corinthians; the conflict is somehow related to Judaism and Jewish traditions; however, no clear ethnic or religious distinctions should be made between the parties; and, it is not evident who (if any) is to be associated with the weak. (p. 205)

What reads like appropriately cautious scholarship in one or two cases becomes somewhat irksome when multiplied enough times.

This criticism aside, Pauline scholars who blithely still assume that Paul's theology is the primary source for all his metaphorical language or who assert that the use of the term "brother/sister" simply demonstrates a benign notion of Christian egalitarianism no longer have firm ground upon which to stand. And if, as Aasgaard argues, the notion of Christian communities as alternative families "seems to belong to milieux and times

different from Paul" and that this role was simply the social role that "best suited Paul's general understanding" (pp. 311–12), then his work is to be commended for placing Paul's most idiosyncratic and central metaphor firmly in the world in which he lived. Aside from this contribution, the work should be praised simply for reminding scholars that what is so commonplace in Paul may require more sustained attention on their part.

Matthew W. Mitchell
Dalhousie University Halifax, NS B3L 2Z4, Canada

The Pauline Canon, edited by Stanley E. Porter. Pauline Studies 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Pp. xiii + 254. €65.00 (hardcover). ISBN 9004138919.

The Pauline Canon is the first book in a proposed series of five books about Paul, called Pauline Studies. Brill will be publishing a new volume approximately every year under the editorial guidance of Stanley E. Porter. This book contains essays concerned with delimiting and explaining the Pauline corpus of works.

The first two essays of the book dovetail nicely, as both authors discuss the role of the Pastoral Epistles. James W. Aageson uses them as a test case for delving into the authority behind the Pauline writings. Aageson contends that the concept of canon is clearly taking shape in the midst of the Pastoral Epistles; therefore, it is not a foreign thought to these books that Paul's letters be considered Scripture. In terms of comparing the three among themselves, he decides that 1 Timothy and Titus are much alike and that 2 Timothy stands in some sense apart. Aageson argues that 2 Timothy relates closely to Philippians, and, when it differs from Philippians, that is when it most closely resembles 1 Timothy. Aageson notes that these canonical ties bind the idea of Scripture with respect to the OT together with what the church would call the NT, eventually putting into play the problems between church structure and canonical authority. Robert W. Wall takes a narrower approach to the issue, looking at the Pastorals with respect only to the Pauline tradition. Wall posits that there were two different groupings being circulated: the Pauline corpus of ten and the Pastoral corpus of three (p. 34). In taking the thirteen-letter canon as normative, the early church made theological statements canonically instead of individualistically, detailing what Paul said in general rather than what Paul said specifically in Romans or Galatians. Wall's conclusion is that the Pastorals move ecclesiology in the same direction as Paul but that they give a richer meaning to Paul and a more teacher-oriented aspect to the missionary churches.

The next two essays discuss aspects of epistolary communication. M.-É. Boismard asserts that the letter to the Colossians as it now stands is actually the combination of the original letter to the Colossians with the letter to the Laodiceans. The first section of the essay lists in parallel columns what Boismard calls doublets, sections of Colossians that have similar language and themes in the same order. The second section then takes all of one column together into a reconstituted letter to the Laodiceans. This new letter is a baptismal rite including the prebaptism and postbaptism description of a person. Boismard argues that this new letter is clearly Pauline due to the real-life circumstances and the Pauline phrases it contains. Detlev Dormeyer engages in analyzing what types of letters were written in antiquity and fits the Pauline letters within these categories. The essay begins with a recounting of different types of correspondence by ancient authors,

often giving examples of what would fit a specific type. Dormeyer next discusses and lists the various sections within a letter, noting how they differ from common rhetorical structures. The different Pauline letters are examined according to this backdrop and classified them on the basis of literary and rhetorical structures.

The fifth and sixth essays examine different canonical questions concerning the Pauline corpus. Stanley E. Porter surveys the four major theories regarding the compiling of the Pauline epistles into a Pauline collection. The first theory is that of gradual accumulation, wherein various churches gathered the letters of Paul into collections over time, during and after the time of Paul. The second theory proposes a period of "lapsed interest" during which Acts was written and the importance of Paul as the apostle to the Greeks became more prominent, thus causing a deeper look into and a compilation of his work. The third theory, proposed by Walter Schmithals, is that a much larger group of Pauline letters was whittled down to seven books by combining them in order to create an antignostic collection. The fourth theory is that a single individual with ties to Paul collected the letters after his death. Porter turns to the theory of David Trobisch, which posits three stages of development beginning with Paul collecting the first four. Porter concludes his study by criticizing and rejecting each of the theories, but he also notes the points of similarity that can be used as a foundation for further work. Mark Harding examines the idea of a Pauline canon by gathering all works ascribed to Paul and working through those which belong and which do not. After quickly setting aside Hebrews, Harding has a group of twenty-one letters attributed to Paul (p. 136). He divides the letters into three categories and then analyzes them. The noncanonical letters are dubbed spurious and are set aside after some discussion of each. The practice of pseudepigraphy is discussed, noting the historical circumstances under which it flourished. The undisputed letters likely contain some non-Pauline elements, but the theological and logical thrusts tend to have strong continuity with each other. Harding then summarizes the reasons why the disputed letters are considered inauthentic. He concludes that the disputed letters in the NT were pseudepigraphical works written to extend the influence of Paul and were accepted by the early church fathers due to their orthodox teaching rather than stylistic similarities with the undisputed letters.

The last two essays in the collection deal with interpolations in the various Pauline books. J. C. O'Neill contends that Paul wrote at least part of each book that bears his name, but not all of any of them. He summarizes the various ways in which the letters would fit on papyrus and scrolls. Moving from the latter to the former would change the way the contents fit on a page, allowing for small sections to be used in various combinations in order to create new letters. O'Neill refers to the work of Earle Ellis, who avers that different smaller compositions could be compiled to make longer works, such as letters. He does not think Ellis goes far enough, since Ellis believes this is centered on Paul, whereas O'Neill thinks it was likely monastic schools collaborating with the early church that performed this function. He concludes that traditional material, such as lists of teachings based on OT quotations that Paul utilized in his writing, were grafted into Pauline letters, and thus traditional material combined with Paul's own writing is what actually comprises the canonical Pauline epistles. William O. Walker Jr. writes about various interpolations in the Pauline corpus. He begins by giving a history of the texts that have been considered by various scholars to be interpolations. He also provides some helpful definitions, describing the shades of meaning between glosses, interpola-

tions, and redaction. He discusses various ancient authors, noting the vast amount of interpolations across the spectrum of writing, including various letters that approximately correspond to Paul's work. Thus, Walker is looking to overturn the hermeneutical consensus by giving much less of the burden of proof to those who wish to argue for interpolations. The lack of textual evidence for interpolations in Paul is not something that should strongly count against their reality, as the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence. Walker then lists and explains various criteria that can be used to establish the possibility of textual interpolations. He examines 1 Cor 14:34–35 using the tools he has laid out and concludes that it is likely an interpolation from someone other than Paul.

This book is generally well written and well researched. Each essay takes its task seriously, looking at a wide array of scholarship in order to come to an informed conclusion. The major weakness of this collection is that most of the essays are too brief, each introducing a large topic and then only lightly brushing against the various debates surrounding it. The essays vary widely with respect to content and focus, but come together into a single piece of strong scholarship. This collection assumes that the reader has a high level of knowledge, but one need not be an expert in the specific area in order to appreciate the depth of analysis. If you are working on the Pauline canon with respect to contents, the way it was collected, or the problems of interpolation, this is a book that you must have.

Ron Fay
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, IL 60015

The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John: An Investigation into Its Origins and Rhetorical Force, by Loren L. Johns. WUNT 2/167. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003. Pp. xi + 276. €49.00 (paper). ISBN 316148164X.

Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation, by Christopher A. Frilingos. Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Pp. 184. $35.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0812238222.

