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Shattering the Image of God: A Response to Theodore Hiebert's Interpretation of the Story of the Tower of Babel

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It was with rapt attention that I read Theodore Hiebert's recent article "The Tower of Babel and the Origin of the World's Cultures,"[1] for he made an important argument that has been missed heretofore in the study of Genesis 11 and presented a thesis that is both essentially correct and much needed. It is with this fundamental appreciation that I respond in this brief note with a "yes . . . , but . . . ."

I. HIEBERT'S UNDERSTANDING OF GENESIS 11:1–9 AS THE DISPERSION OF THE NATIONS

Hiebert's thesis, positively stated, is that the story of the tower of Babel found in Gen 11:1–9 presents an explanation for why nations were scattered all over the earth and were separated by space and language. To put the matter negatively, he seeks to counter the traditional argument that the story depicts God's punishment of human hybris. He states that "the story of Babel in Gen 11:1–9 is exclusively about the origins of cultural difference and not about pride and punishment at all."[2] Quite on point, Hiebert notes that the story really does not focus on the tower (but rather on the city), explaining that the description of the tower, with "its top in the

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[1] Theodore Hiebert, "The Tower of Babel and the Origin of the World's Cultures," *JBL* 126 (2007): 29–58.
[2] Ibid., 31.

sky" (ראשו בשמים) is just a common idiom for an impressively tall tower, an idiom used of other tall structures.[3] This observation takes away the common basis for commentators' ascribing the motive of this passage to human pride. The real focus is on the unity of humankind, emphasized by expressions such as "one language and the same words" (NRSV; שפה אחת ודברים אחדים [Gen 11:1; also 11:6]), "one people" (עם אחד [11:6]), and "all the earth" (כל־הארץ [11:1, 4, 8, and 9]).[4] Nor does Hiebert understand God's actions to be punishment. Instead, Hiebert states that "God is reacting not to pride, defiance, or imperial power, but to the cultural uniformity of humanity, and that God's response is not an act of punishment or judgment, but an intervention to introduce cultural difference."[5] Hiebert argues that God's evaluation of the humans' activities is not judgmental but merely descriptive, observing that humanity is one people (meaning a single kinship society with common ancestry and culture) with one language. He actually paraphrases God's comment in this way: "'From what they have accomplished already, it looks like their plans to remain one people with one language in one place will succeed.'"[6] Also of interest is how Hiebert places the tower of Babel story within the broader context of both the Yahwist and the Priestly writer, arguing that for both, the valley in the land of Shinar (v. 2) was "the cradle of civilization," out of which both sources depict Israel's ancestor Abraham migrating westward into Canaan.[7] And so, yes, Hiebert has made very significant clarification regarding Genesis 11. Indeed, the focus of the story is the dispersion of the nations across the earth, and he has appropriately raised the question of the connection of this story to the larger textual context.

But . . . , perhaps Hiebert too readily throws out the baby with the bathwater when he states that the story has nothing to do with punishment, or—if not punishment—perhaps better, with God's countermand to humankind's activities in regard to the tower and the city. For God's actions—to create many nations each with its own language (v. 8: "So the LORD scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth" [NRSV]; ויפץ יהוה אתם משם על־פני כל־הארץ; cf. also v. 9b)—certainly counter the humans' desire not "to be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth" (v. 4 [NRSV]; פן־נפוץ על־פני כל־הארץ).[8] Such a direct repetition

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[3] Ibid., 37–39.

[4] Ibid., 33–34.

[5] Ibid., 42.

[6] Ibid., 43–45; quotation from 45.

[7] Ibid., 51.

[8] Hiebert proposes his own interpretation to counter the "interpretive spin" (p. 49) of other, more traditional commentators. He argues that the repetitious language in the story merely emphasizes the fact that human culture is intrinsically linked with place and language (p. 50). God's actions are presented not as punishment but rather as necessary intervention to disrupt humans' misguided wish to unite. Humanity's plans were unwittingly counter to the divine will that people disperse across the earth (cf. p. 54).

of phrases calls the reader back to the text to ask one more time the relationship between the actions of humanity and those of God. At this point, I would consent that the word "punishment" may not be exactly the right word to describe God's actions, but I would nuance Hiebert's interpretation by arguing that, at least in its final form, the text presents God's actions as a counter to humanity's intentions. I suggest that a better word with which to replace "punishment" would be "shattering."

II. The Tower of Babel and the Image of God

Similar to Hiebert, I continue to feel more comfortable with more traditional source-critical explanations of the development of Genesis and of the Pentateuch than many of the newer approaches.[9] I hold that there was a Yahwist, to be dated early in the monarchy,[10] but more precisely, my views reflect those of Frank Moore Cross in regard to the role of the Priestly writers. Specifically, the Priestly work should best be understood as a systemizing expansion and ordering of earlier normative national epic materials (i.e., JE), to be dated in the exile.[11] For the current discussion, this position means that the narrative of the tower of Babel (while stemming from an earlier J source) was utilized by the later Priestly tradents in order to conclude the primeval story, initiated and contextualized by their own creation account in Gen 1:1–2:4a. The priests found in this J account, well known to them and already authoritative, the foundational images explaining why Israel was separated from the other nations, yet also why the nation remained an integral member of the international community. They did not have to discard the narrative, but could utilize it for their own ends, for the J account explained what their own P

[9] See Hiebert's position (p. 32). A lengthy bibliography on this topic could be cited, but an excellent survey of the field over the last thirty years can be found in Rolf Rendtorff's "What Happened to the 'Yahwist'? Reflections after Thirty Years" (paper delivered at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, July 4, 2006, Edinburgh, Scotland [on the Society of Biblical Literature's Forum Web site, http://www.sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleID=553 (accessed August 15, 2007)]). Of course, Rendtorff's impressive and well-known 1977 work on the development of the Pentateuch has been translated as *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* (trans. John J. Scullion; JSOTSup 89; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990). More recently, one should note Christoph Levin's work on the Yahwist, *Der Jahwist* (FRLANT 157; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); and idem, "The Yahwist: The Earliest Editor in the Pentateuch," *JBL* 126 (2007); 209–30.

[10] Contra Levin, who argues that the Yahwist was a late-seventh- to early-sixth-century editor, responding to an exilic situation (see his concluding comments, "Yahwist," 230).

[11] See Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 294–95, 304–5. Specifically in regard to Gen 11:1–9, see Bernhard W. Anderson, "The Tower of Babel: Unity and Diversity in God's Creation," in *From Creation to New Creation: Old Testament Perspectives* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 173–74.

account (Gen 10:1–32) merely described.[12] Indeed, certain markers in the final text drive the reader to connect the J source's story of the tower with the P source's creation account, and these connections in turn modify Hiebert's thesis. Once integrated into the broader Primeval History (Genesis 1–11),[13] the tower of Babel story conveys the message that God has given up on all of humankind as his image, in effect smashing it to pieces (an image to be explained below), and has instead selected one piece of that image, that is, one nation, to be made anew into the divine image.

The first person plural cohortative, as spoken by God, appears only twice in the Primeval History, once at the conclusion of the Priestly creation story in Gen 1:26, and the second time in story of the tower of Babel, 11:7. In Gen 1:26, God caps creation with the creation of humankind: "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness" (נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו). This first person plural command is the last in a series of spoken commands to create, the others all being stated as third person jussives (vv. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, and 24). The next time the divine council is commanded to act through the divine cohortative is Gen 11:7, "Come, let us go down and confuse their language there . . ." (הבה נרדה ונבלה שם שפתם). Certainly, one must consider the connection between God's speech in v. 7 and that of the humans in vv. 3 and 4, because of the repeated use of the initial הבה[14] followed by the first person cohortative in all three verses. But the question is how best to understand this connection. The striking fact here is the intentionally sparse—and so, striking—use of the cohortative by God, which recalls to the reader's mind Gen 1:26. The humans' use of the cohortative, in effect, characterizes them as intruding into God's role as one who can create by fiat. The divine use of the plural cohortative, then, creates a bookend that signals to the reader the close of the Primeval History, specifically the end of the chapter in which God attempted to make humankind in his image.

Just as powerfully, however, this bookend also draws the reader back to the image of God, leaving the modern (but not the ancient) reader wondering what the connection is between the image and the tower of Babel. Among others, Edward M. Curtis has pointed to the model and function of ancient Near Eastern

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[12] See also the comments of Jack M. Sasson, "The 'Tower of Babel' as a Clue to the Redactional Structuring of the Primeval History (Genesis 1:1–11:9)," in *"I Studied Inscriptions from before the Flood": Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11* (ed. Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994; repr. from *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* [ed. Gary Rendsburg et al.; New York: Ktav and the Institute of Hebrew Culture and Education of New York University, 1980] 211–19), 450.

[13] Hiebert ("Tower of Babel," 54–55) also looks at the broader context of the Babel narrative but examines it within individual sources, J and P, which leads him to make connections different from those to be made here, and with a different resulting interpretation.

[14] In contrast to older approaches, הבה should also be viewed as a cohortative. See *HALOT* 1:236.

victory stelae as the conceptual parallel for the Priestly authors' image of God in Gen 1:26–28.[15] Victory stelae were intended by the kings who set them up to communicate to outsiders that they had conquered the city or territory, and that they then had control and authority over that land. When applied to humankind, the priests were stating that humans, as the image of God and the pinnacle of his creating acts, testify to Yahweh as the God who controls the powers of chaos, and has life-giving power and authority over this world.[16]

As Phyllis Bird has stated, the study of the image of God has been an atomizing one, focused on single words or clauses.[17] As such, the study has not been especially fruitful, since the expression occurs in only four verses in the Hebrew Bible, all in the Primeval History.[18] In contrast, the concept of a stele being fashioned after the image and likeness of a king (or a god) was not unusual in the ancient world but was commonly found on victory stelae.[19] The Assyrian king,

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[15] Approaching the study of the image of God by means of ancient Near Eastern parallels, as will be done here, is neither new nor, interestingly enough, common. For discussions of the history of scholarly opinion on the image of God, see Gunnlaugur Jónsson, *The Image of God: Genesis 1:26–28 in a Century of Old Testament Research* (ConBOT 26; Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1988); Edward M. Curtis, "Man as the Image of God in Genesis in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Parallels" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 4–50; idem, "Image of God *(OT),*" *ABD* 3:389–91; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (trans. John J. Scullion; Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 147–61; and Phyllis Bird, "'Male and Female He Created Them': Gen 1:27b in the Context of the Priestly Account of Creation," *HTR* 74 (1981): 129–59. Karl Barth's ethical approach to the interpretation of the image of God has commanded the attention of biblical scholars as well as systematicians since the 1930s. Prior to this, however, looking to the ancient Near Eastern context as the means by which to unlock the meaning of the image of God in Gen 1:26–28 was common. Biblical scholars, especially in Germany, have returned to this approach since the 1960s. See Jónsson, *Image of God,* 313–24.

[16] For a more detailed explanation, see my essay, "Israel as a Testimony to Yнwн's Power: The Priests' Definition of Israel," in *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride* (ed. John T. Strong and Steven S. Tuell; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 91–97.

[17] Phyllis Bird, "Male and Female," 130. Curtis *(ABD* 3:389–90) states that "commentators have not been able to agree on what the decisive clues are, and the interpretation of the image of God has often reflected the *Zeitgeist* and has followed whatever emphasis happened to be current in psychology, or philosophy, or sociology, or theology."

[18] See Gen 1:26, 27 (twice); 5:2; and 9:6. The fundamental concept is seen most notably also in Psalm 8 (see, e.g., Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis* [rev. ed.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972], 58). John Kutsko ("Ezekiel's Anthropology and Its Ethical Implications," in *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives* [ed. Margaret S. Odell and John T. Strong; SBLSymS 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 125) and Dexter E. Callender ("The Primeval Human in Ezekiel and the Image of God," in ibid., 175–93) have independently argued that the concept is also found in Ezekiel.

[19] The examples presented in this article are limited by necessity. Much fuller collections have been presented in Curtis, "Man as the Image of God," 80–188; and Hans Wildberger, "Das

Ashur-nasir-pal II (883–859 B.C.E.), serves as an instructive example, being described by H. W. F. Saggs as the "real founder" of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.[20] In his first year, to boast about and intimidate through his victories, Ashur-nasir-pal II states that he set up a stele bearing his image. Regarding his victories in the land of Kirhi, he writes:

> At that time I fashioned an image of my own likeness, the glory of my power I inscribed thereon, and in the mountain of Edi, in the city of Assur-nâsir-pal, at the (flyer) source, I set it up.[21]

Likewise, after subduing Ahiababa, a usurper who took control of the area at the confluence of the Habur and Euphrates rivers, Ashur-nasir-pal writes:

> At that time I fashioned a heroic image of my royal self, my power and my glory I inscribed thereon, in the midst of his palace I set it up. I fashioned memorial steles and inscribed thereon my glory and my prowess, and I set them up by his city gate.[22]

One final quotation will have to suffice:

> The fear of my dominion extended to the land of Karduniash (Babylonia), and the chilling fear of my arms overwhelmed the land of Kaldu. Over the mountains, on the banks of the Euphrates, I poured out terror. A statue in my (own) image I fashioned. (The record of) my power and might I inscribed (thereon). In the city of Sûru I set it up. (The inscription reads:) "Assur-nâsir-pal, the king whose glory and might are enduring, whose countenance is set toward the desert, whose heart desires to make broad his protection(?)."[23]

A couple of observations need to be highlighted from these examples of Ashur-nasir-pal establishing stelae made in his image. First, the images of Ashur-nasir-pal were set up after a military victory and in order to declare the might and dominion of the Assyrian conqueror. Second, while the text relating Ashur-nasir-pal's activities was written on pavement stones in Calah, the stelae he erected were located in the conquered territories. In short, the audience was not Ashur-nasir-pal's friends and members of his royal court; they were his enemies. The stelae were intended to declare Assyria's dominance to those who might want to question it.

Abbild Gottes," *TZ* 21 (1965): 245–59, 481–501. In particular, both Curtis and Wildberger draw upon Egyptian material as well.

[20] H. W. F. Saggs, *The Might That Was Assyria* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984), 72; and also Grayson, *ARI* 2:113–14.

[21] Daniel David Luckenbill, *ARAB* 1:143, §441. In this and subsequent citations, I have intentionally used the older translation by Luckenbill because its language displays more transparently the connections I want to emphasize. Generally, however, much of Luckenbill's work has been superseded by Grayson's *ARI*. The inscription cited here was carved into the pavement slabs leading to the entrance to the temple of Urta at Calah.