These two books, both revisions of dissertations, tell the tale of the two sides of biblical scholarship in the contemporary North American academy. On the one side (Johns, *Lamb Christology*) is traditional historical criticism: historically grounded, biblically oriented, philologically sound, theologically driven, in the service of scholars and ministers within an ecclesiastical context. On the other (Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire*) is postmodern scholarship: historically grounded, critically oriented, methodologically sophisticated, ideologically driven, in the service of students and scholars within a literary context. The lines between the two approaches are, of course, fuzzy: Johns draws on literary theory while Frilingos pays careful attention to historical context. Johns reads like the dissertation it was while Frilingos has crafted a highly polished set of essays. In the end one book, *Lamb Christology*, seems too narrowly situated within a biblical hermeneutic that *must* find appropriate theology in the Apocalypse, while the other, *Spectacles of Empire*, wanders at times away from its announced focus on the Apocalypse. Both books will reward any scholar of Revelation; Frilingos's *Spectacles of Empire*

in particular is an exemplary model for cultural studies approaches to biblical scholarship.

I begin with Johns, the theme of the Lamb, and a rhetorical take on traditional historical criticism. After a broad and somewhat superfluous introduction to interpretive problems related to the Apocalypse, Johns poses in the first chapter the two central issues of the book. The first is an exegetical problem that involves ethical ramifications: how does the Lamb christology of the Apocalypse fit with the eschatological ethics of overcoming evil in John's Apocalypse? But we see that this is not a question so much as a thesis, a thesis that depends on the other central issue, which forms a postulate to his thesis: Johns's reading of the Apocalypse is to be located within a community of faith, "a community of faith that defines itself in some sense by the Apocalypse" (p. 17). He calls this type of reading "ethical faithfulness," a "trans-subjective heuristic device" that keeps faith with the contemporary religious community *and* the original social and historical context of the text. Johns writes within the Mennonite tradition of nonviolent resistance. While resistance of domination and empire is a theme of the Apocalypse, he is swimming against the tide in arguing that the theology of the book is nonviolent; the imagery of destruction in the book *from heaven alone* is overwhelming. And here, in ch. 1, as well as in the concluding ch. 6, "The Rhetorical Force of the Lamb Christology in the Apocalypse," when he returns to this interpretation, Johns does not convince this reviewer that his Procrustean reading of Revelation is faithful to the text.

Within this interpretive rhetorical framework that begins and ends the study, there are four solid, extensively researched chapters on lambs and lamb symbolism. Chapter 2 provides an exhaustive philological examination of τὸ ἀρνίον and other words for lamb and sheep in the NT, the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint, and Joseph and Philo (Appendix 1 includes a chart that correlates the various Greek and Hebrew words for lamb in the MT and LXX). Johns concludes that the victorious slain lamb in Revelation 5 is anomalous and τὸ ἀρνίον in Revelation does not fit with other uses that emphasize sacrificial aspects. Chapter 3 surveys lamb imagery in the ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman context. He casts the net wide, both temporally and geographically, so that many points, while of general interest to scholars of ancient religion, seem far removed from a first-century Christian community in Asia Minor. Within the more immediate Greco-Roman context, Johns finds that lambs are associated with divination, oracles, and vulnerability. The data are more pertinent and the exegetical point is finer in ch. 4, "Lambs in Early Judaism," in which Johns seeks to find whether the image of τὸ ἀρνίον in Rev 5:5 fits with the image of military might suggested by the adjacent christological titles "the lion from the tribe of Judah" and "the root [or shoot] of David." While scholars had assumed that τὸ ἀρνίον, translated as "ram," combines various messianic traditions from Second Temple Judaism, Johns shows that the lamb image in Rev 5:5 connotes vulnerability rather than the power of an apocalyptic redeemer figure. Texts examined include the *Testament of Joseph*, the *Testament of Benjamin*, *1 Enoch 89–90*, *Psalms of Solomon* 8, and rabbinic literature. Johns does not, to my mind, treat the "morphing" of animals in the Animal Apocalypse in *1 Enoch* subtly enough (pp. 96–97), applying rather a mechanistic reading of the symbolism there and in Revelation in order to dismiss it as a parallel.

Chapter 5, "Lamb Symbolism in the Old Testament and the Apocalypse," shows the marks of an unrevised dissertation as Johns go through somewhat painstaking litera-

ture reviews only to arrive at the standard position on key issues. He begins with an extended discussion of metaphor, simile, and figurative and referential language. Johns wants to maintain a tension between "decoding" all of the images in Revelation as referring to something in the social-historical context of the audience (he wants to keep it theologically meaningful for today) *and* examining the images in light of the literary background and social-historical context (he wants to read it critically too). He concludes that Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's rhetorical approach to Revelation is warranted and that the important question to ask relates to the construction of a symbolic universe and the Lamb christology's function within that universe. This conclusion, a widely held approach to the Apocalypse, is too weak to warrant inclusion of such a long survey of literary theory (a survey that includes no post-structuralist approaches). The section on the social-historical setting of the Apocalypse concludes with the common consensus that John writes in a prophetic tradition against the imperial cult and other aspects of Greco-Roman culture. And here (p. 127) he repeats his tendentious thesis that John of Patmos was, essentially, a Mennonite Christian who developed "an ethic of *faithful, nonviolent resistance*" (his emphasis). This faithful resistance will lead to the Christians' being slaughtered like the Lamb, so Johns returns to the OT to understand further the model for the Lamb christology. The array of texts discussed here is fairly large (sacrificed lambs in the OT; the paschal lamb in Exodus; the Suffering Servant in Second Isaiah; Dan 8; Gen 22; Mic 5:6; the lambs of eschatological peace; and, finally, the occurrences of τὸ ἀρνίον in the LXX). Johns pays careful attention to detail in each section as he builds the case for the lamb as a symbol of vulnerability.

All of this brings us back to the concluding ch. 6, "The Rhetorical Force of the Lamb Christology in the Apocalypse." Johns's rhetorical exegesis of the Lamb christology strongly supports his theological interests: "the lamb *has triumphed in* his death and resurrection, not that the lamb *will triumph in the future, subsequent to* his death and resurrection" (p. 161; his emphasis). Faithful resistance led the Lamb to death—and so to triumph. And so it will for the Christians of Asia if they resist (not fight) Rome and its cults. But in a section that is by rights an entire seventh chapter, "Christology and Ethics in the Apocalypse" (pp. 171–202), Johns considers how this Lamb theology fits (or better, doesn't fit) with the incredible violence in the Apocalypse and, more significantly, with its interpretation over the past two thousand years. He must admit that, if the vision of the Apocalypse is ultimately ethical and nonviolent, it has not been very successful (p. 186). Given the imagery and tradition of interpretation, perhaps rather it is Johns who has the vision wrong.

Frilingos's methodology is diametrically opposed to that of Johns and the style and scope of the book are a refreshing contrast. While the focus of the book is on understanding Revelation as a literary "spectacle" comparable with those staged in the theater and circus, the even more significant contribution is Frilingos's methodological focus on Revelation as a *product* of the culture of the Roman Empire rather than objectifying the text (and the social world of its audience) as distinct and stable entities opposed to Rome. This is an important development that moves well beyond the trend in recent "Revelation against Rome" postcolonial studies, such as Steven J. Friesen's *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), a text that Frilingos effectively criticizes. And while he claims that this book is not about theory but one that uses theory to sharpen historical and liter-

ary interests, he deftly handles a range of critical theory in the book. Chapter 1 sets out his questions and approaches in model fashion.

Chapter 2, "Merely Players," looks at the Roman world as a spectator society, in which one was acutely aware of the importance and difficulty of always seeing and being seen. Here, and throughout the book, Frilingos effectively combines exposition of visual artifacts, be they in stone or in performance, with literary evidence. He displays skillful readings of texts such as Apuleius's *The Golden Ass*, Ovid's *Arts of Love* and the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, as well as social practices such as the imperial cult and circus spectacles, including gladiators and animal hunts. When discussing the ideology of images such as the Ara Pacis Augustae, Frilingos is careful to read the web of power relations chiseled in the friezes rather than just the expression of imperial power in the monument. Chapter 3, "A Vast Spectacle," turns to the viewing practices inscribed in Revelation and its series of spectators who try to "see and be seen" as the world comes to an end. Frilingos begins with literary *ekphrasis* in the Second Sophistic, chiefly Phlegon's *Book of Marvels* and Achilles Tatius's *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (Frilingos has a strong interest in the Greek novel). These texts suggest a model for imperial viewing of the "foreign and fantastic," a model that he applies to the "strange sights" in Revelation and John's exploitation of "thaumistic" (Gr. θαυμαστόν, "amazing") viewing. The particular sights include the two witnesses of Revelation 11; the two beasts of Revelation 13; Babylon in Revelation 17–18; and the rejoicing heavenly multitude of spectators in Revelation 19. The audience of the Apocalypse is treated to the performance of a lifetime—but also a spectacle that tests their limits of self-control against amazement at the marvels of the beasts.