[22] Luckenbill, *ARAB* 1:145, §443.

[23] Ibid., 1:160–61, §470.

And so was the intended role of humankind in Gen 1:26–28. God had just brought order to the formless void (Gen 1:2: תהו ובהו), and before resting[24] he established his victory stele to testify to his domination over his vanquished enemy. Humankind, then, was set up after God's victory and to declare God's dominion in a conquered region.

Before returning to Genesis 11, two more citations from the Neo-Assyrian Empire will set the stage for the ensuing discussion. At the end of his memorial erected at the entrance to the Urta temple in Calah, Ashur-nasir-pal II launches into a vehement curse on anyone who would at any time in the future erase his name from the shrine. He states:

> But whosoever shall not act according to the word of this my memorial stele, and shall alter the words of my inscription or shall destroy this image, or shall remove it . . . , so that none may behold it nor read it, or, because of these curses, shall send a hostile foe, or an evil enemy, . . . and shall cause him to take it, and he shall deface it, or scrape it, or shall change its meaning to something else, or shall set his mind, to take counsel with his heart, to destroy this my image, and to alter the words (of the inscriptions) . . . , may Assur, the great lord, the Assyrian god, the lord of destinies, curse his destiny, destroy his works and may he utter an evil curse that the foundation of his kingdom may be uprooted, and that his people may be destroyed.[25]

Tampering with the king's image on a stele was a serious offense, tantamount to challenging the dominion of the Assyrian king. And so, the curse called for the destruction of the offender's kingdom. Moreover, to "alter the words of my inscription" and to "change its meaning to something else" would especially include scratching off the name of the king who was being memorialized. For example, in a building cylinder commemorating the restoration of the shrine to Ishtar at Erech, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) curses anyone who would remove his name from the shrine.

> Whenever, in days to come, a future prince (finds) that shrine falling to decay in his reign, let him restore its decay, let him write my name along with his name, let him anoint with oil the memorial inscription with my name, let him offer sacrifices and set it up alongside of his memorial. And the gods will hear his prayers. But he who blots out my written name by means of some clever device, destroys my memorial, or changes its location, may Ishtar of Erech look upon him in anger, decree an evil destiny for him, blot out his name and see in the land. Yea, may she have no mercy upon him.[26]

The curse for erasing a name from a memorial and that for defacing the image on a stele were the same, because the crime was the same.

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[24] See Bernard F. Batto, "The Sleeping God: An Ancient Near Eastern Motif of Divine Sovereignty," *Bib* 68 (1987): 65.

[25] Luckenbill, *ARAB* 1:176, §495.

[26] Ibid., 2:282–83, §741

This discussion should make clear that in the culture of the ancient Near East, the connection between a victory stele bearing the image of a king and the name of the king was assumed. Thus, when the humans state that their motive for building the city and the tall tower is "to make a name for ourselves" (Gen 11:4, ‎נעשה־‎ ‎לנו שם‎), it would be clear to an ancient reader that the humans were defacing the image of God and were, in essence, scratching off the name of God and replacing it with their own name. This was not a neutral act, though this may be lost on modern readers; it was an act of hybris. Hiebert is correct, in the sense that building a city with a tall tower may not, in and of itself, have been the act that evoked God's wrath, but he missed a critical point that would have been obvious to the Priestly writers and their audience.[27] In addition to the content itself, the grammatical structure of the passage focuses the reader's attention. Hiebert understands the motive to be the final clause in v. 4b, "lest we be scattered upon the face of all the earth" (‎פן־נפוץ על־פני כל־הארץ‎) with the actions of building a city and making a name as parallel cohortative clauses that state the means by which people will achieve their goal: not to be scattered across the face of the earth.[28] The grammatical structure points in another direction, however. In v. 3, the first cohortative, ‎נלבנה‎ ("let us make bricks") is introduced by ‎ויאמרו‎ . . . ‎הבה‎ ("They said . . . Come!" *qal* preterite followed by an imperative). Likewise in v. 4, the second cohortative is introduced by ‎ויאמרו הבה‎ ("Then they said, Come!"). Thus, making the bricks and then building the city are parallel grammatical constructions. The third cohortative, ‎נעשה־‎ ‎לנו שם‎, is not introduced by ‎הבה‎, breaking the parallel and grammatically differentiating the human's call to make a name for themselves. The sequence of ‎הבה‎ + cohortative/‎הבה‎ + cohortative/cohortative (without ‎הבה‎) places the motive not in the final clause of v. 4 ("lest we be scattered . . .") but rather in the last cohortative ("Let us make a name . . .").[29]

Hiebert is correct, however, in identifying the final clause in v. 4b, "lest we be scattered," as representing the purpose of the humans,[30] for it does stand grammatically connected to the purpose clause immediately prior, "let us make a name for ourselves." The two clauses are actually the same concept stated, first, positively

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[27] See Hiebert, "Tower of Babel," 39–40, and especially his discussion and the references he cites in n. 31.

[28] Hiebert ("Tower of Babel," 36) cites Gesenius (GKC, §107q, 152w) as his guide in this grammatical decision.

[29] See Thomas O. Lambdin's discussion in *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 119, §107c. Lambdin states: "This important sequence [imperative, jussive, or cohortative, followed by an imperative or a cohortative] usually has a special translation value, which should be carefully noted. The second clause expresses a purpose or result (Eng. 'so that')." In Gen 11:4, it is not the second cohortative (i.e., "let us build") that exposes the humans' purpose, but rather the third, "let us make a name . . . ." This is the reason for the repetition of the two + cohortative constructions. See also *IBHS*, 575, §34.5.2b.

[30] Hiebert, "Tower of Babel," 36.

and then, second, negatively; these two clauses represent the two sides of the same concept. For all practical purposes, the two clauses form a conceptual hendiadys.[31] If establishing a name for oneself was tantamount to establishing a boundary stele in one's image, then the elimination of one's name was tantamount to shattering the image. Just such an act was common in the ancient Near East,[32] which is exactly why Ashur-nasir-pal II and Esarhaddon spewed forth such vehement curses against their yet unknown, future enemies.

The story of the tower of Babel, then, narrates the tale of the humans in essence scratching the name of Yahweh off of his boundary stele and writing their own name in its stead. God came down, saw what was going on, and shattered his own stele, that is to say, shattered his own image. It had been defiled. Indeed, God's image, humankind, acted with hybris, seeking the place of God. Whether one wants to call it punishment or, more neutrally, a countermove on the part of God, in any case, the scattering of humankind was the narrative equivalent of shattering the image of God.[33]

III. Now What?

With humankind scattered, God's image shattered, there was no testimony to God's victory and supremacy over chaos. How did the Priestly editors say that God rectified this situation?

Out of the shattered image, God elected one piece, Israel, to be his image, that is to say, to testify to his victory over chaos. To outline briefly the story they constructed, they foreshadowed God's selection of this one piece of the shattered image by placing two genealogies—of Shem in 11:10–26 (אלה תולדת שם), and of Terah

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[31] So also Anderson, "Tower of Babel," 171.

[32] See, e.g., the famous House of David inscription. Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh suggest that the stele celebrates Ben-Hadad II's victory, which was later reused in the piazza by Ahab, in the mid-ninth century B.C.E. (Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 [1993]: 97–98; Avraham Biran, *Biblical Dan* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 1994], 277–78). No matter the historical circumstances that stand behind the stele, it was originally a stele memorializing a victory that a later king shattered upon retaking Dan.

[33] In my earlier article ("Israel as a Testimony," 97–100), I argue that the flood narrative was a first attempt to correct the image of God/boundary stele that had by the time of Noah devolved into violence, killing, and such a corrupted state that God turned created order again over to chaos in order to erect anew his stele with the righteous, blameless Noah (Gen 6:9). Hence, the renewed command to multiply, subdue, and fill the earth (Gen 9:7). The fact that God promised never again to destroy humankind (Gen 9:11) had, so to speak, boxed God in, limiting his options. With this second failure by humankind, seeking to replace God's image with their own memorial in the land of Shinar, God could not respond by destroying humankind, and so instead, destroyed his image.

in 11:27–32 (אלה תולדת תרח). Although humankind is no longer God's image, God will not withhold blessings from humans—but these blessings must now be accessed through Israel (Gen 12:1–3). The exodus depicts God grabbing Israel from the midst of the nations, represented by Egypt, and after a creation battle, setting Israel up as his stele, announcing his victory. Note Pharaoh's initial question to Moses in Exod 5:2, "Who is Yahweh that I should heed him?" (מי יהוה אשר אשמע בקלו). At the climax of the story, Exod 14:18, when the Israelites are ready to cross the chaotic waters of the sea (ים־סוף), Yahweh declares his intentions for the confrontation with Pharaoh: "Then the Egyptians will know that I am Yahweh when I gain glory for myself over Pharaoh, his chariots and horses" (וידעו מצרים כי־אני יהוה בהכבדי בפרעה ברכבו ובפרשיו).[34] Moving yet further through the text to the end of the Israelites' journey found in the book of Numbers, the priests leave Israel outside of the land, not yet a nation. And then, Balaam and Balak, a foreign prophet and a foreign king, look out upon Israel, and Balaam declares to Balak what he learns from viewing Yahweh's image, a testimony to his victory (Num 24:5–9; cf. Gen 12:1–3). Yes, with Hiebert, I agree that this passage is about the dispersion of humankind. But against him, it is, if not punishment, the shattering of his image on account of the humans' proud attempt to make a name for themselves.

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[34] See additionally Exod 7:5, which explains early in the plague narrative why God will harden Pharaoh's heart. "The Egyptians will know that I am Yahweh, when I stretch out my hand against Egypt, and I bring out the Israelites from their midst" (וידעו מצרים כי־אני יהוה בנטתי את־ידי על־מצרים והוצאתי את־בני־ישראל מתוכם). Central to Exod 7:5 and 14:18 is the recognition formula. The classic study of this formula remains the form-critical analysis of Walther Zimmerli ("Knowledge of God according to the Book of Ezekiel," in *I Am Yahweh* [trans. Douglas W. Stott; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982], 29–99), who argues that the knowledge of Yahweh should lead all, even Egypt, to the recognition of the divinity of Yahweh, and thereby to obedience. My analysis of the recognition formula, especially as it pertains to the foreign, chaotic nations, is less theological in its focus and intent, and concludes that the knowledge of Yahweh that the formula seeks to elicit is a recognition of the power of Yahweh (John T. Strong, "Ezekiel's Use of the Recognition Formula in His Oracles against the Nations," *PRSt* 22 [1995]: 115–34, esp. 120–25, as the issue relates to texts outside of Ezekiel).

The Manumission Laws in Leviticus and Deuteronomy: The Jeremiah Connection

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I

The complex relationship between the legislation in Deuteronomy (D) and the Holiness Code (H) in Leviticus continues to provide fruitful avenues of inquiry for researchers into the formation and function of biblical law. These two legal collections provide an invaluable resource for studying the thought of disparate Israelite religious groups living in relative temporal proximity to each other, both inheriting a common intellectual, cultic, and sociological legacy of a much older Israelite culture. There is general agreement that D emerges from the scribes associated with Josiah's court in the late seventh century B.C.E.; no such consensus exists, though, with respect to H.[1] While many scholars agree that the work arises from a

[1] Most scholars recognize D's connection to Josiah's court and its strong interest in Levites. See Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gary N. Knoppers, "The Deuteronomist and the Deuteronomic Law of the King: A Reexamination of a Relationship," *ZAW* 108 (1996): 329–46; Marvin A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 137–69; Jack R. Lundbom, "The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 293–302; William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient*

"Holiness School" faction of the Zadokite priesthood,[2] they remain divided on the matter of a date for the composition of H in its present form. Israel Knohl and Jacob Milgrom argue for a Hezekian origin for the legislation, pointing to features in the H laws that presuppose life in the land among a mixed rural/urban populace and the prophetic critiques of the eighth century B.C.E.[3] There is much to recommend this position, and many scholars consequently view H as a source for the (re)visionary hermeneutics of the D scribes.[4]

Nevertheless, more recent examinations of the relationship between pentateuchal legal collections have made clear that the authors of H have taken up legislation originating in D at certain points. Bernard Levinson has made a strong case for the slave manumission law in H (Lev 25:39–46) as an exegetical response to its parallel in D, and a study by Jeffrey Stackert further reinforces Levinson's view.[5] Although this need not preclude viewing the ideology of H (and perhaps even some

Israel (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 108–14; Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, "'Until This Day' and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History," *JBL* 122 (2003): 225–27 (Geoghegan makes the case for the Deuteronomistic History [DH] as originating with Levites akin to those behind D, *pace* Schniedewind, 228 n. 40); Mark Leuchter, *Josiah's Reform and Jeremiah's Scroll: Historical Calamity and Prophetic Response* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), 33–49; idem, "Why Is the Song of Moses in the Book of Deuteronomy?" *VT* 57 (2007): 295–317; idem, "'The Levite in Your Gates': The Deuteronomic Redefinition of Levitical Authority," *JBL* 126 (2007): 417–33.

[2] There are, however, notable exceptions to the general scholarly consensus regarding P/H divisions. See esp. Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 34.

[3] Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 204–20; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 13–28; idem, "Does H Advocate the Centralization of Worship?" *JSOT* 88 (2000): 63, 68.

[4] For a review of scholarship with different views regarding the priority of H or D, see Christophe Nihan, "The Holiness Code between D and P: Some Comments on the Function and Significance of Leviticus 17–26 in the Composition of the Torah," in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk* (ed. Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach, FRLANT 206; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 81–83; Bernard M. Levinson, "The Manumission of Hermeneutics: The Slave Laws of the Pentateuch as a Challenge to Contemporary Pentateuchal Theory," in *Congress Volume: Leiden 2004* (ed. André Lemaire; VTSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 284–88. For the D scribes' hermeneutical strategies, see idem, *Deuteronomy*, 144–52. John Sietze Bergsma has recently argued that H and D developed independently and thus the question of dependence is irrelevant (*The Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran: A History of Interpretation* [VTSup 115; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007], 40, 143, 147), and he suggests an early preexilic origin for the basic legislation of Leviticus 25 (p. 78 n. 100).