Chapter 4, "As if Slain," looks at Revelation's Lamb within the context of the performance of masculinity in the Roman world. In contrast to Johns, for whom the Lamb expressed a Christian ethic of vulnerability yet resistance in the face of evil and domination, Frilingos sees the Lamb as a destabilizing image for ancient constructs of masculinity. Working from Michel Foucault's study of the technology of the self in the Roman world, as criticized by Kate Cooper, Frilingos turns once again to the Greek novel, *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, to consider the spectacle of sexuality. Sexual viewing for Frilingos draws the viewer and viewed into a complicated web of both spectacle (as developed in chs. 3–4) and the ambiguities of penetration. So too the Lamb problematizes images of masculinity. Both slain and slayer, pierced and punisher, penetrated and penetrator, the Lamb in Revelation plays on the trope of masculinity. Sexual viewing and spectatorship are intertwined as the gaze of the audience follows the gaze of the Lamb in the rape and destruction of Babylon in Revelation 19–20.

Chapter 5, "Wherever the Lamb Goes," continues working the themes of masculinity and penetration in the context of the "monstrous" in Revelation and other texts. Frilingos now combines the "imperial" viewing of his chs. 2–3 and the "sexual" gaze of ch. 4, allowing the categories of spectacle to overlap. His own gaze encompasses an even wider array of texts: *Daphnis and Chloe*; 4 Maccabees; the *Martyrs of Lyons*; and briefer looks at Plato's *Symposium* and fourth-century martyrdom accounts ascribed to Ambrose and Prudentius. Within Revelation's spectacle he looks at the "monsters of Revelation," such as Satan in Revelation 12 but also the women who appear as monsters in the text: Jezebel, the Woman clothed with the Sun, and Babylon. Frilingos also includes here the 144,000 (Rev 7:1–11; 14:1–5), the "Synagogue of Satan" (Rev 2:9; 3:9), and the two beasts in Revelation 13. In all of this the Apocalypse "renders the concept of

the 'masculine gaze' problematic" (p. 114). Dominating (penetrator) yet slain (penetrated), the Lamb haunts Revelation and its audience, a spectacle that challenges the viewers' self-control as they try to follow it. A short Epilogue revisits the thesis of locating the power of the Apocalypse in the power of ancient spectacle with a brief comparison of the technology of the viewing self in Revelation and early Christian martyrdom accounts.

Frilingos's contribution to early Christian studies goes beyond his well-argued thesis. By carefully arguing that Revelation is an "expression of Roman culture" (p. 12) and opening his reader's eyes to "the pulsing rhythms of Roman culture at play in the book of Revelation" (p. 13), he breaks down the wall between "Word" and "World" that characterizes so much NT scholarship. Revelation does not so much *oppose* Rome as put Roman culture on display; Frilingos has shown how the tropes of vision and spectacle play out in the Apocalypse as they do in the circus, the novel, and martyrdoms. If there is a flaw here, it is that Frilingos's own gaze is at times too busy; he looks at so much more than Revelation it is at times difficult to keep one's eye on the main thread and how the various readings of the many texts fit within the overall argument. But this slight problem is mitigated by a graceful writing style. *Spectacles of Empire* is thus a significant work within the postmodern, cultural studies approach to early Christian literature.

Christopher Frilingos points the way forward to reading early Christian texts within the social and literary cultures of ancient Rome. Loren Johns represents, by contrast, classic historical criticism of the past century, with its emphasis on the sources and "background" of the text and the "intention" of the author. And like John himself in Revelation 5, both fix their gaze on the Lamb, "standing as though slain." How should we understand this strange, complex, contradictory image? Where Johns looks to the biblical tradition, Frilingos looks to the Roman world. And where Johns is ultimately unsuccessful at jibing the theology of the Apocalypse with his own church tradition, Frilingos is quite successful at his own *ekphrasis* of Roman culture on display in Revelation.

Robert M. Royalty, Jr.
Wabash College, Crawfordsville, IN 47933

Blackening the Bible: The Aims of African American Biblical Scholarship, by Michael Joseph Brown. New York: Trinity Press International, 2004. Pp. 226. $20.00 (paper). ISBN 1563383632.

Can I Get a Witness? Reading Revelation through African American Culture, by Brian K. Blount. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005. Pp. 155. $16.95 (paper). ISBN 0664228690.

As both of these works under review here deal with issues of social location and interpretation, it seems apt that I begin this review with a little (professional) location of my own. I approach both of these works not as a scholar of biblical studies but as a scholar of African American religion and cultural studies. My focus in analyzing Michael Joseph Brown's and Brian K. Blount's recent books is their use of cultural studies methodology and ideology in their work as biblical scholars.

In *Blackening the Bible*, Michael Joseph Brown sets out to trace the growth and

development of biblical studies performed and shaped by various African American perspectives, particularly in response and often in opposition to Eurocentric, specifically male Eurocentric, perspectives. His goal, as outlined in his preface, is to offer readers "an introduction to the enterprise of African American biblical hermeneutics" (p. ix). Brown's focus here is clear. He is concerned with academically credentialed biblical scholars who identify as African Americans and whose work is shaped by this identity.

After offering apt criticisms of the historical-critical method, most notably challenging its claims to objectivity, Brown outlines three alternative approaches to biblical studies. Though he does not speak specifically of cultural or literary studies, the methodologies of both of these fields underlie the theories he presents. Each argues that the reader brings his or her own conceptual framework or personal experience to bear on the text and that the "ordinary" or "common" reader has something to contribute to biblical interpretation. South African biblical scholar Gerald West's approach encourages scholars to pursue their own biblical interpretations, but to enter into a dialogue with "common" people whose interpretations may be at odds with scholars' own work. In creating this model, West recognized the importance of contributions of the "common" people while seeking to avoid either "romanticizing" or "minimiz[ing] these contributions" (p. 8). The second approach, typified by the work of Carlos Mesters, argues that people interpret the Bible to "[discover] the Word of God in [their] own reality" (p. 10). He notes that this approach is rarely the approach of biblical scholars, a difference he attributes to scholars' "Europeanized" educational process (p. 10). The final approach represented by Justin Ukpong, a Nigerian NT scholar, argues that "the ordinary people . . . are accorded the epistemological privilege" (p. 12). In conjunction with this notion, he suggests that biblical scholars "read with" communities, not trying to instruct or guide their readings, but "producing critical readings that retain the privileged insight of the marginalized" (p. 13). As Brown notes, all of these theories "place the Bible and its ostensible core message in the hands of the marginalized. Instead of classifying the Bible as a book to be examined by scholars or wielded by social and religious elites" (p. 15). Yet, in the final line of the introduction, Brown tells readers what they should not expect to find in this work: "interpretations of ordinary African Americans" (p. 23). Given the fact that his task is to provide a history of African American hermeneutics in the academy, this is certainly reasonable. It is striking, however, that the theories Brown invokes to challenge the historical/critical method and to legitimate the approaches of African American scholars argue so emphatically for the inclusion of ordinary voices. Yet Brown is facing a complex situation: he feels it necessary to legitimate African American hermeneutics as a scholarly enterprise and thereby must challenge notions that it "is guided by the contemporary interpretations of ordinary African Americans" (p. 23). Though his point is well taken and perhaps necessary, in making this argument that African American biblical hermeneutics "has not found a place among the larger African American populace yet," Brown undermines the contributions and interpretations of everyday African American readers outside of academia as well as the foundational assumptions of the theories he invokes.

As a whole, Brown's work effectively documents shifts and changes in African American biblical studies over time. He begins with Charles B. Copher's, and later Cain Hope Felder's, efforts to discern and discuss the presence of Africans in the Bible. He also offers a critique of such work, concluding that both scholars are "on shaky ground when it comes to the possibility of identifying black-skinned people in the biblical data"

and also noting that notions of race are significantly different today than in the world of "ancient Israelites and early Christians" (p. 52). Though their approach was not entirely successful, Brown notes that it has influenced the development of Afrocentricity in biblical studies, or reading the Bible "with Africa as an ideological construct at the center" (p. 54). Brown then discusses the "Womanization of Blackness" through the works of Renita J. Weems, Clarice J. Martin, Wilma Ann Bailey, and Cheryl A. Kirk-Duggan, before moving to a discussion of the latest movements in African American hermeneutics, including the work of Brian K. Blount.