[5] Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics"; Jeffrey Stackert, "Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2006), 149–219. Stackert's analysis provides a significant challenge to Bergsma's critique (*Jubilee,* 138–42) of Levinson's position.

of its laws) as originating during Hezekiah's reign,[6] the exegetical development of D laws in the current form of H makes clear that the latter underwent significant development during a period subsequent to D. But if D indeed emerged in 622 B.C.E.,[7] it is unclear whether the subsequent response in H should be seen as a late preexilic, exilic, or even early postexilic reflex.[8]

One might argue that the emphasis on the jubilee in the H manumission law is evidence that the law was developed before the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of its inhabitants. From this perspective, the prospect of an active jubilee cycle (a mytho-sacral institution bound to hinterland life) would apply only while the author and the audience still resided on their native soil.[9] However, this would cause more difficulty than it would purport to rectify. Binding slave manumission to the fifty-year jubilee cycle is a dramatic departure from the D legislation that serves as the author's source, since in D (as well as in the earlier Covenant Code), the slave is given a six-year term of servitude with release in the seventh. This term is specific to each slave on a case-by-case basis with independent periods of term initiation; as many commentators recognize, it strains credulity to imagine that the end of a six-year term of one slave would automatically coincide with the end of every other slave's term of servitude as well. The result would be no defined period

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[6] Lauren A. S. Monroe has demonstrated an H substratum in the current Deuteronomistic account of Josiah's reform, indicating the strong influence of a preexilic Holiness School ("Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: A Phenomenological Approach to 2 Kings 23" [Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2004], 159–200); Knohl's proposed Hezekian-era origin for the Holiness School seems an appropriate period for the formation of such a movement (*Sanctuary of Silence*, 209).

[7] Thomas C. Römer raises important concerns regarding the literary category of 2 Kings 22 and its historical accuracy; see his "Transformations in Deuteronomistic and Biblical Historiography: On 'Book Finding' and Other Literary Strategies," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 1–11. Yet even if the report of D's discovery is stylized, there is no reason to doubt that the first year of D's public appearance would have indeed been 622 B.C.E., an otherwise arbitrary year and one that the Zadokite Ezekiel implies is the beginning of Judah's woes (Ezek 1:1–2). Still, the ideological antecedents of D, as many scholars recognize, extend far back in time; see Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 44–57; Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, *The Time, Place, and Purpose of the Deuteronomistic History: The Evidence of "Until This Day"* (BJS 347; Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006), 149–50.

[8] Knohl accepts the ongoing activity of the Holiness School into these periods (*Sanctuary of Silence*, 200–203).

[9] Knohl, *Sanctuary of Silence*, 204–20 (though he recognizes that the legislation itself is utopian in nature). See also the brief comments by Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14 n. 6. William W. Hallo notes that, while the distinctively Israelite jubilee conception resulted from the shift to a monarchic system, it was geared to preserving the interests of the regional landholder, who would have been rooted in the clan system ("New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case Study in the Contrastive Approach," *HUCA* 48 [1977]: 15–16). See also Bergsma, *Jubilee*, 53–79.

of servitude for any slave: in waiting for the jubilee as the time of release, some
terms could conceivably last over forty years while others could last less than one.[10]
The economic problems are readily apparent. Slavery in ancient Israel was rooted
in matters of financial debt,[11] and someone who entered servitude only a year
before the jubilee could not be expected to work off a debt that traditionally
required six years of service, disadvantaging the slave owner in terms of fair resti-
tution. The difficulty is felt on the other side of the equation as well, as extended
tenures of servitude disadvantage the slave and leave room for abuse.

The H author must have been aware of this; legitimizing financial disadvan-
tages could hardly qualify as a way of reinforcing national holiness. Levinson is
thus quite right to see this legislation as part of an idyllic literary work espousing a
utopian vision, with the jubilee itself serving as a hermeneutical topos.[12] The nature
of life in the land is measured and evaluated according to standards beyond imple-
mentation, constituting a near-mythic concept of law that would inform social
interaction. Indeed, the very inapplicability of the manumission law in H auto-
matically calls attention to what must have been a widespread sentiment among
the Israelite literati in the late preexilic period and beyond, namely, that law codes
had to be mined for a deeper meaning beyond that of the *peshat*, especially if the
peshat was not tenable.[13] Despite its inapplicability, H sets an ideological agenda
for that subsequent meditation and extrapolation, ensuring that a certain set of

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[10] So also Calum A. Carmichael, "The Sabbath/Jubilee Cycle and the Seven-Year Famine in
Egypt," *Bib* 80 (1999): 225.

[11] Nahum M. Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation of Slaves and the Sabbatical Year," in *Stud-
ies in Biblical Interpretation* (JPS Scholar of Distinction Series; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication
Society, 2000 [originally published in 1973]), 300–301; Niels Peter Lemche, "The Manumission
of Slaves – The Fallow Year – The Sabbatical Year – The Yobel Year," *VT* 26 (1976): 44; Jack R.
Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21B; New
York: Doubleday, 2004), 559–60.

[12] Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 322, 324. Levinson also considers the impli-
cations of the legislation against an exilic or early Persian-period background (ibid., 314); that
the legislation in question is a specifically exilic composition will be demonstrated below.

[13] Stackert concisely expresses this idea: "the Holiness slavery and manumission laws are a
'learned text', reflecting not the historical *realia* of ancient Israelite social practice but instead a par-
ticular intellectual engagement with the religious and cultural (textual) tradition" ("Rewriting the
Torah," 218). I assume a late preexilic beginning for this awareness owing to the rise in literacy that
emerges at that time coupled with the encounter with Mesopotamian legal culture through Assyria
and Babylon from the late eighth through the early sixth centuries. For a discussion of the impact
of Mesopotamian law during this period, see Bernard M. Levinson, "Was the Covenant Code an
Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters," in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel: Proceedings
of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 406; New York/London: Contin-
uum, 2004), 293–97. On the conditions initiating a rise in literacy, see Schniedewind, *How the
Bible Became a Book*, 64–114; David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scrip-
ture and Literature* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 164–67.

religious and social principles become embedded in the cultural curriculum to the exclusion of others.

We thus can see that the placement of the manumission law in the H jubilee legislation is motivated by rhetorical concerns. Whereas the Deuteronomists attempt to infuse a "democratic" dimension into their legal tradition by granting the individual the right to carry out the sacred law, the Zadokites opt for an opposite approach to legal philosophy.[14] In contrast to D, it is no longer up to the individual to carry out the law and release an indentured servant. In H, it is a matter of the cosmos and its eternal jubilee cycle,[15] dictated directly by Yнwн (Lev 25:1) and mediated by the Zadokite priesthood. This position is well attested in Ezekiel (a prophet of Zadokite heritage who had much in common with the Holiness School)[16] and this attitude is consistent with the polemics between the exilic Deuteronomistic and Zadokite groups in the Ezekiel and Jeremiah traditions.[17]

The place of the manumission law in Leviticus 25 follows a clear literary

[14] I use the term "democratic" here in a very qualified sense, insofar as D hardly mandates a rule by the people. Still, the laws of D are directed to each individual, provide each individual with the opportunity to engage and study them directly (Deut 6:5–9), and hold each individual accountable, eliminating clan hierarchies and interests. On the accountability of the individual and the sidelining of collectivism and clan hierarchies in D, see Baruch Halpern, "Jerusalem and the Lineages in the Seventh Century BCE: Kinship and the Rise of Individual Moral Liability," in *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel* (ed. Baruch Halpern and Deborah W. Hobson; JSOTSup 124; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 71–75.

[15] See Robert Kawashima, "The Jubilee Year and Cosmic Purity," *CBQ* 65 (2006): 389; Lee W. Casperson, "Sabbatical, Jubilee, and the Temple of Solomon," *VT* 53 (2003): 283–96; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3B; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2241–42.

[16] Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 80; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Ezekiel: Zadokite Priest and Visionary Prophet of the Exile," in *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 735–39; Dalit Rom-Shiloni, "Facing Destruction and Exile: Innerbiblical Exegesis in Jeremiah and Ezekiel," *ZAW* 117 (2005): 189–205. For Ezekiel's relationship to the Holiness School, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27*, 2348–63. See also Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (CahRB 20; Paris: Gabalda, 1982), 76–78, for an instructive example of the subtle linguistic divergence between H and Ezekiel. The altered terminology in Ezekiel identified by Hurvitz may not be a matter of a significantly later composition so much as Ezekiel's strategy regarding the appropriation of D's language and the attempt to subordinate it to older styles of discourse. For a full discussion of Ezekiel's use of D, see Risa Levitt Kohn, *A New Heart and a New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah* (JSOTSup 160; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

[17] For the polemical relationship between Zadokites and Deuteronomists in the Ezekiel and Jeremiah traditions respectively, see Mark Leuchter, *The Polemics of Exile in Jeremiah 26–45* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 156–65.

logic,[18] but to get from point A (the source material in D) to point B (the categorization of manumission under the jubilee) requires an enormous exegetical leap. The H author does more than simply polemicize against the D tradition's manumission law by placing it under the rubric of the jubilee cycle. The implication is that all aspects of Israel's social world, even if hitherto unrelated to the cult or the mythic dimensions of the cosmic order, now resonate at a decidedly sacral frequency. In the case of the manumission law in H, this is accomplished solely through the regulation of release with the jubilee, and the effect contributes to the Zadokite attempt to reclaim primacy over against the standard of religious culture advocated by the authors of D.

The question concerning us here is how the H author conceived of this particular hermeneutical strategy (the abstraction of a social institution and its makeover as a mytho-sacral one) that allowed him to get from point A to point B. The linchpin in clarifying how the H author developed his own hermeneutical strategy is to reconsider his sources. The H author behind Leviticus 25 most closely engages D as a source, though his revisionary composition also engages the Covenant Code and earlier P traditions;[19] to this list we should add also Jeremiah 34 (vv. 8–22). Though most scholars have correctly recognized that Jeremiah 34 factors into the development of the slave manumission laws, its direct impact on Leviticus 25 has not been adequately explored.

II

Jeremiah 34 is a pastiche of materials concerning Jeremiah's interaction with Zedekiah, set against the events of Jerusalem's final months before the Babylonian conquest in 587 B.C.E.[20] The centerpiece of the chapter is the manumission episode and the prophet's response in vv. 8–17,[21] which see the prophet protesting against Zedekiah's release of slaves and their near-immediate resubjugation by the elite of Jerusalem. Jeremiah's condemnation of the event begins thus:

[18] See Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27*, 2150–51; Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 319–20.

[19] Stackert, "Rewriting the Torah," 149–219; Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 305–22; idem, "The Birth of the Lemma: The Restrictive Reinterpretation of the Covenant Code's Manumission Law by the Holiness Code (Leviticus 25:44–46)," *JBL* 124 (2005): 617–39.

[20] Most scholars see the episode in Jer 34:8–22 as set against the Babylonian campaign against Jerusalem; for an overview, see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, 568. For a full discussion of Jeremiah 34 (including preliminary thoughts regarding the present subject of analysis), see Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 84–94.

[21] The remaining verses in the chapter have been redactionally categorized with this primary passage; see Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 88–91. Views vary widely on the historicity of this episode. Some scholars see it as largely reliable and ascribe much of the oracular material to Jeremiah, while others view it as a literary construct. Though there is merit to both points of view, the question of historicity and the authenticity of the oracles is not our primary concern here.

At the end of seven years (מקץ שבע שנים), you shall let go every man his brother that is a Hebrew, that has been sold to you, and has served you six years (ועבדך שש שנים), you shall let him go free from you . . .

The immediate source for most of this passage is, as generally recognized, Deut 15:12. The introductory formula, however, is identical to Deut 15:1 (מקץ שבע שנים), which is an unrelated passage. The grafting of the מקץ formula onto the legal citation causes problems for any easy reading, specifying a seven-year term in the same breath as the citation of a law specifying six years (ועבדך שש שנים). Some scholars have tried to make sense of the temporal inconsistencies in this text by reading a degree of flexibility in measuring the six-/seven-year term in ancient Israel (e.g., reading מקץ שבע שנים as "in the seventh year" or "at the beginning of seven years" as opposed to "at the end of seven years") or by suggesting that the citation is of an earlier and alternate form of the D law code.[22] Levinson's view that the author of the passage has joined two unrelated passages in an exegetical manner provides a more satisfactory way of approaching the text.[23] The temporal and grammatical difficulties that accompany the introduction of the מקץ formula actually serve to emphasize its exegetical dimensions as a standard syntactically set apart from the remainder of the verse but governing the way it is read. One is then left, however, with the question of the exegetical purpose served by the introduction of the מקץ formula.

As almost all commentators have noted, it is possible that the מקץ formula was introduced in order deliberately to classify the D manumission law with the institution of the seventh-year שמטה addressed in Deut 15:1.[24] Considering the temporal inconsistencies noted above, this was done for some ideological purpose (a strategy guiding the H author's manumission legislation as well).[25] However,

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[22] See Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, 563; Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1986), 645; William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26–52* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 238. For a summary of the opinions regarding an alternate form of Deuteronomy and a critique of this view, see Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 302 n. 61. Supporting Levinson's criticism of a proposed alternate Deuteronomic source is Carr's study of ancient scribal education-enculturation, where memorized texts are often reproduced with minor variants (*Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 160). The author of Jer 34:14 has thus likely reproduced the Deuteronomic legislation from memory but is drawing from the same text we currently possess.

[23] Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 302 n. 61.

[24] For overviews of scholarship reaching this conclusion, see William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986, 1996), 2:870, 880. On the relationship between the שמטה and the antecedent Neo-Assyrian *šamattu* practice, see Stackert, "Rewriting the Torah," 175–76.

[25] Milgrom suggests that the מקץ formula in Jer 34:14a is not deployed in relation to a calendar event but addresses ethical concerns (*Leviticus 23–27*, 2257–58). This reading is an improvement over those that view the formula as a strict reference to the שמטה of Deut 15:1, but Milgrom's ensuing discussion regarding Jeremiah 34 in relation to the jubilee suffers from the assumption

another alternative emerges—that the introduction of the מקץ formula refers not to Deut 15:1 but rather to Deut 31:9–11:

> And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, that bore the ark of the covenant of Yʜᴡʜ, and to all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying: "At the end of every seven years (מקץ שבע שנים), in the set time of the year of release (שמטה), in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Yʜᴡʜ your God in the place which he shall choose, you shall read this law before all Israel in their hearing."