Each of Brown's chapters is well organized, offering readers an introduction to various modes of thought, as well as an effective critique of and commentary on each approach. Furthermore, in outlining these varied and sometimes conflicting approaches, he provides a helpful corrective to those who would assume there is a single "African American" approach to the biblical text. In this way, in spite of the exclusion of "ordinary" voices, Brown is successful in demonstrating the diversity of possible readings to which the theorists in his introduction allude.

Brown himself is aware of the limitations of a work that focuses solely on biblical scholars and a hermeneutics that excludes the interpretations of those outside of academia. In his conclusion, he writes, "African American biblical scholars must endeavor to include the voices, perspectives, and concerns of the African Americans who occupy the churches, parachurch organizations, suburbs, and inner cities of our nation" (p. 160). He continues, "Part of the reluctance to include them may stem from the fear of what they will say . . . we often will confront interpretations that are not liberatory" (p. 160). Brown's insight speaks to what appears to be an inconsistency in the world of biblical cultural studies: a desire to include the voices of the "subaltern" but an unwillingness to accept as legitimate contradictory voices and perspectives (the theorists that Brown invokes offer some possible compromises to this dilemma). While biblical scholars (like scholars in all fields) have a right to argue for the validity of their work on the basis of their training, when they turn to cultural studies to justify their own work it threatens their claims to offer superior readings based on their own professional locations. Indeed, even as he makes a call to listen to these voices, Brown extends a cautionary note: "If the fear of Afrocentric interpreters is that fundamentalism will destroy the vitality of African American biblical interpretation, then efforts must be made to provide alternatives that liberate members of the community from a misguided biblical hegemony" (p. 161). This implies that African Americans who interpret through a fundamentalist lens are interpreting incorrectly. Or, alternately, that African Americans who interpret through a fundamentalist lens are, in fact, no longer really interpreting as African Americans. All of these ideas seem to run counter to a cultural studies methodology—one that, in most cases, does not advocate or condemn particular readings. Indeed, arguing for the primacy of one single reading is very much at odds with the ideology behind cultural studies. It is in these battles over "correct" readings even in the midst of arguing for multiple readings that the tensions between biblical studies and cultural studies are most evident. To be sure, literary theory that argues for multiple reading usually also allows for the possibility that some readings are better than others. However, at the intersections of literary and cultural theory, the trend is to understand and analyze the readings performed by groups outside of the mainstream, not to argue that their readings are wrong. Presuming that a subaltern group is reading poorly or incorrectly undermines the fundamental assumptions of cultural studies and exposes

African American biblical scholars to the same critique that they offer of those who would condemn their own readings.

The tensions between the fields are also evident in *Can I Get A Witness?* Blount writes that, while studying Revelation, he "found in that context a provocative correspondence with the long-standing and long-suffering circumstance of the African American church" (p. ix). To be sure, Blount's work offers a compelling new reading of Revelation, quite capable of standing on its own without the methodological apparatus of cultural studies that he invokes inconsistently and at times in contradictory ways.

Blount begins his reading of Revelation with a history of cultural studies that may seem unnecessary to readers familiar with the field, but that provides a summary for those to whom it is new. Blount's account of the field is, however, highly idealized. For example, he suggests that "there is a certain interpretive magic that happens as a result of methodological diversity" in cultural studies (p. 7). Blount explains that, for the "cultural studies interpreter," the "goal is not to determine what Revelation meant in John's first-century community; the goal is to ascertain how material written in and for that community becomes meaningful for a particular twenty-first-century community" (p. 10). While I agree that this is one possible approach offered by cultural studies, it is not the sole approach. Contrary to Blount's assertion, cultural studies as a field is not only concerned with "contemporary culture." Though its chronological focus traditionally has been limited to recent decades and centuries, scholars working in the field of cultural studies have indeed looked at historical moments that have preceded their own. Of course, some of the discrepancy here may be ascribed to terminological differences between fields. Thus, as an Americanist, contemporary culture suggests to me something that is taking place right now; it may suggest something quite different to a biblical scholar.

In invoking cultural studies, Blount is also working against historical/critical methodology. Like Brown, Blount's primary argument with historical/critical studies is not its methodology as such, but its claims of possessing objective truth and accuracy—that it can access the "real" meaning of the text. For he notes, "not only does [the cultural reader] *read* the biblical materials from his particular twenty-first-century cultural location; he will come to fully appreciate the fact that the texts themselves were *written* in and from particular first-century contexts" (p. 25). This seems a bit at odds with Blount's statement quoted above regarding the goal of the "cultural studies interpreter" who is not interested in John's context. His second assessment, however, is more to the point, as *both* the historical and contemporary contexts are important to Blount and his task, so long as the former is not privileged as possessing the ultimate truth. This standpoint also suggests that one could apply a cultural studies approach to the original text, thereby challenging notions of cultural studies as dealing only with contemporary culture.

A reader making his or her way through the introduction and first chapter may be a bit confused as to on whose behalf Blount is invoking cultural studies methodology. Is he justifying his own reading as an African American scholar? Or is he justifying the reading(s) of other African Americans whose culture informs his study? This is an issue he must resolve for the rest of the text to make sense. In his introduction Blount discusses "working on Revelation from my cultural location" (p. ix), and he explains that he uses "African American culture as [his] reading lens" (p. x) and later that he reads the text "through the lens of the Black Church" (p. 38). These suggest related but differing tasks. Reading from his cultural location, however affiliated with the black church, is not

the same as reading through the lens of the black church. One suggests a personal reading, from his perspective as an African American scholar, in which case, he is not actually performing cultural studies, but is invoking it as a justification for his reading. The second and third approaches potentially require Blount to perform the work of cultural studies. The fact that Blount does not clearly delineate these approaches may help to explain why the ensuing three chapters offer scholars three different models for using recent or contemporary culture as a tool for biblical interpretation.

As Blount explains in this first chapter, "the cultural studies reader tries to level the interpretive playing field not only by pointing out that all readings are culturally located and therefore on that basis 'equal'; she also presses the cause of the reading made by the less empowered community to ensure that it has a proper hearing as an effective and meaningful way of reading text. This is precisely the effort I will want to make with regard to an African American reading of John's Apocalypse" (p. 12). Yet, when Blount turns to African American culture, he does not examine specific interpretations of Revelation performed by a "less empowered community." While both Blount and Brown embrace cultural and literary studies methodologies that argue for the importance of multiple readers, they largely ignore readers outside of academia. There are, however, moments when Blount shows an interest in these readers: when he quotes a poem from Phyllis Wheatley or song lyrics from blues and rap songs. They are promising moments that speak to the possibilities that can occur at the intersections of biblical and cultural studies, but, with the exception of the last chapter, they are fairly rare. In his evaluation of Blount's earlier work, Brown noted that Blount had drawn on primary materials including spirituals and sermons, but in discussing Blount's work on slave narratives, Brown writes, "What is surprising to the reader, however, is just how little of the slave narratives are actually incorporated into Blount's project" (p. 132). *Can I Get A Witness?* elicits a similar response.

In ch. 2, Blount examines Revelation as a call to witness. Yet throughout his discussion he argues for a particular interpretation of Revelation first and then offers a parallel example from African American history (again—something very different from consulting African American readers for their interpretive insights or turning to African American history first to offer insight into Revelation). Interpreting the significance of the altar in Rev 6:9–11, Blount writes, "I would argue instead for the primacy of another part of the altar's meaning potential: justice and judgment" (p. 51). He then turns to Adela Yarbro Collins to argue that John's historical context supports his analysis. Only after he has provided his interpretation and this historical/critical support does he turn to an example from African American history: "it may well be that readers operating from a Black Church tradition . . . might see in this horrific scenario of slaughtered souls a symbolic call to respond to terror in ways that might help . . . bring about God's justice more quickly" (p. 53).