In this passage, we find two elements at least as compelling as those in Deut 15:1 for viewing it as a source for Jer 34:14a. Both passages deploy the מקץ formula, and both passages speak to a release (שמטה) at the end of seven years. However, Deut 31:9–11 possesses one additional feature that makes it the more likely source, namely, that the passage concerns *the responsibility of the Levites to proclaim Torah* at the end of that seven-year period. If the formula in Jer 34:14a is a reference to Deut 31:9–11, its purpose is not to associate slave manumission with the שמטה (which is not the focus of this Deuteronomic passage) but to identify what follows as a *Levitical* exhortation of Torah in good keeping with the Deuteronomic legislation.

There are several compelling reasons for viewing Jer 34:14a as a reference to Deut 31:9-11 rather than Deut 15:1:

1. Assuming that the episode in Jeremiah 34 did take place in 587 ʙ.ᴄ.ᴇ., the timing coincided with the scheduled septennial reading of D.[26] Viewing Jer 34:14a from this angle eliminates the temporal problem of regulating slave manumission according to the שמטה, since the reference is focused not on the year of release but on the Torah duties of the Levites.

2. The reference qualifies Jeremiah's critique according to a ritual event legislated by the Deuteronomic law code itself, thus serving as a foil for the improper ritual behavior that the prophet condemns in the chapter. Deuteronomy 31:11 further specifies that the law must be decreed publicly, and it is clear from the context of Jeremiah 34 that the prophet castigates not just Zedekiah but the elite of Jerusalem in response to their own misguided public ceremony.

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that the episode is bound to a fixed jubilee release. This is based on his view that the term דרור in Jeremiah 34 draws from Lev 25:10, where it is equated with the jubilee; this position must be reconsidered (see below).

[26] Counting down, that is, from 622 ʙ.ᴄ.ᴇ. (622–615–608–601–594–587). Here, Holladay's theory regarding the delivery of Jeremiah's parenetic exhortations at the same time as the septennial readings of Deuteronomy appears attractive (*Jeremiah 2*, 27), though it is too speculative to posit this scheme as a background to all the parenesis in the book.

3. The mention of the שמטה in Deut 31:10 reinforces the connection between the proclamation of the Torah and life in the land, a point mentioned only a few verses later (Deut 31:12–13) and elsewhere throughout D. This is a far more appropriate source text for the author of Jeremiah 34, since that chapter culminates in the threat of a complete disruption of life (Jer 34:18–22).[27] This suggests that a secure life in the land is contingent on deference to dutiful Levites. Jeremiah himself was a well-known Levite whose oracles (poetic or otherwise) demonstrate the influence of Deuteronomic thought and language.[28] For an exilic audience who had seen Jeremiah's oracles come to pass as they themselves were torn from their homeland, the allusion to Deut 31:9–11(12–13) would have struck quite a chord.

4. Finally, and most significantly, Jeremiah 34 appears in a unit of text that repeatedly emphasizes the interests and importance of Levites (chs. 26–45) and associates the prophet and his Shaphanide scribal peers with Levitical responsibilities.[29] While it is theoretically possible that the מקץ formula in Jer 34:14a refers to the שמטה of Deut 15:1, its allusion to the Levitical duties expressed in Deut 31:9–11 is far more consistent with the redactional *Tendenz* of Jeremiah 26–45 and the sensitivities of the exilic audience.

The introduction of these ideas via the מקץ formula finds a parallel in 1 Kgs 22:28, where a redactor has inserted the שמעו עמים כלם lemma from an older prophetic oracle (Mic 1:2).[30] The place of this lemma in the verse also defies normative syn-

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[27] Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile,* 88–90.

[28] See Leuchter, *Josiah's Reform*, 88–89, 93–94, 100; Friedman, "The Deuteronomistic School," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday* (ed. Astrid B. Beck et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 70–80; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, 67–69.

[29] Notable instances include both Baruch and Seraiah as the trustees of Jeremiah's written words, akin to the Levites in Deuteronomy 27 and 31 (see Jer 32:6–15; 51:59–64; though the latter lies beyond Jeremiah 26–45, the redactor of those chapters is very likely responsible for the current locus and possibly the current literary form of 51:59–64); the presentation of the scribes as readers/teachers of prophetic *tôrâ* in Jeremiah 36, and the characterization of Gedaliah in Jeremiah 40. On the latter, see especially the lexical parallel between Deut 31:12 and Jer 40:7; the LXX counterpart to the MT Jeremiah passage lacks this parallel, but this may be attributed to haplography. For a full discussion, see Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 122–23, 242 n. 33.

[30] See Keith Bodner, "The Locution of 1 Kings 22:28: A New Proposal," *JBL* 122 (2003): 533–43. Though the insertion of the lemma in 1 Kgs 22:28 refers to a preceding text rather than an ensuing one, its purpose is otherwise identical to the מקץ formula in Jer 34:14a in terms of qualifying one text through reference to another. Syntactically obtuse explanatory glosses are more generally attested in a variety of contexts; see Bill T. Arnold and Brent A. Strawn, "*bᵉyāh šᵉmô* in Psalm 68,5: A Hebrew Gloss to an Ugaritic Epithet?" *ZAW* 115 (2003): 428–32; Mark Leuchter, "Jeroboam the Ephratite," *JBL* 125 (2006): 55; Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 48–51; Benjamin D. Sommer, "Prophecy as Transla-

tactical construction; nevertheless, it functions as an exegetical prism by which one text can be related to another. The syntactical difficulty works in favor of the exegetical purpose of the text, namely, to establish hermeneutical connections between Micaiah b. Imlah and Micah of Moresheth in the construction of an apparently uniform and consistent prophetic tradition.[31] If the מקץ formula in Jer 34:14a functions similarly as a reference to Deut 31:9–11, then Jeremiah's condemnation of Jerusalem's ruling elite would not constitute sedition against his own people at a time of war (a charge against which Jeremiah reportedly contended at other times in his career, e.g., in Jer 38:1–6) but instead would be consistent with the Deuteronomic orthodoxy that was born in the court of Josiah.[32] Jeremiah's citation of Deut 15:12 thus emerges as the protest of a patriot carrying out his prescribed social responsibilities at their appointed time and for the public welfare.

The rhetorical effect of Jer 34:14a was not limited to the characterization of the prophet in the narrative of Jeremiah 34. Since the exilic audience would have viewed Jeremiah's prophecies as accurate and divinely inspired,[33] the emphasis on his Levit-

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tion: Ancient Israelite Conceptions of the Human Factor in Prophecy," in *Bringing the Hidden to Light: The Process of Interpretation. Studies in Honor of Stephen A. Geller* (ed. Kathryn F. Kravitz and Diane M. Sharon; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 276–77.

[31] Bodner, "New Proposal," 543; see also Leuchter, "Song of Moses," 301.

[32] This sentiment runs throughout the Jeremianic corpus; see Leuchter, *Josiah's Reform*, 146–69; idem, *Polemics of Exile*, passim.

[33] Jeremiah's preexilic oracles repeatedly predict doom and the rise of Babylon, something that must have legitimized Jeremiah as a true prophet for those who saw those oracles come to pass. Jeremiah's authenticity and authority appear to set the standard for later discourse, with the book of Jeremiah obtaining a paramount position in subsequent prophetic and historiographic traditions. See Mark Leuchter, "The 'Prophets' and the 'Levites' in Josiah's Covenant Ceremony" *ZAW* (forthcoming); Baruch Halpern, "The New Names in Isaiah 62:4: Jeremiah's Reception in the Restoration and the Politics of 'Third Isaiah,'" *JBL* 117 (1998): 623–43; idem, "Why Manasseh Is Blamed for the Babylonian Exile: The Evolution of a Biblical Tradition," *VT* 48 (1998): 510–14; Christine Mitchell, "The Ironic Death of Josiah in 2 Chronicles," *CBQ* 68 (2006): 435; Brian Peckham, *History and Prophecy: The Development of Late Judean Literary Traditions* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 750–55; H. G. M. Williamson, "The Death of Josiah and the Continuing Development of the Deuteronomistic History," *VT* 32 (1982): 242–48; Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 32–72; idem, "New Light on the Composition of Jeremiah," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 646–66. Sommer notes that, apart from Jeremiah 27–29, Deutero-Isaiah did not know the majority of prose material in the Jeremiah tradition (ibid., 664). This does not mean, however, that the prose material did not exist by Deutero-Isaiah's day. As I have discussed elsewhere, the current form of Jeremiah 26–45 was introduced into only one of many collections of Jeremianic materials that would establish the basis for the present MT of the book (Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 19, 147–52). It is by no means certain that Deutero-Isaiah would have utilized that newly expanded collection as opposed to one with which he was more familiar (so also Sommers's own observation in "New Light," 666 n. 57). The architect of Jeremiah 36 appears to acknowledge the diversity of Jeremianic collections in circulation in his own day; see Caroline J. Sharp, "'Take Another Scroll and Write': A Study of the LXX and the MT of Jeremiah's Oracles against Egypt and Babylon," *VT* 47 (1997): 508–9.

ical status in a Deuteronomistic manner would have lent legitimacy to those in exile with Deuteronomistic and/or Levitical sympathies. The introduction of Jer 34:14a thus points to a scribe advancing Levitical interests and authority. As Jeffrey Geoghegan has convincingly argued, the Shaphanides behind the D tradition possessed a Levitical heritage,[34] and this same group likely wished to associate themselves with other Levites in the exilic period.[35] In view of Ezekiel's derisive view of the Levites (Ezek 44:10–13), his general critique of Deuteronomistic thought, and his considerable influence in the exilic community, a well-regarded prophet like Jeremiah would be a valuable vehicle for a Deuteronomistic/Levitical apology.[36]

When one looks beyond the מקץ formula, Jeremiah 34 contains a broad condemnation of the Jerusalem cult in both royal and priestly terms, especially the P-style covenant-between-the-parts in vv. 18–19 (cf. Gen 15:7–21). Significantly, the critique of this ceremony culminates in a threat visited upon Zedekiah in the following verses, namely, death without burial in the ancestral tomb owing to captivity by the Babylonians (vv. 20–21). This threat draws directly from Jeremiah's preexilic oracles:

> I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life; and their dead bodies shall be for food unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth (והיתה נבלתם למאכל לעוף השמים ולבהמת הארץ). (Jer 34:20)

> They shall die grievous deaths; they shall not be lamented, neither shall they be buried, they shall be as dung upon the face of the ground; and they shall be consumed by the sword, and by famine; and their dead bodies shall be food unto the fowls of heaven, and to the beasts of the earth (והיתה נבלתם למאכל לעוף השמים ולבהמת הארץ). (Jer 16:4)[37]

The divine threat to the people of preexilic Judah in which this extended lemma originally appears had come to pass,[38] and its application in Jer 34:20 applies the

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[34] See esp. Geoghegan, *Time, Place, and Purpose,* 148–52, who argues convincingly that the preexilic redactors of the Deuteronomistic History were Levites. See also Leuchter, "Song of Moses," for a similar observation regarding the book of Deuteronomy. This same group stands behind the redaction of Jeremiah 26–45 as well (Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 16–17).

[35] Leuchter, "Levite in Your Gates," 434–36; idem, *Polemics of Exile*, 168–75.

[36] See Ezek 8:1; 14:1; 20:1 for the prophet's interaction with the exiled elders. Kohn correctly notes how Ezekiel employs Deuteronomistic language (*New Heart*), though this is done for the purpose of subverting its original purpose and subordinating it to Zadokite authority; see Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 156–61.

[37] For a full discussion of these verses, see Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 88–90.

[38] I use the term "extended lemma" here, as the phrase in question is not simply deployed in a stereotyped manner (as many scholars conclude with respect to recurring phrases in Jeremiah) but serves an exegetical purpose akin to the lemmatic transformations in the Deuteronomic tradition. See Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, passim. Peckham also recognizes that the recurrence of terms and phrases are deliberate points in the text indicating dialogical relationships with other Jere-

same condemnation to those in the exilic audience who overvalue the memory of obsolete Jerusalemite cultic and royal institutions. The author of Jeremiah 34 establishes semantic parallels between the proper understanding of Jeremiah's authentic oracles in exilic contexts (v. 20) and the Levitical invocation of Torah (v. 14) through the abstraction of these lemmas from their original contexts and their transplantation into the current text. Whether the source is a Levitical charge in D or the record of the Levite-prophet's preexilic oracles, both yield the same message in their new literary setting: Levites preserve authentic Israelite faith in the face of the misguided Jerusalemite elite. This corresponds to other instances in Jeremiah 26–45 where the redactor takes up the prophet's rhetoric and demonstrates his own Levitical interests to the exclusion of competing sacral groups.[39]

III

Jeremiah 34 is more than just a narrative account of the prophet's critique of Zedekiah and Jerusalem's elite in the last days of the monarchy. The chapter contributes to a strong Deuteronomistic attack on the exilic Zadokites, attempting to equate their views with those of the misguided former king Zedekiah. Leviticus 25:39–46 fires back at this Deuteronomistic assault through the radical redefinition of D's manumission law, but in redefining the D legislation, the H author simultaneously responds to the charge leveled against him and his priestly kin in Jeremiah 34. The catalyst for the H author's revision of D's manumission law is found in an unavoidable ambiguity built into Jer 34:14a that opened a very large window of exegetical opportunity.

　　Taken on its own, Jer 34:14a might very well read as a reference to the שמטה of Deut 15:1 rather than as an appeal to the Levitical charge of Deut 31:9–11.[40] It is here where the H author found the chance to sever slave manumission from its social context in D and work it into a new system of sacral discourse. It is clear from elsewhere in H that the author abstracted material from set narratives in order to reinforce and inform his legislation;[41] the same strategy could be applied to his source in Jeremiah 34. Abstracting Jer 34:14a (and the ensuing verses) from the surrounding Levitical rhetoric of Jeremiah 26–45 allowed the H author to read his

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mianic passages (*History and Prophecy*, 302–17); see also idem, "Writing and Editing," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See*, ed. Beck et al., 366–71, 382–83.

　　[39] Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 25–38, 122–24, 168–75.

　　[40] Such a reading would obviously be facilitated by the literary proximity of the מקץ formula in Deut 15:1 to Deut 15:12, the source behind Jer 34:14b. Though the שמטה also appears in Deut 31:10, it simply denotes the time when the Levites are responsible for reading the Torah and presupposes the legislation in Deut 15:1.