A few interesting things happen here. The first is that Blount seems to be reading African American culture (and history) through the lens of Revelation instead of vice versa. A compelling activity, but not exactly what he has proposed to do. Second, we see the same kind of speculation about meaning that Blount earlier criticized among those pursuing the historical/critical method. When he writes "it may well be that readers . . . might" he makes it clear that this is only a *potential* way of reading. He pursues this approach throughout the chapter, providing an interpretation of Revelation and then offering a related example from African American culture. In this way, he may support

his claim for the similar context of John's church and African American churches. Yet, by and large, he is relating the *text* of Revelation to the *context* of African American experiences.

In the third chapter, "Wreaking Weakness: The Way of the Lamb," Blount argues against traditional readings of the sacrificial lamb of Revelation. In the course of making his argument, Blount turns to a number of academics from different fields who have offered interpretations of Revelation, the black church, or both. Blount examines the "hermeneutic of sacrifice" that JoAnne Marie Terrell has documented among African Americans. He also examines Anthony B. Pinn's argument that "the effect of this hermeneutic still drives the church today" and that it can never "[bring] about the liberative transformation it promises" (p. 73). He later turns to Loren Johns, "a New Testament interpreter," and Theophus Smith. Thus, though this chapter maintains its focus on the relationship between African Americans and Revelation, it does not retain its attention to the very things that Blount finds so appealing about cultural studies methodology: the capturing of voices outside of the mainstream (of course, one can argue for varying degrees of outsider-ness). Expert, academic voices are providing the interpretive focus for Blount. Insofar as many of these scholars are African American, they may, of course, be broadly construed as being a part of African American culture, but, while he succeeds in documenting their responses, Blount does not successfully break away from an elite group of academics— something he does with more success, however, in his last chapter.

It is in the final chapter, "The Rap against Rome: The Spiritual-Blues Impulse and the Hymns of Revelation," that Blount truly reads "Revelation through African American culture." He turns to recent and contemporary culture to make sense of the hymns that appear in Revelation. Blount's work here is particularly compelling. As he has argued for the related context of African Americans and John's church, he examines African American uses of music to shed light on John's hymns in Revelation. Blount argues that hymns in the "Black Church," the blues, and rap are a function of the "context of oppression and an impulse of resistance against it" (p. 102). He then turns back to Revelation and argues that we can understand the hymns there to function in the same manner: "The hymns, then, are a celebration of confrontational resistance" (p. 107). And it is here that Blount seems to implement most effectively the approach he intended. He uses an analysis of a variety of African American musical traditions in the United States to interpret the hymns of Revelation. Reading Revelation through African American culture, he succeeds in capturing voices that are not academic and uses those voices to instruct him in his work. He strikes a balance of using insights outside of academia to enable him to assert an interpretation he, as a biblical scholar, is comfortable affirming.

If we regard Blount's work as "a very important contribution to . . . the emerging field of biblical cultural studies," we might also see it as indicative of some of the problems and inconsistencies that are concomitant with most emerging fields. If "biblical cultural studies" is more than social location, then it must, as Blount does in his final chapter, also reach outside of the hallowed halls of academia. There are a number of possibilities that occur when this effort takes place. The issue of *Semeia* entitled *In Search of the Present: The Bible through Cultural Studies* (ed. S. Moore; Semeia 82; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000) offers a prime example of the potential of such inquiry.

Other examples include Amy Johnson Frykholm's *Rapture Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), a work that also deals with interpretations of Revelation, particularly those shaped by the *Left Behind* books. Frykholm examines the meaning and import of *Left Behind* and Revelation in the lives of evangelicals and she succeeds in capturing the voices of "everyday" people; the voices of the subaltern form the core of the text. While Frykholm is not afraid to point to inconsistencies or contradictions in these interpretations, she does not set out an agenda for rectifying or altering the interpretations. This is not to say that the book is flawless or that it should become a model for those working in biblical cultural studies. It does, however, present an intriguing possibility, one also suggested by the work of Vincent Wimbush who argues for the need of "a comprehensive effort to relate and then interpret [the importance of the Bible in African American history] through attention to the various ways in which the Bible has been engaged by African Americans" ("The Bible and African Americans," in *Stony the Road We Trod: African American Biblical Interpretation* [ed. C. H. Felder; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991], p. 83).

Along these same lines, Thomas Hoyt, Jr., suggests that "[a]rtists and poets have been ahead of us in [the application of the creative imagination], and we may need to study more about how these persons have used their imaginations. . . . That study could help us express the truths of biblical texts in ways that would improve and vivify our own formation" ("Interpreting Biblical Scholarship for the Black Church Tradition," in Felder, *Stony the Road We Trod*, 38). His statement not only applies to published and praised writers and artists, but others writing or creating for themselves or for church communities (Hoyt does, however, stress the focus on artists who use "their imagination in disciplined ways," suggesting that not all interpretations are responsible ones). By seeking out these kinds of texts, biblical scholars can access interpretive traditions outside of the mainstream. There is the suggestion of interest in this kind of work in Blount and others including Hoyt who point to *The Gospel in Solentiname* as an example of the varied and alternate readings of the Bible. Yet there is relatively less interest in readings performed by "normal" people within the United States. Two factors may account for this. One, raised by Brown, is that in listening to the common people of our own country or community, we may hear things that we do not want to hear. Listening to the voices of another culture can be safer. If we do not like what we hear from these voices, we do not have to contend with them and the challenges they may present in the same way. There also appears to be an impulse to romanticize the peasants of Nicaragua, something about which Gerald West has cautioned scholars. Thus biblical scholars and cultural studies scholars have to navigate a difficult path, retaining an analytical focus of these subaltern readings even as they accept their legitimacy.

Clearly, there are a number of possible approaches that arise at the intersection of these fields. The only certainty is that there is not likely to be "one" biblical cultural studies. It is also clear that biblical scholars who invoke literary theory and cultural studies methodology to argue for the legitimacy of their own voices and readings must also examine the implications of these methodologies beyond the academic setting and be prepared to accept the legitimacy of readings that may be radically different from their own or run counter to their own purposes.

Danielle Brune Sigler
Austin College, Sherman, TX 75090

History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn, by Elizabeth A. Clark. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. x + 325. $19.95 (paper). ISBN 0674015843.

Elizabeth Clark ranks among the most distinguished historians of her generation specializing in late ancient Christianity. Her current book reveals a quite different take on her actual material—late ancient Christian, largely literary texts—than earlier works, such as *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* (1986) or *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (1999). This book seems to have a twofold goal. On the one hand, Clark wants to proclaim the benefits of the so-called linguistic turn to fellow historians of late ancient Christianity, many of whom, such as Robert Markus and Peter Brown (pp. 159–60), come from either a theological background or a social-science one, with the linguistic turn representing a kind of missing link in their approach. Obviously, her aim is to explain to the growing scene of patristic scholars why the linguistic turn is important to them and their profession, suggesting that "early Christian studies is now poised to attend to the textuality of early Christian writings: the works of Augustine, Eusebius, Tertullian, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, and others" (pp. 160–61). On the other hand, she is thereby subtly promoting a kind of further emancipation of early Christian studies across the university. No longer seen as the handmaiden of theology, as in the days of her own graduate work (p. 160), her book represents a challenge that neither should the field be considered the escort-bride of social history. What the linguistic turn as Clark sees it ultimately means is that early Christian studies has a distinctive and relevant contribution of its own to make to the general practice of history.

In this way Clark appears to want to open up the field of early Christian studies to a far larger historical readership than before. Within the broad context of the humanities, historians or philosophers of history may now take an interest in these texts not because of any lingering confessional ties or, conversely, out of a need to break them, but "simply" because they are culturally complex, highly interesting, and attractive literary texts. The term "simply" is indeed relevant here, because what Clark is doing to some extent is to return to approaches undertaken long before, namely, to engage in rhetorical analysis of late ancient Christian texts as a way of moving away from or beyond theological doctrine, taking these texts fully seriously as texts. As a distant example, one may think here of H. I. Marrou's *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937–49), but executed now in a far "thicker" way, as Clark has gone through social history, ritual and cultural studies, and feminism to arrive at her current theoretical position.

The book's central message about late ancient Christianity comes to the fore only in the final chapter (ch. 8: "History, Theory and Premodern Texts" [pp. 156–85]), making one think that an earlier start may perhaps have been advisable. But this is not to say that these earlier chapters are not relevant also for historians of late ancient Christianity. The starting point for Clark's entire endeavor seems to be the current reconfiguration of intellectual history, summarily indicated by the term "linguistic turn," which seems to be particularly beneficial to the study of premodern texts, providing a more welcoming home than the older history of ideas. In essence, chs. 1–7 tell the story of how this reconfiguration came about, as Clark moves from the French and German intellectual scenes back and forth to the Anglo-American tradition with considerable intellectual grace as

well as theoretical ease. Her book impresses and intimidates by being so directly in conversation with her historical models, being sometimes a bit overloaded on references and citations so as to make her own narrative slightly contorted at times. But these are minor comments, for her mastery of the literature involved, which is of high theoretical density, is generally above reproach.

In the first chapter, "Defending and Lamenting History" (pp. 9–28), Clark fittingly starts with Leopold von Ranke, the father of modern historical scholarship, whose American reception she faults for being more positivist in its rigid reliance on archival research than his German reception, due to a lack of counterpoises such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Wilhelm Dilthey. From Ranke through discussions about presentism and relativism to Ankersmit's position that a historical narration does not convey any technical knowledge but is simply a "proposal to look at the past from a certain point of view," all of this presupposes an Einsteinian revolution, which has not yet been and may never be completed by the entire historical guild.

Chapter 2, on "Anglo-American Philosophy and the Historians" (pp. 29–41), focusing on the work of Arthur Danto among others, tells the tale of how Anglo-American linguistic philosophers' attempts to improve the status of history as a discipline was abandoned by philosophers and rejected by historians (p. 37), as they now sought the help of either Hilary Putnam's internal realism or Richard Rorty's pragmatism.

Chapter 3, "Language and Structures" (pp. 42–62), shows how the arbitrariness of the sign and the extension of Saussurean linguistics to a semiology of culture would become the lasting legacy of structuralism, culminating in a suspension of the traditional correspondence theory of verification. The focus is mostly on Claude Lévi-Strauss and his critics, among whom are Paul Ricoeur and Jacques Derrida.

Chapter 4, on "The Territory of the Historian" (pp. 63–85), delves into the background of the Annales school, explaining Lucien Febvre's idea of mental tools (*outillage mental*) and the contribution of non-Annalistes such as Paul Veyne, who saw history as a heuristic principle. It also discusses the use of microhistory, scathingly criticized by Simon Schama as the pigmification of historical scale (p. 78), and ends with a discussion of Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm.

Chapter 5 focuses on "Narrative and History" (pp. 86–105). Having been disqualified before, narrative made a comeback but was at the same time challenged by theorists such as Roland Barthes and Hayden White. Clark claims that the ideology critique of narrative with its false sense of closure can be helpful in analyzing late ancient Christian texts. Theorists such as Barthes were roundly confronted by practicing historians like A. Momigliano, who still felt in control of their evidence. A pivotal role was played by Hayden White, whose *Metahistory* pointed to the web of commitments implied in the historian's interpretation. While the return to narrative was perhaps political as much as philosophical, for Clark, narrative critique has a powerful impact in opening up late ancient Christian texts.

Chapter 6, on "The New Intellectual History" (pp. 106–29) explains the comeback of intellectual history in the late 1970s. From a discussion of A. Lovejoy through R. G. Collingwood, and a little Hans Georg Gadamer, the focus is on the new history of ideas in France. Clark aptly discusses Michel Foucault, M. De Certeau, and R. Chartier, ending with Dominick Lacapra in the United States. Lacapra's attack on the positivism inherent in the documentary approach, which in his view has led to the marginalization

of intellectual history, should be replaced by a more subtle understanding of the interplay between text (all historians work on texts [p. 127]) and context.

Chapter 7, "Texts and Contexts" (pp. 133–55), focuses on the reconfiguration of text and context undertaken in the late twentieth century. The discussion here focuses on contextualists such as Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock, criticized by Derrida and Lacapra, after which Clark turns to the interpretive anthropology of Clifford Geertz, who sees the world as "text" while aiming at its "thick description." His text/reading model of interpretation called forth the criticism of Lacapra and others, who regard it as too close to face-to-face speech and less sophisticated than Derrida's view of text as a network of relations between instituted "traces" (p. 152). Therefore, his model is unsuited to Clark's own project of reading more stylized, late ancient Christian texts.

Chapter 8 at last brings up the matter of the place of early Christian studies at the academy and of its desired approach. Undertaking a conversation here with the medievalist Gabriel Spiegel about the social logic of the text (pp. 162–69), Clark pushes further still. Drawing on her rich experience of studying early Christian women, she advocates a social-theological approach to the highly literary texts of late ancient Christianity, commenting on the cases of Macrina, sister of Gregory of Nyssa, and Monica, mother of Augustine. It is clear that these women's lack of formal education poses no obstacle to Christian wisdom, but while Macrina proves a good model for Gregory to "think with" in his texts so as to modify his reception of Origenian ideas, she sees Augustine as using Monica especially to praise the virtues of submissive matrons. The advantage of the "linguistic turn" fully comes to light when Clark argues that we may not have their real lives but that, having given up that idea altogether, we can see through the textual representation in their "lives" the desire of (male) Christian writers that Christianity is open to all.

Throughout her book Clark sends out subtle messages how early Christian studies is a field undergoing a kind of developmental process of its own. Once the field has dealt with the effects of the linguistic turn, one wonders where it may go next. One thing is clear: it will be hard to find a more excellent and eloquent guide than Elizabeth Clark to inform us about it.

Willemien Otten
Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands 3508 TC

Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion, by Jonathan Z. Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. Pp. xv + 412. $24.00 (paper). ISBN 0226763870.

A new book by Jonathan Z. Smith is something to look forward to. This latest book by one of the most inspiring theorists of religion fully justifies the high-level expectations of the reader. It brings together sixteen essays, fifteen of them papers delivered between 1983 and 2003, and one a chapter from a textbook on the study of religion. Preceding these essays is a chapter containing what Smith calls a "bio-bibliographical essay" in which he sketches the development of his thinking on religion in response to his encounters with a succession of teachers, books, and students. It is a marvelous blend of autobiographical narrative and intellectual inquiry that deepens the appreciation for his work as a scholar; one comes away with the feeling of understanding why Smith is preoccupied with the questions that he has been pursuing for a lifetime.

This book is not the testament of a scholar at the close of a long and productive academic career. Nevertheless, the work allows us to identify some of the persistent concerns of Smith in his lifelong attempt to come to grips with religion. In fact, the intellectual biography that opens the book is almost an overt invitation to the reader to do the same. This review will signal two of those concerns. They seem to me to be central to the project of the study of religion as Smith understands it; they also touch on controversial issues and therefore merit commentary. The first is about taxonomy; the second about the relationship between language and experience.

In the autobiographical piece that serves as the first chapter, Smith describes his early fascination with grasses and their taxonomy. So strong was his fascination that for a time he thought about studying agrostology. Though his academic career took a different turn, he still is a reader of taxonomic journals. Far from being a simple anecdote from his adolescence, this tidbit is relevant for the enterprise on which Smith eventually launched, because issues of taxonomy, classification, and definition are crucial to the study of religion as a legitimate academic discipline.

The study of religion has basically two goals from which it derives legitimacy. First, it seeks to *classify* the forms of religious life by relating the particular to the general, the religions to religion, ritual acts to the structures of symbolic action, and so on. Second, it seeks to *explain* religious phenomena the way linguists explain linguistic phenomena. These two tasks are essential to the discipline; should one declare them impossible, there would be no place for the study of religion at the university. If some are willing to draw such a conclusion, relegating the study of religious phenomena to either philology or anthropology, Smith does not accept that the study of religion should forgo its claim to be an academic discipline in its own right.

Taxonomy, classification, and definition are the primary tools in relating the particular to the general. To Smith, the root metaphor for the taxonomic enterprise of the student of religion is the botanical morphology as developed by Goethe in his 1790 monograph *The Metamorphosis of Plants.* In defense of a formidable colleague from Chicago, Smith argues that what Mircea Eliade had to offer in his *Patterns in Comparative Religion* was not a phenomenology of religion but in fact a morphology. Without sharing the ontological presuppositions of the master, Smith is wholly sympathetic to his taxonomic enterprise. Much of his own work is to be understood against this background.