　　[41] Stackert, "Rewriting the Torah," 213–14.

source as Jeremiah qualifying slave release according the שמטה. This lent a prophetic seal of approval to regulating release not on a case-by-case basis *but according to the national calendar.* The regular cycles of sacred time thereby become the basis for slave manumission, not the specifics of individual socioeconomic transactions.

The H author then went one step further, playing on the "seven years" rhetoric associated with the שמטה, incorporating it into a sabbatical discourse (Lev 25:1–8) and establishing the jubilee as a meta-Sabbath into which all such counting cycles culminated.[42] The ensuing legislation in Lev 25:39–46 is thereby set within a mytho-sacral context closely connected to the Zadokite cultic calendar and its most fundamental unit of Israelite sacred time.[43] This not only places social institutions within the jurisdiction of the Zadokite priesthood as mediators of the cosmic order; it also makes a strong statement on the limitations of Levitical authority. Manumission in D is legislated to take place as a regional social matter,[44] and it is in the regional sphere that D charges the Levites to act as exegetes, jurists, and local administrators of the law.[45] In short, the normative law code preceding the H author's revision allowed for the administration of manumission to remain in the hands of the regional Levites.[46] The H author's innovation removes manumission

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[42] For the H author's fluid exegetical application of שבת terminology in Leviticus 25, see Stackert, "Rewriting the Torah," 157–70. Bergsma notes that Lev 25:8 begins a new unit separate from vv. 1–7 (*Jubilee*, 86–88); his separation of vv. 1–7 from those that follow is sound, though Lev 25:8 functions as lexical pivot between vv. 1–7 and vv. 9–10, incorporating the שבת terminology of the former and establishing the necessary calculations leading to the latter.

[43] The special position of the Sabbath in the liturgy of the temple cult was addressed many years ago by Nahum M. Sarna, "The Psalm for the Sabbath Day (Ps 92)," *JBL* 81 (1962): 155–68. See also Saul M. Olyan, "Exodus 31:12–17: The Sabbath according to H, or the Sabbath according to P and H?" *JBL* 124 (2005): 206 (esp. n. 21), for a discussion of the centrality of the Sabbath to P's concept of covenant.

[44] Deuteronomy 15:14 makes this explicit: "you shall furnish him generously from *your* flock, *your* threshing floor and *your* winepress," that is, from the regional fixtures of hinterland village life. Schniedewind comes to a similar conclusion regarding the origins and concerns of D (*How the Bible Became a Book*, 113). See also Moshe Weinfeld, *The Place of the Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (VTSup 100; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 80–94.

[45] *Sifre Deuteronomy* 15, which rests on a much older tradition evident already in D and presupposed by many passages in Jeremiah 1–25, already understood the Levites as regional administrators. See Leuchter, "Levite in Your Gates." See also Alexander Rofé, "The Organization of the Judiciary in Deuteronomy," in *The World of the Arameans,* vol. 1, *Biblical Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (ed. P. M. M. Daviau et al.; JSOTSup 324; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 92–112; Moshe Weinfeld, "Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IOS* 7 (1977): 65–88.

[46] It is certainly the case that D's legal collection does not cover every aspect of social interaction. In this sense, it is like H insofar as it establishes an ideological standard within its chapters. However, D provides self-conscious avenues for translating its theoretical standards into a

from the regional sphere and the auspices of the Levites entirely. And yet by reading Jer 34:14a as a reference to Deut 15:1, the H author's marginalization of the Levites seems to follow Jeremiah's ostensible precedent.

The H author's use of Jeremiah 34 is not restricted to the manumission law in Leviticus 25. The jubilee that governs all forms of release in Leviticus 25 is classified by the term דרור (Lev 25:10), which refers to a well-entrenched ancient Near Eastern decree of amnesty and reflects a decidedly monarchic idiom.[47] The appearance of דרור in Lev 25:10 constitutes the single occurrence of the term in the entire corpus of Priestly literature in the Pentateuch (P or H). By contrast, the term occurs four times in Jeremiah 34 (vv. 8, 15, twice in v. 17), and, given the narrative context, the frequency is appropriate. The same cannot be said of its appearance in Leviticus 25, which makes no allusion to kingship in any way.[48] One might argue that דרור is a term at home in the Zadokite tradition, as it appears also in Ezek 46:17, but that verse is part of a pericope that legislates the behavior of the נשיא, the descendant of the royal Davidic line as envisioned in Ezekiel 40–48, and is thus embedded in a context concerned with Israel's monarchic legacy.[49]

Since Leviticus 25 does not openly address monarchic institutions, the appearance of דרור in v. 10 is best viewed as inspired by another text that employs it in reference to royalty.[50] This is not to suggest that the H author's familiarity with the institution and term is entirely dependent on a source text, as immersion in Mesopotamian culture would adequately account for its appearance in any literature dated to the late preexilic or exilic periods.[51] Rather, we should see the H

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practical setting, highlighting the role of the Levites in the process; see Leuchter, "Levite in Your Gates," 419–25. D therefore mediates between law as an intellectual/theological curriculum and pragmatic social legislation.

[47] For the ancient Near Eastern background of the term דרור, see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, 560; Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation," 299, 303 n. 17; Lemche, "Manumission of Slaves," 56–57; Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths," 13–14; Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27*, 2167–69.

[48] *Pace* Milgrom's acceptance of the equation between the term דרור and the jubilee, which is based on his assumption that Lev 25:10 is the source for Zedekiah's manumission in Jeremiah 34 (*Leviticus 23–27*, 2258).

[49] We should exclude the occurrence of the term in Isa 61:1, an early postexilic text that could be referring to a fully developed H corpus, including Leviticus 25, fostered by this priesthood. See below.

[50] Lemche views the appearance of the term as directly influenced by the royal institution deployed by Zedekiah ("Manumission of Slaves," 57), but the chapter's literary character strongly suggests that the דרור of Lev 25:10 is at least partially inspired by a literary source rather than a strictly sociological precedent.

[51] For the preexilic influence of Mesopotamian culture on Israelite writers, see Peter Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 719–37; David P. Wright, "The Laws of Hammurabi as a Source for the Covenant Collection (Exodus 20:23–23:19)," *Maarav* 10 (2003): 11–87; Levinson, "Was the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition?" 293–97. That Ezekiel knows the term דרור (Ezek 46:17) demonstrates the Zadokite priesthood's familiarity with the institution, possibly learned in exile but more likely already part of the preexilic vernacular.

author's use of the term as motivated by its earlier appearance in a thematically relevant (and perhaps potentially provocative) literary source. It is unlikely that the H author draws here from Ezekiel, as Ezekiel 46 does not concern itself with manumission or matters of calendar-based release. As we have seen, though, both elements surface in Jeremiah 34, which already influenced the H author's compositional strategy.[52]

The counterargument to this view is plausible; that is, a later editor has reworked Jeremiah 34 in light of Leviticus 25. This position is carefully defended by Simeon Chavel, who sees a fifth-century B.C.E. hand contemporaneous with Nehemiah's governorship behind the current form of Jer 34:8–14.[53] Chavel concludes that the redactor of Jeremiah 34 has relied on legislation in an extant version of Leviticus 25 to augment the episode regarding Zedekiah's manumission. The basis of Chavel's position is his discussion of the odd locution of לבלתי עבד בם ביהודי אחיהו איש in Jer 34:9b, which he sees as a conflation of terms from Lev 25:39 and 46b.[54] It is the last two words of this sequence (אחיהו איש) that create the difficult syntactical construct.[55] These terms, however, form a semantic reversal of איש את אחיו, which appears in v. 14. Jeremiah 34:9b is part of the author's contextual introduction to the episode, and the semantic reversal may be part of a liter-

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[52] *Pace* Bergsma, *Jubilee*, 164. Bergsma (pp. 166–69) views the appearance of the term שוב in Jeremiah 34 as a play on its presence in Leviticus 25, but this term is a common leitmotif in the book of Jeremiah (e.g., Jer 3:1, 10, 12, 14, 22; 4:1; 8:4; 15:19; 22:10, 11, 27; 24:7; 30:10; 31:7, 20-21; 42:12). Bergsma is correct to note the lexical commonalities between Jer 34:17 and other passages in H (pp. 167–68), though this may be an example of the Deuteronomistic author drawing from an extant current of Holiness discourse for rhetorical or polemical purposes rather than an allusion to a specific H text source. Indeed, such a move would be appropriate in a chapter that criticizes the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem alongside the king and the city's elite. Jeremiah 26–45 regularly argues against the views of Ezekiel (Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 156–65), whose connection to the Holiness School is discussed above (n. 16).

[53] Simeon Chavel, "'Let My People Go!': Emancipation, Revelation and Scribal Activity in Jeremiah 34:8–11," *JSOT* 76 (1997): 93–95. Milgrom makes a similar argument in terms of literary dependence, but this is due to his view that Leviticus 25 is from the reign of Hezekiah and would have been well known to the historical Jeremiah (*Leviticus 23–27*, 2245). He does not argue that Jeremiah 34 was subsequently reworked.

[54] Chavel, "Let My People Go," 88–92. See also Bergsma, *Jubilee*, 164–65, who sees Jeremiah 34 as dependent on Leviticus 25 for this language.

[55] The first part, לבלתי עבד בם ביהודי, is less problematic, with the term ביהודי functioning as an emphatic clarification that fellow Judeans were the ones subject to abuse. It is perhaps to this, specifically, that the H author responds in his formulation of Lev 25:44–46, specifying that only foreigners may be subject to slavery. This stands against both D and the Covenant Code. In aligning his legislation with Jeremiah's critique, the H author also reworks lexemes from the latter; see Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 310; idem, "Birth of the Lemma," 638–39. This suggests that the H author viewed the Covenant Code as a potential rival to his own legal collection as the legal standard vindicated by the Jeremiah tradition; his reworking of its lexemes exclude it along with D, positioning H alone as consistent with Jeremiah.

ary strategy (related to Seidel's law of lexical inversion) geared to facilitating the inclusion of a received source into the larger redactional complex of chaps. 26–45.[56] In this case, the author's use of איש אחיהו in Jer 34:9 in relation to the דרור declaration reinforces the topicality and impact of איש את אחיו in the Deuteronomically inflected critique in v. 14.[57] As in Jer 34:14a, the redactional and exegetical accretion in 34:9b forgoes a concern with easy syntax in order to establish a legal category and provide a hermeneutical guide by which the reader may interpret the text.

The odd locution of Jer 34:9 should therefore be seen as emerging from internal redactional considerations rather than as an intertextual allusion to Leviticus 25, part of a strategy focused on subordinating Zedekiah's manumission to Jeremiah's citation of Deut 15:12. In short, the author of Jeremiah 34 makes the hitherto independent monarchic דרור subject to Deuteronomic legal classification; this is precisely what the H author accomplishes with respect to Zadokite law and ideology by working the term into his jubilee legislation in Lev 25:10.[58] Thus, in addition to exegetical methodology, the H author draws from the language and themes of Jeremiah 34 in the formation not only of the H manumission law but also of its literary context. Leviticus 25 takes its thematic inspiration from a variety of features in Jeremiah 34: the general amnesty associated with the דרור, the seven-year counting cycle of the מקץ formula, and that formula's potential allusion to the calendar-based שמטה of Deut 15:1.[59] All of these are subsumed within a new body of legislation with a stamp of antiquity drawn not only from its use of old hinterland clan-based language but also from its identification as part of the original Sinai revelation.[60] The end result is that the legislation in Leviticus 25 becomes consistent

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[56] For a discussion of Seidel's law, see Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 18–20. For a similar example of anticipatory lexical inversion in the redaction of sources in Jeremiah, see Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 78.

[57] The LXX presents a less problematic alternative text (so also McKane, *Jeremiah 2*, 871), but the LXX tradent may simply be clarifying a syntactical sequence that he did not understand and thus deemed corrupt. For similar misreadings in the LXX, see Levinson, "Birth of the Lemma," 625–30; idem, "Text Criticism, Assyriology, and the History of Interpretation: Deuteronomy 13:7a as a Test Case in Method," *JBL* 120 (2001): 211–43. Moreover, the MT of the chapter presents a better reading on other grounds as well. See Hermann-Josef Stipp, "Zedekiah in the Book of Jeremiah: On the Formation of a Biblical Character," *CBQ* 58 (1996): 641.

[58] Though the foregoing suggests an alternative to Chavel's model of compositional sequence, Chavel's position that the דרור in Jer 34:8 is not dependent on its occurrence in Leviticus 25 ("Let My People Go," 75 n. 12) is correct. However, Chavel's statement that the appearance of the term in both Jeremiah 34 and Leviticus 25 is coincidental ("Let My People Go," 93) should be reconsidered in light of the latter's engagement of the former.

[59] Though the direction of literary dependence is reversed, Chavel's intertextual observations are still pertinent, as the H author may have drawn from the language of Jer 34:9 to frame his own manumission legislation.

[60] So also Levinson, "Manumission of Hermeneutics," 322–23, regarding the rhetorical effect

with Jeremiah's critique of Zedekiah and in fact presents itself as the standard of law that the prophet defends and with which the king should have complied.

IV

The foregoing discussion carries some significant implications for our understanding of H as a developing tradition and its contribution to Israel's intellectual history. The H author clearly knows Jeremiah 34, an exilic text that must have eventually obtained an authoritative position in order for the H author to utilize it to any effect. Though it is difficult to determine when the redaction of Jeremiah 26–45 began, its completion should be dated to approximately 570 B.C.E.;[61] the redaction of H must be placed some years later. It is difficult to say with any certainty when this would have taken place, though the conditions of the Babylonian exile would seem a likely setting.[62] A postexilic setting, while possible, is less likely, especially since the reinstatement of the Zadokite priesthood to a position of authority in Jerusalem would have decreased the need to castigate the scribal group behind D and its related literature.[63] Moreover, the postexilic period saw the merging of D

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of identifying Leviticus 25 as Sinaitic in origin. For the clan language of that chapter, see Bergsma, *Jubilee*, 63–75. Though we may view the clan language of Leviticus 25 as a rhetorical strategy, we should not discount Bergsma's observations regarding the hinterland clan culture as the social background to which the current legislation appeals and in which the institution of the jubilee itself likely originated. See the examination of the language of the chapter by Gary Rendsburg, "The Jubilee Pericope (Lev 25:8–24) as a Northern Composition" (in Hebrew) (forthcoming in a festschrift for Avi Hurvitz; ed. S. E. Fassberg and A. Maman); the use of "northern" language in the jubilee legislation would hark back to the dominant Ephraimite culture which, doubtless, influenced later writers in Judah following the influx of northern refugees after 721 B.C.E. See also David S. Vanderhooft, "The Israelite *mišpaha*, the Priestly Writings, and the Changing Valences in Israel's Kinship Terminology" (forthcoming in a festschrift for Lawrence E. Stager; ed. David Schloen), who identifies other instances of Priestly literature that take up the language of traditional hinterland social organization.