The commitment to the taxonomic enterprise leads Smith to postulate the necessity of the concept of religion in the singular. He is well aware that "religion" is neither a native concept nor a theological category: "it is a term created by scholars . . . that plays the same role in establishing a disciplinary horizon that a concept such as 'language' plays in linguistics or 'culture' plays in anthropology. There can be no disciplined study of religion without such a horizon" (p. 194). "Religion" is the archetype (Goethe's *Urpflanze*) or the ideal type (Weber) of which the various religions incarnate varieties. This approach to religion suggests that religion is "a construct of the scholar's mind" (p. 98; cf. 204), whereas religions are empirical realities. Upon closer inspection, however, religions, too, are chimerical entities that dissolve into a variety of sets of practices and beliefs. Here, then, lies a problem that merits further examination.

When it comes to defining religion, Smith is averse to an essentialist definition as given, for instance, by Melford E. Spiro, who made "belief in superhuman beings" the sine qua non of religion. Instead of a monothetic classification of religion, Smith advo-

cates for a polythetic strategy consisting in formulating "a large set of characteristics, any one of which would be necessary, but not sufficient, to classify a given entity as an instance of religion" (p. 166). The reader who expects an exhaustive list of such characteristics is in for a disappointment; Smith does not supply it. He is clearly uncomfortable with Spiro's definition but fails to provide an alternative. But let us leave the matter of defining religion for a moment and see what Smith has to say about the category of religions in the plural.

Looking back on his tribulations as editor in chief of *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion,* Smith rightly attacks the category of "world religions" (pp. 166–73). Having shown that the pedigree of the notion goes back, ultimately, to the division between "ours" and "theirs," or "true" and "false," he makes it clear that what really troubles him in such tags as Christianity, Hinduism, and Judaism is, once again, the supposition that each "world religion" is characterized by a distinctive essence. Against such an essentialist definition of the various religions, Smith argues that each religion is itself a plurality, a fact that requires us to speak of Christianities, Hinduisms, and Judaisms as plural entities by themselves (pp. 22–23, 53 n. 80).

Having arrived at this point of the argument, the reader might be wondering how Smith manages to retain the very categories he seems so keen on deconstructing. In his view, there is no single feature unique to religion in general or to any religion in particular. Over against an essentialist definition of religion and religions, Smith favors an approach that is attentive to the accidents of history, geography, and demography. He emphasizes that the religions we tend to take as single entities are in reality conglomerates of heterogeneous beliefs and practices; they owe their identity in nomenclature to something Smith fails to define but that must apparently have a common ancestry. Otherwise, how could one put distinct bundles of beliefs and practice under the heading of "Christianities" or "Judaisms"? The use of such plurals presupposes a common denominator. If that denominator is not to be found in the spurious "essence" of these religions, it must consist in the genetic connections between the divergent manifestations of Christianity, Judaism, and so on.

It is not clear to me that the use of such plurals as "Israelite religions," "Judaisms," and "Christianities" represents an advance over the naïve use of the singular by previous generations of scholars. The use of the singular does not prevent one from acknowledging the diversity within or the "internal pluralism" of a particular religion. The issue bears a resemblance to the relationship between languages and dialects. W. von Soden's *Grammar of the Akkadian Language* pays due attention to the particularities of Old, Middle, Standard, New, and Late Babylonian, as well as Old, Middle and New Assyrian. What would be the gain in changing the title into *Grammar of the Akkadian Languages*?

While I find the use of such plurals as "Christianities" and "Judaisms" more trendy than helpful, I agree with Smith that an essentialist definition of historical religions is to be rejected, because it would introduce a criterion by which to distinguish between "authentic" and "inauthentic" forms of Christianity, Judaism, and the like. However, it does not seem possible to me to avoid a reference to its essence when it comes to the definition of religion as a *genus.* A polythetic definition of religion, as advocated by Smith, only means that the essence of religion is more complex than a monothetic definition would suggest. The wholesale rejection of an essentialist definition of religion seems to stem from the suspicion that it might imply that there is an essence in religion

beneath, behind, or beyond the forms in which it manifests itself. Smith is rightly averse to the quest for a "deeper" meaning (p. 4). The surface, or the form, is the essence. But without any essence at all, the entire category of "religion" becomes pointless.

I believe the antiessentialism of Smith is intimately connected with another major theme in this book. At several points Smith asserts that "the central debates within the study of religion revolve around the relations of language and experience" (p. 366; cf. 207). The issue about the priority of either language or experience is far more relevant, Smith argues, than the outdated opposition of the study of religion versus theology (p. 362; cf. 207). The position of Smith is clear: language and experience are inseparable; they are coeval; there is no experience without language because language "creates" the world; it does not merely "reflect" it (p. 4). We experience the world in and through language—language in the broad sense of the term, including the language of symbols. "Raw" experience does not exist; it is always mediated through language. Religion, then, is best understood as a particular mode of language.

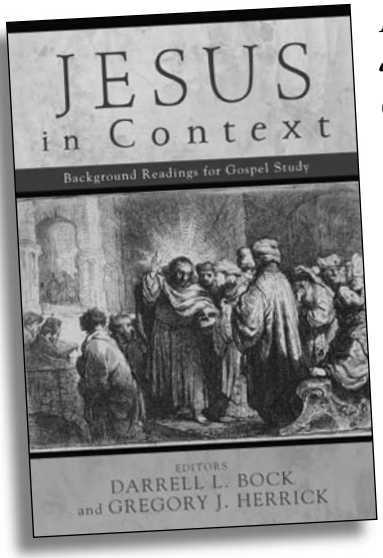
If religion is a particular mode of language, then explaining religion is, at heart, an act of translation (p. 105; cf. 134, 208). The explanations a student of religion can offer are not causal explanations; they are redescriptions of the same thing in another language. The model of such a redescription remains, for Smith, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life,* in which Durkheim translated the language of religion (the unknown) into the language of sociology (the known). Any translation is necessarily inadequate, since to translate is to traduce. But as translating is a "relentlessly social" activity (p. 208), it is always open to rectification. Translating is not impossible. A Chinese poem can be translated into English, and philologists and poets can discuss the merits of the result. Applied to the explanatory project of religion, it is up to the academic community to determine which translation has the highest explanatory value.

The parallel between religion and language, or the interpretation of religion as a mode of language, is consistent with the rejection of an essentialist definition of religion. This brings us back to the first issue raised in this review: that of definition and classification. If religion is a mode of language, it differs from nonreligious modes of language by its vocabulary and its grammar. But the words and their order move in the realm of signs, and signifiers are not to be mistaken for the signified. The student of religion studies the words and the syntax; the reality to which they refer falls outside the scope of investigation. Here, ultimately, the opposition of theology and the study of religion makes its reentry upon the scene, for theology does pretend to make enunciations concerning the reality behind the language; the academic study of religion, however, can only classify the language and offer a translation.

These reflections on two themes from the book are only a modest indication of its riches. Smith is to be congratulated on the publication of a fundamental and thought-provoking contribution on religion and religions.

Karel van der Toorn
University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands NL-2341 JX

JESUS in Context



Darrell L. Bock
and Gregory J. Herrick, editors

0801027195 • 272 pp. • $22.99p

"Bock and Herrick have given students of the Gospels an extremely useful reference by sifting through an enormous library of pagan, Jewish, and Christian texts to provide illuminating backgrounds for specific passages. The authors are careful to note the dates of the sources so that the discerning reader may be aware of the relative distance in time between these texts and the New Testament."
—**Edwin M. Yamauchi**, Miami University

"The more a person understands the first-century Jewish world, the more easily he or she can understand Jesus and the Gospel writers. Bock and Herrick have given readers one of the quickest and easiest paths into that world, and they have done so by showing systematically how specific Jewish, Greco-Roman, and early Christian texts throw light on the Gospel narratives."—**Klyne Snodgrass**, North Park Theological Seminary

"This very useful book is full of information for the readers of the Gospels. *Jesus in Context* matches Gospel texts with interesting parallels from other ancient Jewish and early Christian sources, illuminating the biblical texts. It is indispensable for pastors and students of theology."—**Martin Hengel**, University of Tübingen

"Students of the Gospels will find this collection invaluable. It will be a crucial tool for those who do not work regularly with ancient Jewish sources and should also prove useful for those who do."—**Craig S. Keener**, Eastern Seminary

Baker Academic
Extending the Conversation

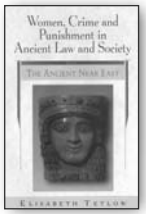
Available at your local bookstore, www.bakeracademic.com, or by calling 1-800-877-2665
Subscribe to Baker Academic's electronic newsletter (E-Notes) at www.bakeracademic.com

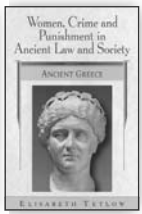
New perspectives on ancient history

Women, Crime, and Punishment in Ancient Law and Society

By Elisabeth M. Tetlow

Crime and punishment, criminal law, and its administration have been explored less than many other aspects of ancient civilizations. Women have always been both victims and offenders yet, historically, laws have been created, interpreted, and enforced by men. This two-volume work by a woman with a doctorate in law, philosophy, theology, biblical studies, and semitic languages, explores the role of gender in the formation and administration of ancient law. It also reexamines prior conclusions, enable the lives of ancient women to be seen in the light of modern feminist scholarship.