[61] I have argued elsewhere for dating the redaction of Jeremiah 26–45 to 570–567 B.C.E. based on internal references to significant international political events and intertexual connections to Ezekiel's oracles, the last of which date to 572 B.C.E. (Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 164–65). This would not include such obvious later interpolations as Jer 33:14–26, however, which reflect a postexilic setting. See Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 52.

[62] The polemical tone of the H author in Leviticus 25 is consistent with the exilic tensions that obtained between Zadokites and Deuteronomists as discussed above, though H was not conceived solely for this purpose. See Baruch A. Levine, "The Epilogue to the Holiness Code: A Priestly Statement on the Destiny of Israel," in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (ed. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Baruch A. Levine; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 9–34.

[63] Bergsma lodges a compelling criticism against the view that Leviticus 25 was a postexilic work (*Jubilee*, 75–77). Furthermore, as Bergsma discusses (pp. 198–203), the author of Isaiah 61

into a larger Zadokite literary superstructure, which would work against the polemical intent of the H author.[64]

We may also detect some significant differences in the H author's exegetical response to D and Jeremiah 34. While the H author reworks the lexemes of his D source material for the purposes of superseding it, this approach is not applied to Jeremiah 34. Instead, the H author relies on the internal literary dynamics and language of Jeremiah 34 and argues that his own work is not at odds with the report of the prophet's words. Indeed, the precedent established in Jeremiah 34 becomes the methodological proof text for his own innovation. Thus, despite Jeremiah's harsh preexilic criticism of the Jerusalem priesthood, the H author views Jeremiah's oracles as binding and authoritative.[65] Unlike the laws in D, Jeremiah could not be sidelined.[66] This is certainly a far cry from the preexilic priestly attitude toward the prophet echoed in Jer 18:18:

> Then said they: "Come, and let us devise devices against Jeremiah; for instruction shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. Come, and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words."

Here the Jerusalem priesthood is part of a triumvirate conspiring against Jeremiah and his warnings of impending disaster. Such a posture, however, could not survive the destruction of Jerusalem and exile into Mesopotamia. It is not surprising that the H author would defer to Jeremiah's words—those words had unfurled a living reality that was impossible to ignore, regardless of partisan politics. The influence of Jeremiah 34 on the exilic redaction of H indicates a metamorphosis within the Holiness School itself. The preexilic Holiness School may have emerged in response to the critique of the eighth-century prophets, but there is little to suggest that the authors of this time intended their literature to agree with these prophets'

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already makes reference to Leviticus 25 in a manner that presupposes its familiarity to his audience circa 530 B.C.E., pointing to its origination and public recognition before the end of the exile.

[64] See Thomas C. Römer and Marc Zvi Brettler, "Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch," *JBL* 119 (2000): 401–19.

[65] The deference the H author shows to a text obviously developed by a competing socio-religious group only in the name of the prophet Jeremiah should be attributed to the ambiguous distinction between text and author in ancient Israel; see Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 9–13.

[66] So also Ezekiel's reliance on Jeremiah, as he appropriates that latter's oracles without rejecting them in a manner similar to his appropriation of certain D lexemes (Kohn, *New Heart*). The same cannot be said, though, regarding Ezekiel's view of the D laws themselves. See Scott W. Hahn and John Seitze Bergsma, "What Laws Were 'Not Good'? A Canonical Approach to the Theological Problem of Ezekiel 20:25–26," *JBL* 123 (2004): 201–18.

voices.[67] The H author behind Leviticus 25 may similarly have been spurred by the prophetic traditions of his day, but he endeavored to produce a literary work that was consonant with them. For him, older law codes could be subject to revision, but that revision obtained an authoritative status only in agreement with the prophets.[68] It is no wonder that the axiom "the Law and the Prophets" would itself emerge formulaically in later generations, as one became the hermeneutical lens for viewing the other already in the H author's day.

[67] According to Knohl, the Holiness School doctrines of the preexilic period took up the socio-ethical issues that emerged in the eighth-century prophetic critiques of the cult (*Sanctuary of Silence*, 204–20) but there is no indication of direct citation or lemmatic transformation of the texts emerging from these critiques.

[68] In a different way, this is suggested also by 2 Kgs 22:8–20, insofar as the emergence of D (a revision of the Covenant Code) must be ratified by Huldah (vv. 14–20) before its implementation in the following chapter. See Halpern, "Why Manasseh," 505.

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The "Root of Jesse" in Isaiah 11:10: Postexilic Judah, or Postexilic Davidic King?

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Many fascinating issues of interpretation surround Isaiah 11:10. It reads,

והיה ביום ההוא שרש ישי אשר עמד לנס עמים אליו גוים ידרשו והיתה
מנחתו כבוד

On that day, as for the root of Jesse who stands as a signal to the nations—him the nations will seek and his place of rest will be glorious.[1]

Perhaps the issue receiving the most attention is the proper understanding of the phrase "root of Jesse." Scholars have traditionally understood this expression to

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[1] J. J. M. Roberts's rejection of the common *casus-pendens* understanding (reflected here) is not entirely convincing ("The Translation of Isa 11.10," in *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-fifth Birthday* [ed. Masao Mori, Hideo Ogawa, and Mamoru Yoshikawa; Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991], 363–70). However, Roberts's translation, if adopted, would not affect our point. (1) He argues that in all instances where a sentence begins with the temporal clause והיה ביום ההוא, "the verb of the main clause opens the main clause, or at most follows a negative particle, and is never separated from the temporal clause by an expanded relative clause" (ibid., 369). But this overlooks Isa 7:23, a verse long felt to be awkward, in part because of the repetition of יהיה at the beginning and end of the main clause; see, e.g., Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (HKAT; 4th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922), 78; Karl Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja* (KHC; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1900), 81; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (trans. Thomas H. Trapp; Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 132. Most translations recognize this, leaving the first occurrence untranslated. The repetition is therefore

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refer back to the descendant of Jesse spoken of in 11:1.[2] In this view, the "root of Jesse" refers to an individual human king from the line of David's father, and hence by virtue of its context to a future Davidic king.

This interpretation of Isa 11:10 may seem obvious, but this verse differs in some important ways from 11:1 (to which it refers). These differences have suggested to others that the king of 11:1 should not simply be equated with the root of 11:10. Isaiah 11:1 does not speak of a "*root* of Jesse" (שרש ישי), as does 11:10. Instead, it talks about a "*branch* from the stem of Jesse" (חטר מגזע ישי) and a "*shoot* from his roots" (נצר משרשיו). For some, this subtle difference is merely the result of carelessness on the part of the editor who is thought to have introduced v. 10. Thus, Hans Wildberger dismisses the difference saying, "the expander has no interest in a precise exposition, but rather an expansion . . . of Isaiah's expectations."[3] For

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probably a corruption (e.g., Otto Procksch, *Jesaia I* [KAT; Leipzig: Deichert, 1930], 126). In support of this, 1QIsaᵃ and the LXX do not attest the first verb. (In the LXX ἔσται represents והיה before "on that day," as is clear from the translation of 7:18 and others like it.) (2) Roberts also asserts that it would be "surprising to find a major new idea embedded in a relative clause—'who shall stand as a signal flag to the peoples'" ("Translation of Isa 11.10," 369). But this is precisely the aspect of the sentence that assumes the context (cf. 11:1, 12), suggesting that it was not thought to be a new assertion by the author. (3) Roberts also doubts that לנס is the complement of עמד. He claims that, while עמד + ל + infinitive is attested in the sense "to stand to do something," Isa 11:10 would be the only example where it means "to stand as something" (ibid., 370). But, ל + עמד is used in a variety of ways. And the usual understanding of ל here (translated "as") is entirely in keeping with the use of this preposition elsewhere (Isa 66:21 [esp. in 1QIsaᵃ]; cf. Ps 30:8; see also *IBHS,* 206–8). For Isa 11:10 as a *casus-pendens* construction, see Walter Groß, "Syntax, Pragmatik, Stilistik in Jes 11,1-10: Vergleich und Kritik deutscher Übersetzungen," in *Wer Darf hinausteigen zum Berg Jhwhs? Beiträge zu Prophetie und Poesie des Alten Testaments. Festschrift Sigurdur Örn Steingrimsson* (ed. Hubert Irsigler; St. Ottilien: Eos, 2002), 39–41.

[2] See, e.g., Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 267; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 108; George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah I–XXVII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 224–25; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (trans. R. A. Wilson; London: SCM, 1972), 155; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 114; Lea Mazor, "Myth, History, and Utopia in the Prophecy of the Shoot (Isaiah 10:33-11.9)," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume. Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. Chaim Cohen, Avi Hurvitz, and Shalom M. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 86; Kirsten Nielsen, *There Is Hope for a Tree: The Tree as Metaphor in Isaiah* (JSOTSup 65; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 140–43; Odil Hannes Steck, "'. . . ein kleiner Knabe kann sie leiten': Beobachtungen zum Tierfrieden in Jesaja 11, 6-8 und 65, 25," in *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie: Festschrift H. D. Preuss* (ed. J. Hausmann and H.-J. Zobel; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), 105; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Jesse's New Shoot in Isaiah 11: A Josianic Reading of the Prophet Isaiah," in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Richard D. Weis and David M. Carr; JSOTSup 225; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 107; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 463.

[3] Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 482.

several recent scholars, however, such an explanation fails to satisfy.[4] For them, the difference points to more than the multilayered quality of Isaiah 11: it indicates also the intention of the editor.[5] These scholars reject a simple equation of the king in 11:1 with the root in 11:10. Instead, they find signs of editorial development. In their view, long after exile had removed Israel's kingship, Isa 11:10 was added to reinterpret 11:1 as the postexilic community. Thus, 11:10 is an attempt to apply the old promise to a new day. The "root," for these scholars, is the community that survived the exile.

In this article I will examine the arguments for this recent shift in interpretation. I will argue that, despite the attractiveness of this newer position, the traditional understanding is more probable, so that the "root of Jesse" refers to a king rather than the postexilic community. After having reached this conclusion, it will be possible to explore briefly how the traditional understanding of this phrase in Isa 11:10 carries with it important implications for our understanding of the Davidic promise in Isaiah's final form, on the one hand, and our reconstructions of belief in this promise after the exile, on the other.

To begin with, it is important to view this recent interpretation of Isa 11:10 in the light of two broadly held scholarly positions. First, it is widely recognized, and is almost certain, that Isa 11:10 is a late editorial comment on the chapter.[6] This is clear not only because it begins with a phrase that elsewhere in Isaiah is a patently editorial device ("on that day," ביום ההוא), but also because this verse joins the chapter's two otherwise unrelated oracles, one of a king in vv. 1–9 and the other of a return of exiles in vv. 11–16.[7] (Note how v. 10 combines the "signal" [נס] of v. 12

[4] Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung* (WMANT 48; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 59–60; Jörg Barthel, *Prophetenwort und Geschichte: Die Jesajaüberlieferung in Jes 6–8 und 28–31* (FAT 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 44 n. 27; Joachim Becker, *Isaias – der Prophet und sein Buch* (SBS 30; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1968), 62; Brevard Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 105–6; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 125; Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète d'Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël* (2 vols.; Ebib; Paris: Gabalda, 1977), 1:277; E. Zenger, "Die Verheißung Jesaja 11,1–10: Universal oder partikular?" in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (ed. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 147.

[5] This was argued before most others by Becker, *Isaias,* 62.

[6] E.g., Willem A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 315; Childs, *Isaiah*, 105–6; Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, 125; Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 155; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 114; Nielsen, *There Is Hope for a Tree*, 140; H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 66–67.

[7] On ביום ההוא as an editorial device (e.g., Isa 4:2), see, with further literature, H. G. M. Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27,* vol. 1, *Isaiah 1–5* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 286 n. 45.

with the reference to the king in v. 1.) We might also mention that v. 10 goes beyond both oracles by introducing the new element of a positive role for the nations. The oracle about the king says nothing of the nations, and the oracle about the return paints them in a negative light: they are the location from which God must gather the people (vv. 11–12), and more negatively they are the enemies to be defeated (vv. 14–16). By contrast, in 11:10 the nations "will seek" the root of Jesse. Thus, Isa 11:10 looks very much like an editorial comment on, and join between, the two oracles. If this widely held view is correct, it would explain the rather odd imagery employed at this point in the text. As George B. Gray noted, "That a root should stand as a signal, or banner, is an extraordinary combination of figures."[8] It is not at all clear how a "root" or "root shoot"—something that is near or under the ground—could serve effectively (even on a metaphorical level) as a signal, or banner, both of which need to be highly visible to serve their purpose as a rallying point.[9] Thus, Gray is surely right in attributing this "extraordinary combination of figures" to the fact that "the writer is citing phrases from different places without welding them well together."[10] Moreover, this "extraordinary combination of figures" is left unexplained by the alternative view that vv. 11–16, either in stages or all at once, were added after and (in part) as a reinterpretation of v. 10.[11] The upshot of this conclusion is that, if for these reasons Isa 11:10 is an editorial join between the two oracles, it must have originated later than either oracle. And because the oracle of return (vv. 11–16) is widely thought to have an exilic or postexilic provenance, scholars believe that 11:10 (which presupposes it) must stem from sometime after the exile.[12] In short, when Isa 11:10 is seen as a later comment, the possibility opens up that it reinterprets the "shoot from [Jesse's] roots" in 11:1, to which it refers.

The second widely held position suggesting that "root" may equal commu-

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[8] Gray, *Isaiah I–XXVII*, 225. See also, e.g., Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 114; Nielsen, *There Is Hope for a Tree*, 142.

[9] Even granting that "root" is a technical term for a king, Gray observes that "it remains extraordinary that a person stands like a signal or banner" (*Isaiah I–XXVII*, 225). Indeed, of the many passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah where a "signal" (נס) is lifted to the nations to accomplish God's purpose, it is identified as a person only in 11:10 (see Isa 5:26; 11:12; 18:3; 49:22; 62:10; Jer 50:2; 51:27). Compare Isa 11:10 with Exod 17:15; Num 26:10; Ezek 27:7.