Volume 1—The Ancient Near East
HC 0-8264-1628-4 $35 Cdn $45.95 Continuum

Volume 2—Ancient Greece
HC 0-8264-1629-2 $35 Cdn $45.95 Continuum

Didache and Judaism

Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work

By Marcello Del Verme

The author takes a new look at the Jewishness of the Christian Didache. He limits his research to exploration of historical questions regarding the definition of the identity of the various groups present in the Didache. Such perspective allows the research on the Didache to enter into the rich and fruitful stream of recent studies that aim at exploring the many identities existing in the Ancient Near East, in particular among Jews and Christians with their inner dialectics. This is the first book in the Texts and Studies series, which will examine specific Jewish and Christian texts from the first and second centuries, offering English translations side-by-side with the Greek or Hebrew.

312pp
PB 0-567-02541-1 $29.95 Cdn $38.95
HC 0-567-02531-4 $100.00 Cdn $130.00
Available now T&T Clark International

Navigating Romans Through Cultures

Challenging Readings by Charting a New Course

Edited by K.K. Yeo

"This fascinating volume at the cutting edge of cultural interpretation includes contextual readings of Romans from five continents that move biblical studies beyond the boundaries of mainstream scholarship. It is one of the first collections to display diverse global perspectives on a single New Testament work. These essays will surely enliven the interpretive imagination of scholars, teachers, students, and pastors."—*David Rhoads, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago*

336pp PB 0-567-02501-2 $35.00 Cdn $45.50
Available now T&T Clark International

From good bookstores or call to order 1-800-561-7704

continuum

0-8006-3766-6 hardcover
176 pp. $25.00

A fresh perspective

on the Apostle's context and convictions

"For me," says N.T. Wright, "there has been no more stimulating exercise, for the mind, the heart, the imagination and the spirit, than trying to think Paul's thoughts after him and constantly to be stirred up to fresh glimpses of God's ways and purposes with the world and with us strange human creatures."

N. T. WRIGHT

PAUL

Fresh Perspectives

Wright's accessible new volume takes a fresh look at Paul in light of recent understandings of his Jewish roots, his attitude toward the Roman Empire, and his unique reframing of Jewish symbols after his experience of the risen Christ. Wright explores the main theological contours of Paul's thought and his importance for today.

Part One: *Themes*

1. Paul's World, Paul's Legacy
2. Creation and Covenant
3. Messiah and Apocalyptic
4. Gospel and Empire

Part Two: *Structures*

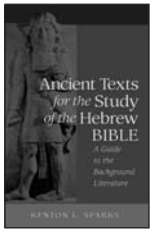
1. Rethinking God
2. Reworking God's People
3. Reimagining God's Future
4. Paul, Jesus, and the Task of the Church

at bookstores or call
1-800-328-4648

FORTRESS PRESS
Augsburg Fortress, Publishers
fortresspress.com

HENDRICKSON PUBLISHERS

Ancient Texts for the Study of the Hebrew Bible
A Guide to the Background Literature



KENTON L. SPARKS

In addition to excerpts, this exemplary guide offers summaries of texts from over 30 genres and their relation to biblical passages—a thorough introduction for students—a bibliographic feast for time-pressed scholars.

$39.95 retail • ISBN 1-56563-407-1 • Cloth • 608 pages • 6 x 9 inches
Biblical Studies • Interpretation • Old Testament • Available June 2005

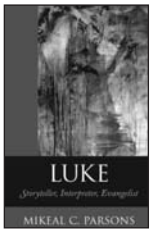
Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies
A Guide to the Background Literature

CRAIG A. EVANS

This skillful survey of primary source materials amasses the requisite details of date, language, text, translation, and general bibliography—and evaluates exegetical relevance for NT interpretation. Six appendices save the interpreter precious time.

$34.95 retail • ISBN 1-56563-409-8 • Cloth • 488 pages • 6 x 9 inches
Biblical Studies • Interpretation • New Testament • Available August 2005

Luke
Storyteller, Evangelist, Interpreter

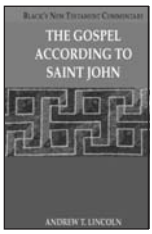


MIKEAL C. PARSONS

Parsons examines Luke as a storyteller within the context of ancient rhetorical criticism, as an interpreter of traditional materials and social conventions, and an evangelist who viewed Jesus as a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for the glory of the people of Israel.

$19.95 retail • ISBN 1-56563-483-7 • Paper • 300 pages • 5½ x 8½ inches
Gospels • Interpretation • Available November 2005

The Gospel According to John
Black's New Testament Commentary, Vol. IV



ANDREW T. LINCOLN

A reliable and enlightening exposition based on Lincoln's own translation. Introducing the historical, literary, and theological backgrounds of John's gospel, he leads the reader on a pericope-by-pericope study of the text.

$29.95 retail • ISBN 1-56563-401-2 • Cloth • 400 pages • 5½ x 8½ inches
New Testament • Commentary • Available August 2005

Scripture
An Ecumenical Introduction to the Bible and Its Interpretation

MICHAEL J. GORMAN, EDITOR

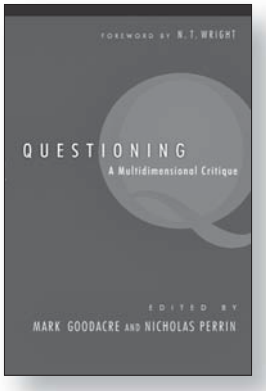
A beginning student at adult education level could not ask for a better or clearer introduction to the study of the Bible.

—James D. G. Dunn, University of Durham

$19.95 retail • ISBN 1-56563-927-8 • Paper • 304 pages • 6 x 9 inches
Biblical Studies • Interpretation • Theology • Available August 2005

Toll-free: 800-358-3111 • Outside continental United States: 978-532-6546
E-mail: orders@hendrickson.com • Web site: www.hendrickson.com • Fax: 978-531-8146

New *in* Biblical Studies
from InterVarsity Press

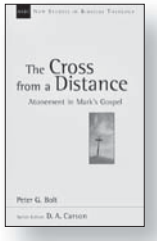


Questioning Q
A Multidimensional Critique

Edited by Mark Goodacre
and Nicholas Perrin
Foreword by N. T. Wright

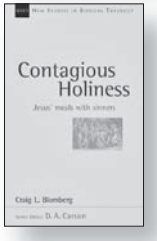
Editors Mark Goodacre and Nicholas Perrin introduce a diverse group of scholars who challenge the current consensus regarding Q.

*224 pages, paper, 0-8308-**2769**-2, $19.00*



The Cross from a Distance
Atonement in Mark's Gospel
(New Studies in Biblical Theology)
Peter G. Bolt

*213 pages, paper, 0-8308-**2619**-X, $22.00*



Contagious Holiness
Jesus' Meals with Sinners
(New Studies in Biblical Theology)
Craig L. Blomberg

*208 pages, paper, 0-8308-**2620**-3, $20.00*

IVP InterVarsity Press *Available in bookstores or at* www.ivpress.com

In honor of 125 years of
fostering biblical scholarship,
everyone is invited
to support:

global horizons
new voices
publications
expanded programs
digital resources

Celebrate the past.
Invest in the future.
Support the 2005-2006
SBL Anniversary Campaign
www.sbl-site.org/125years

SBL est. 1880
Society of Biblical Literature

JBL 124/3 (2005) 599-600

INDEX OF BOOK REVIEWS