[10] Gray, *Isaiah I–XXVII*, 225.

[11] For those who hold this alternative view, see, e.g., Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit*, 59; Steck, "'. . . ein kleiner Knabe kann sie leiten,'" 105–6 n. 10; Vermeylen, *Du prophète d'Isaïe à l'apocalyptique*, 277. Cf. Konrad Schmid, "Herrschererwartungen und -aussagen im Jesajabuch: Überlegungen zu ihrer synchronen Logik und zu ihren diachronen Transformationen," in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy* (ed. F. Postma, K. Spronk, and E. Talstra; Maastricht: Shaker, 2002), 198–99.

[12] For those who see an exilic or postexilic provenance for 11:11–16, see, e.g., the list in Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 489–490; and Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah*, 125–43. For a postexilic dating of 11:10, see, e.g., those listed in Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit*, 59 n. 245.

nity (rather than king) comes in the view that the Davidic covenant underwent democratization with the exile. In this process the promises originally understood as having been made to David were applied to the people as a whole, and the hope for a human king was set aside in favor of a new form of community. In this light, and since Isa 11:10 almost certainly stems from the exile or after, it seems plausible that this verse reinterprets those promises related to the king in vv. 1–9 as applying to a community. Moreover, it is surely significant that scholars have found much of the evidence for this process of democratization in the book of Isaiah itself. For example, the exilic Isa 55:3 promises "I will make with you (לכם [plural]) an everlasting covenant, my steadfast, sure love for David."[13]

In the light of these two widely held views, it seems more than reasonable that the "root of Jesse" could be a reinterpretation of the Davidic king as the postexilic community. If the editorial nature of 11:10 suggests that it reinterprets the king in 11.1, the exilic democratization of the Davidic covenant may indicate the direction this reinterpretation took. Thus, the traditional view is no longer the obvious one.

Beyond this general context in which such a reading makes sense, careful consideration must be given to Hermann Barth's argument for this position, because others subsequent to him are generally indebted to his analysis.[14]

Barth begins with Bernhard Duhm. According to Duhm, the redactor responsible for v. 10 used the phrase "root of Jesse" to refer to the messianic descendant

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[13] For a defense of this translation and discussion of the issue, see H. G. M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 116–18. This interpretation of 55:3 has been widely accepted at least since the article of Otto Eissfeldt ("The Promises of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1–5," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritiage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* [ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962], 196–207). Note, however, the debate present already in Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 414–15; and Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 358. This position is held more recently by, e.g., Marjo C. A. Korpel, "Second Isaiah's Coping with the Religious Crisis: Reading Isaiah 40–55," in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Postexilic Times* (ed. Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel; OtSt 42; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 99–100; Kyung-Chul Park, *Die Gerechtigkeit Israels und das Heil der Völker: Kultus, Tempel, Eschatologie und Gerechtigkeit in der Endgestalt des Jesajabuches* (BEATAJ 52; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 151–56; Alexander Rofé, "How Is the Word Fulfilled? Isaiah 55:6–11 within the Theological Debate of Its Time," in *Canon, Theology and Old Testament: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (ed. Gene M. Tucker; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 253–54; Lesek Ruszkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel: Eine Untersuchung zu Jesaja 56–66* (FRLANT 191; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 160; Klaus Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten* (FRLANT 107; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 152–62; Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant in Isaiah," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah,* ed. van Ruiten and Vervenne, 47.

[14] Barth (*Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit*, 59–60) notes that this was argued earlier, though on different grounds, by Becker (*Isaias,* 62). Barth's argument has been more influential than Becker's. See, e.g., Barthel, *Prophetenwort und Geschichte*, 44 n. 27; Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, 125; Vermeylen, *Du prophète d'Isaïe à l'apocalyptique*, 277. See also Childs, *Isaiah*, 105–6; and Zenger, "Die Verheißung Jesaja 11,1–10," 147, who do not acknowledge either Barth or Becker.

of Jesse, even though the connection with v. 1 shows that the phrase should refer to the ancestors of Jesse. (Note again that 11:1 says a "*shoot* from [Jesse's] roots," not "root of Jesse.") If the redactor had been so awkward as to misuse "root" in this way, it was no surprise to Duhm, who characterized the style of his work as awful, insipid, and disastrous.[15]

Taking Duhm's analysis as his starting point, Barth noted that one could avoid this problem if 11:10 was understood as a reinterpretation of that oracle beginning in 11:1 about the king from the line of Jesse.[16] Accepting the conclusion that "root" properly refers to ancestors, Barth rejected Duhm's messianic interpretation as the source of the difficulty. Instead, he argued, "root of Jesse" designates a collective figure corresponding to the "tribal place" (*Stammort*) of Judah's Jesse clan.[17] Understood in the present context, the "root of Jesse" thus refers to postexilic Judah. Read this way, Isa 11:10 promised that it was postexilic Judah that would stand as the "signal" to which the nations would stream (cf. 2:2–4). In 11:10, therefore, the nations would "seek" this community and bring their wealth so that "its place of rest" (מנחתו) would become "glorious" (כבוד, i.e., full of wealth). In favor of this reading, Barth also noted that the noun מנוחה ("rest place") occurs elsewhere in the OT as a gift for Israel (usually of the land) (Deut 12:9; 1 Kgs 8:56; Isa 32:18). By contrast, he noted, its use here in connection with a messiah—as Duhm thought— would be otherwise unattested.

In favor of Barth's interpretation, it is possible to add that Isa 11:10 appears to echo some of the central themes developed later in the book, especially those found in chs. 60–62, where salvation is proclaimed to a new postexilic Judah.[18] For example, just as 11:10 announces that "the nations will seek (ידרשו)" the "root of Jesse," so 62:12 promises that Jerusalem "will be called sought after (דרושה)." Further, just as 11:10 envisions the root's place of rest full of כבוד, so 60:13 says the nations will stream to postexilic Jerusalem to fill her with their כבוד ("wealth").[19] In a similar

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[15] Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 108–9. The syntax of 11:10 is indeed difficult. See, e.g., Groß, "Syntax, Pragmatik, Stilistik in Jes 11,1–10," 39; and Roberts, "Translation of Isa 11.10," 363–70.

[16] Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit*, 59–60.

[17] Support for this use of שרש (not noted by Barth) might be found in the Hebrew Ophel ostracon line 1, where it appears to mean "lineage." See J. Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," *ThWAT* 8:485. It must be noted, however, that the construction in the ostracon differs from that in Isa 11:10, in having the preposition ב prefixed to the noun. Based on this example one might have expected 11:10 to follow suit had this sense been in mind.

[18] For features found later in the book but echoed in 11:10, see Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit*, 59 nn. 248, 250; Becker, *Isaias,* 62. On the connection with chs. 60–62, see Benjamin Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 86–88.

[19] See H. G. M. Williamson, "'From One Degree of Glory to Another': Themes and Theology in Isaiah," in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E. Clements* (ed. Edward Ball; JSOTSup 300; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 174–95.

vein, some find a reinterpretation of the "shoot" (נצר) of Jesse (11:1) in 60:21, a verse calling the redeemed people of postexilic Jerusalem the "shoot" (נצר) of the Lord's planting.[20] If 11:10 appears to echo the glorification of Jerusalem in chs. 60–62, it should come as no surprise, since there is now a growing body of opinion that sees the editing of First Isaiah in light of Third Isaiah (e.g., Isa 1:27–31).[21] All of this goes beyond the argument made by Barth (though he did argue that 11:9b is a late addition made in light of 65:25).[22]

Barth's interpretation is therefore in many respects very attractive. It takes seriously the editorial function of Isa 11:10; it provides a further example of the treatment of the Davidic covenant that scholars find elsewhere; it is able to resolve the exegetical difficulty that Duhm found in the verse, even while preserving his basic observations; and, finally, it is very much in line with how the theme is treated in other later developments within the book itself. It is little surprise, therefore, that Barth's interpretation has been followed in several subsequent works, such as those by Jacques Vermeylen, Ronald E. Clements, and Brevard S. Childs.[23]

Barth's reading may be attractive for these reasons, but it overlooks important evidence pointing in the opposite direction. At the heart of his proposal is a solu-

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[20] On this connection, see Wolfgang Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66* (BZAW 225; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 64; Sweeney, "Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant," 55.

[21] Those who view 1:27–31 as deriving from circles associated with this section of the book include, e.g., Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Endgestalt* (HBS 16; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 69–72; P. A. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah: The Structure, Growth and Authorship of Isaiah 56–66* (VTSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 158; Odil Hannes Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja* (BZAW 203; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 190, 229, 279; Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 7–11, 126–62.

[22] Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit*, 60 n. 256. Sharing a broader parallel, both texts also have the phrase לא ירעו ולא ישחיתו בכל הר קדשי. For others who hold this view, see, e.g., Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 108, 481; Gray, *Isaiah I–XXVII*, 223–24; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* (trans. J. Bowden; 2nd ed.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 260; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 112–13. It is usually thought by those arguing this view that 11:9b is a modified citation from Hab 2:14. Others, however, view Hab 2:14 as depending on Isa 11:9b (e.g., Steck, "'. . . ein kleiner Knabe kann sie leiten,'" 108). Still others see the two depending on a third unknown source (e.g., J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "'His Master's Voice?' The Supposed Influence of the Book of Isaiah in the Book of Habakkuk," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah,* ed. van Ruiten and Vervenne, 408–10). Partially compatible with Barth's view of 11:9b, the more widely held view sees Isa 65:25 as a citation of 11:6–9. See, e.g., S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (9th ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913), 226; J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "The Intertextual Relationship Between Isaiah 65, 25 and Isaiah 11, 6–9," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C. J. Labuschagne; VTSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 29–42. Many more are cited in Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 240–56.

[23] Vermeylen, *Du prophète d'Isaïe à l'apocalyptique*, 277; Clements, *Isaiah 1–39,* 125; Childs, *Isaiah*, 105–6.

tion to the problem posed by Duhm. Duhm thought the use of "root" to refer to a descendant in 11:10 was problematic because the term should refer to Jesse's ancestors, that is, the "roots" of Jesse (11:1). However, against Duhm's view, the use of "root" (שרש) later in Hebrew, and earlier in Phoenician, Ugaritic, and Aramaic strongly suggests that it would have been entirely natural for a redactor to speak of a royal descendant as a "root."

To begin with, this is suggested by evidence from a later period. Thus, the word is used precisely this way in Ben Sira. Here, the Hebrew text of 47:22, partially reconstructed from Greek, speaks of God's giving to David a "root" from his own line.[24] From roughly the same period, the LXX of Isaiah occasionally understands the Hebrew word to refer to "offspring" (σπέρμα [e.g., in 14:29, 30]), even though it is clearly aware that "root" was its literal meaning (hence, it is usually translated ῥίζα).[25] The Targum of Mal 3:19 may also be instructive. Where the Hebrew threatens that on a future day God "will not leave them a root (שרש) or a branch," the Targum reads that God "will not leave them a son (בר) or a grandson."[26] Moreover, both the passage from the Targum and those from the LXX bear witness to this usage in texts *other than* Isa 11:10. Thus, the issue here is not how the translators interpreted 11:10 (though that is certainly relevant at a different level), but what these passages cited from the Targum and LXX suggest as evidence for the semantic range of שרש in this period, since ancient translations of Hebrew texts are one point of access (even if imperfect) into the ancient lexicon of Hebrew. Indeed, where the Targum of Isa 11:10 has בַּר בְּרֵיהּ דְיִשַׁי, the LXX has ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ιεσσαι, retaining the Hebrew idiom rather than rendering it with a term for offspring such as σπέρμα (as in 14:29, 30).[27] All of this suggests that at this stage in the development of Hebrew "descendant" was a natural semantic choice for שרש quite apart from one's reading of Isa 11:10. This point should go some way toward alleviating potential suspicions that the usage in Ben Sira is *merely* a development of Isa 11:10, a possible explanation when the evidence of Ben Sira is taken in isolation from the other evidence adduced here (and below). Nevertheless, the evidence of Ben Sira, the Targum, and the LXX is later than Isa 11:10, and therefore the need remains to find support from an earlier period.

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[24] James D. Martin offers a partial reconstruction of the line (ולבית דוד ממנו שרש) and discusses it in relation to the larger question of messianism in Ben Sira's hymn to the fathers in 44:1–49:1 ("Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers: A Messianic Perspective," in *Crises and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism, Biblical Theology, Palestinian Archaeology and Intertestamental Literature* [ed. A. S. van der Woude; OtSt; Leiden: Brill, 1986], 109–11, 119).

[25] For further examples, see Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," 494.

[26] On this translation of Targum's בר ובר בר, see the discussion of Mal 2:12 in Robert P. Gordon, *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets: From Nahum to Malachi* (VTSup 51; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 126.

[27] Of course, Greek ῥίζα (literally "root") likewise has the idiomatic meaning "descendant" (BAGD, 736).

The use of "root" for descendant may be found in the biblical corpus itself (though it must be said that, apart from Isa 11:10, the examples adduced seem less than certain). Some proverbs, for example, come close to this usage. Thus, it is possible to compare, as P. Joachim Becker does, Prov 12:3 ("A person will not be established in wickedness, and the root [שרש] of the righteous will not be shaken loose") with Prov 12:7 ("Overturn the wicked and they are gone, but the house [בית] of the righteous will stand").[28] The comparison here between "root" and "house" may be significant, because "house" sometimes refers to male descendants.[29] Furthermore, in Job 5, using the verbal form, Eliphaz proclaims that the "fool" who "takes root" (משריש) suddenly comes to ruin; and here ruin is explained as the destruction of "his sons" (בניו).[30] (To this one may compare LXX Isa 27:6, in which a verbal form of שרש is translated with τέκνα, "children."[31]) Such examples demonstrate a close connection in Biblical Hebrew between "descendants" and the root שרש, a connection that cautions against assuming that "root" in Isa 11:10 must refer to personal origin (e.g., "Vorfahren").[32]

Though perhaps not conclusive on its own, such evidence has suggested to some that Ben Sira's use of "root" for descendant is not merely a later development.[33] There can be little doubt that the noun "root" (שרש) in Northwest Semitic could refer to a descendant more broadly, and from very early on.

The Ugaritic ʾAqhatu legend furnishes several examples of this in Daniʾilu's pursuit of a son. So, Baʿlu prays for him, "May he, like his brothers, have a son (*bn*), like his kinsmen, a root (*šrš*)."[34] Baʿlu also asks for a blessing upon him, "so that he may have a son (*bn*) in his house, a scion (*šrš*) within his palace."[35] In prospect of all of this Daniʾilu rejoices, "a son (*bn*) will be born to me, as (to) my brothers, a scion (*šrš*) as (to) my kinsman."[36]

An Aramaic curse upon a man and his house reads, "and may his root (שר[ש]ה) have no name" (Sefire I C lines 24–25).[37] As with some of the above

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[28] P. Joachim Becker, "Wurzel und Wurzelsproß: Ein Beitrag zur hebräischen Lexikographie," *BZ* 1 (1976): 36.

[29] See, e.g., Gen 18:19, where בית stands alongside בניו.

[30] See the treatment of Job 5:3–4 in Walter L. Michel, *Job in the Light of Northwest Semitic* (BibOr 42; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1987), 107–8.

[31] So Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," 494.

[32] Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia,* 108: "Die Wurzel Isais, also eigentlich die Vorfahren Isais, hier [11:10] aber gemeint als der messianische Nachfahre Isais."

[33] So, e.g., *HALOT* 4:1659–61; Becker, "Wurzel und Wurzelsproß," 36.

[34] *KTU* 1.17 I 20 (also in 1.17 I 19); translations from Dennis Pardee in *COS* 1:344–45. "Root" is given as the basic meaning of Ugaritic *šrš* in Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; 2 vols.; HO; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2:845.

[35] *KTU* 1.17 I 25.

[36] *KTU* 1.17 II 14-15.

[37] The reconstruction of the ה is uncertain (*KAI* 222.C.24).

examples, here "root" refers to offspring (so also with Aramaic עקר, "root").[38] In this connection, it should be recalled that Aramaic is thought to have exerted some influence on Hebrew, particularly after the exile and especially in the Persian period; and, as noted, many find good reason to think that Isa 11:10 stems from just this time.

Phoenician provides a striking analogy to Isa 11:10 in Karatepe A i.[39] Here a servant of the Danunian king boasts, "I put the house of my lord in good order; and I acted kindly towards the root (שרש) of my lord, and I set him on his father's throne" (lines 9–11).[40] This is a striking example, because as in the text from Ben Sira, "root" refers not only to a descendant but to a royal descendant—precisely the use in question in Isa 11:10.

All of this strongly suggests that the evidence from Ben Sira is not simply a late-second-century B.C.E. development, but that this later author, along with the translators of the LXX and the Targum, adopted a much older use of the word, a use reflected in the Northwest Semitic evidence cited above (cf. also Akkadian).[41] If so, then, contrary to Duhm's assertion later developed by Barth, it would have been entirely natural for the author of Isa 11:10 to use "root" to refer to a descendant of Jesse.[42]

The "root of Jesse" in Isa 11:10 is best understood, therefore, as a descendant of Jesse, a conclusion that several scholars, despite the proposal of Barth, have continued to favor.[43] Duhm's conclusion (that "root" = descendant of Jesse) appears to be more probable than Barth's (that "root" = postexilic Judah). This conclusion is ironic, because Barth built his case on Duhm's assumption that "root" in 11:10 rightly referred to "ancestor" but was awkwardly used for "descendant." Because this assumption becomes unnecessary in light of the above evidence, Barth's corresponding solution also becomes unnecessary.

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[38] J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Aramaic Inscriptions including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), 2:34–35. Cf. Zakir B lines 27–28 with ש[ר]שה. See also Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," 484–86; *DISO,* 321. On this use of עקר, see, e.g., *DISO,* 220.

[39] J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Phoenician Inscriptions including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialect of Arslan Tash* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 3:46–47.

[40] The translation is from Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Phoenician*, 3:46–47. See also Lapethos ii. 16; iii. 3, and Gibson's discussion (ibid., 137). The line in the Karatepe inscription is difficult. For further literature on this, see Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," 484. Renz renders the phrase in question: "und ich tat der Nachkommenschaft meines Herrn . . . Gutes."

[41] Mari 3.61 no. 9: 17: "May Aššur ruthlessly cut down his root (*šu-ru-uš-šu*) and his seed." The translation and text are cited from *CAD,* vol. 17, III, 364. Cf. Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," 489.

[42] To those cited above under the traditional view, add Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Phoenician*, 3:57.

[43] See, e.g., Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 267; Mazor, "Myth," 86; Nielsen, *There Is Hope for a Tree*, 140–43; Steck, "'. . . ein kleiner Knabe kann sie leiten,'" 105; Sweeney, "Jesse's New Shoot in Isaiah 11," 107; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 463.

Before proceeding, one should note that, apart from this aspect of the meaning of שרש, one further reason may exist why it would have been natural for the author of Isa 11:10 to refer to the "shoot" (נצר) of Jesse in v. 1 as a שרש, a reason that also renders Barth's argument unnecessary. It has been widely thought that the Hebrew שרש can mean "shoot, or root shoot" in addition to just "root" (e.g., Isa 53:2).[44] It is not difficult to see how שרש, with the meaning "root shoot," could serve as a synonym for "a shoot (נצר) from his roots" in 11:1. Since the meaning is nearly identical in both cases, this proposal raises the possibility that, in the redactor's Hebrew, שרש was an acceptable equivalent for נצר משרשיו. If so, then the "root" of Jesse in 11:10 was probably thought to be identical to the "shoot from [Jesse's] roots" in 11:1, and therefore a king rather than a community. Such an equivalence was recognized already by Wilhelm Gesenius.[45] Whether for this reason, or because שרש can refer to a descendant, or because of some combination of the two, it seems most probable that the "root of Jesse" refers to a human king from the line of David's father, and hence, by virtue of its context, to a future Davidic king.

If this conclusion is accepted, then what is to be made of the earlier points advanced in favor of Barth's view? There were three such additional points, and all may be readily explained on other grounds.

First, it is true that מנוחה ("rest place") occurs elsewhere in the OT as a gift for Israel, and that its use at Isa 11:10 in connection with a messiah would be otherwise unattested. But this term plays a central role elsewhere in the Davidic promise as it relates to the temple (e.g., Isa 66:1; 1 Chr 28:2; Ps 132:7-8).[46] Thus, it would hardly be surprising to find it here in connection with a future Davidic king.

[44] See, e.g., Becker, "Wurzel und Wurzelsproß," 22–44; Wilhelm Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, Including the Biblical Chaldee* (trans. E. Robinson; Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1836), 1048; Eduard König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1931), 528; A. Millard, "Isaiah 53.2," *TynBul* 20 (1969): 127; Renz, "שֹׁרֶשׁ," 494; Steck, "'. . . ein kleiner Knabe kann sie leiten,'" 105. According to H. L. Ginsberg, שרש means something like "stock" ("'Roots Below and Fruit Above' and Related Matters," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies: Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver* [ed. D. W. Thomas and W. D. McHardy; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963], 75).

[45] Wilhelm Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia* (3 vols.; Leipzig: Friedr. Christ. Wilh. Vogel, 1821), 1:432.

[46] According to William M. Schniedewind, "Isaiah 66.1 participates in a discourse generated by 2 Samuel 7" (*Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1–17* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1999], 116–17). He compares Isa 66:1, "Thus says the Lord: '. . . where is the house that you would build for me (אי זה בית אשר תבנו לי) . . . ?'" with 2 Sam 7:5, "Thus says the Lord: 'Are you the one to build a house for me to dwell in (האתה תבנה לי בית לשבתי)?'" Several commentators find echoes of the Davidic covenant in 66:1; see, e.g., Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 517; Willem A. M. Beuken, "Does Trito-Isaiah Reject the Temple? An Intertextual Inquiry into Isa. 66:1–6," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. Sipke Draisma; Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1989), 57; Paul Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Min-

Second, it may be readily admitted that Isa 11:10 echoes elements from chs. 60–62, where postexilic Judah is the object of salvation. But it cannot merely be assumed that they are to be equated, since it is entirely possible that the editor responsible for 11:10 read chs. 60–62 but was not the author of these chapters. In this connection, it is noteworthy that chs. 60–62 are usually regarded as the earliest core of Third Isaiah with much of the rest of this part of the book being written later as a reinterpretation of it (e.g., chs. 56, 65–66).[47] If correct, this widely held view shows that chs. 60–62 were the subject of later reflection that is now incorporated into the book, which raises the possibility that this early core reverberates in 11:10 precisely because this verse is itself such later reflection.[48]

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neapolis: Fortress, 1975), 179; Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, 168–71. The connection between temple and "rest place" is strengthened by the link between "his rest place" in 11:10 and "my holy mountain" in 11:9, the latter elsewhere referring to the temple (e.g., Isa 56:7; see also 65:25–66:1).

[47] See, e.g., Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 550; Johannes Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte: Jesaja 63,7–64,11 im Jesajabuch* (WMANT 92; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 229; Klaus Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie in Tritojesajabuch* (WMANT 62; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 215; Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, 22–115; Ruszkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 171–86. A convincing case has been made (1) that 56:1–8 takes up and develops chs. 60–62, producing a more inclusive vision with respect to the foreigner, (2) that chs. 65–66 presuppose and develop chs. 60–62 with respect to the issues of the return and Zion's restoration, (3) that chs. 58–59 develop chs. 60–62 with respect to the delay in salvation pictured as "light" (אור). On all of this, see Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 506, 525–26; Judith Gärtner, *Jesaja 66 und Sacharja 14: Eine traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Abschluss des Jesaja- und des Zwölfprophetenbuches* (WMANT 114; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2006), 116–19, 122–27; Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte*, 219–23; Ruszkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 35–47, 60–63, 106–11, 142–43; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 110–14, 117, 126–27, 160–61; Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage: Post-Exilic Prophetic Critique of the Priesthood* (FAT 2/19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 274–81.

[48] If this cautions against reading chs. 60–62 into 11:10 (because of their shared links), a very similar caution may be issued with respect to Becker's argument that reads a democratized Davidic covenant from chs. 40–66 into 11:10 because of similar shared links (*Isaias*, 62). According to Becker, 11:10 is a postexilic addition made in light of Isaiah 40–66, so that the sending of Israel in 42:1–7; 49:9; and 55:4 suggests that in 11:10 it is Israel that stands as a banner for the peoples. While 42:1–7 does have impressive connections with ch. 11, it was clearly understood in the later period with which we are concerned in reference to an individual in 61:1 (Williamson, "From One Degree of Glory to Another," 178–85). Since 49:9 is undoubtedly connected in some way to ch. 42 (42:6//49:6; 42:6//49:8), this point would seem to apply here as well. Moreover, it may be that an individual interpretation, such as that in 61:1, is already to be found in ch. 49 itself (P. Wilcox and D. Paton-Williams, "The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah," *JSOT* 42 [1988]: 88-93). The point is that caution should, therefore, be used in reading these texts from Deutero-Isaiah into 11:10, as this verse may actually come from an author who was *reflecting on* these texts.

Finally, Clements represents the third argument. He finds Barth's collective interpretation "a very attractive suggestion, since it provides a convincing example of the gradual fading of hope regarding the restoration of a Davidic monarch in the 6th–5th centuries BC."[49] While there is clearly some appeal in Clements's argument, there is also a real danger in reading against an interpretation that has a perfectly sound philological basis because of a reconstructed movement of thought in the history of Israel. The Davidic covenant may have been democratized in some circles, but not in others. For this reason, the text must be dealt with first in its own right before attempting to situate it in such a history. And in its own right, if the above analysis is correct, the text speaks of a descendant of Jesse and hence an individual king, when it looks forward to the "root of Jesse."

In light of this conclusion, it is now possible to finish by considering two broader implications arising from this analysis. The first is historical and the second hermeneutical.

First, the historical. If Isa 11:10 is a postexilic comment, as many scholars argue, then this verse must be regarded as clear evidence for belief in a future Davidic king during this period. Taking the evidence of the chapter seriously, this hope entailed the further belief that this king would be the means by which God would bring justice and peace not just to Israel but also to the nations. Such a perspective clearly represents something of a maximalist position on the role of the Davidic king in the future restoration of Israel. This conclusion is significant because it counterbalances the diminished role sometimes assigned to this belief in reconstructions of the thought of this period.[50] Furthermore, it emerges as a late example of this belief within the historical stream of Isaianic tradition, at the later stages of which it is now widely thought that hope of this sort had been transferred from a king onto someone else.

Second, the hermeneutical. We may now turn from the stream of Isaianic tradition to the book itself, and hence from historical reconstruction to biblical hermeneutics. If Isa 11:10 constitutes evidence for postexilic belief in a future Davidic king because the verse itself is postexilic, it is more than this. It is also an important clue for how this redactor understood the role of the Davidic king within the chapter itself and, with that, probably in the book as a whole.

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[49] Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, 125.

[50] E.g., Rex Mason states, "We have to say how little influence the concept of a renewal of the Davidic line after the exile exercised in the extant post-exilic biblical literature" ("The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* [ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 364). Mason is aware that such postexilic comments exist, but he excludes them from his study in favor of a focus on the more extensive sources, and he does so recognizing that "this further diminishes any claim we might make to be presenting a comprehensive picture of postexilic messianic thought" (p. 339).

From a hermeneutical point of view, Isa 11:10 serves an important function in the chapter. It combines that oracle about the king in vv. 1–9 with the return from exile and restoration in vv. 11–16. It does so by combining the "signal" (נס) in v. 12 with the descendant of "Jesse" (ישי) in v. 1. In this way, the verse identifies the "signal" to the nations, which is to initiate the return, with the king described in vv. 1-9. Hence, in Isa 11:10 it is "the root of Jesse (ישי) who stands as a signal (נס) to the nations." The hermeneutical effect is to place the appearance of the king with his restoring rule at the end of the exile. Therefore, the hope is postexilic in a sense very different from that just mentioned. While diachronically it is *a postexilic hope* in a king because the verse stems from that period, synchronically it is hope in *a postexilic king* because that is the hermeneutical role of the verse in the present shape of the chapter.[51] This conclusion is significant not only because it sheds light on the final form of Isaiah 11, but also because this chapter is echoed time and again later in the book, raising the question about its role in the shape given the Davidic promise in the final form of the book.[52] Though I cannot provide full justification here, I believe that it is not going too far to say that Isa 11:10 was to serve an important role in helping the reader of Isaiah bring together those two themes so prominent in both halves of the book: the monarchy in chs. 1–39 and the post-

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[51] In a synchronic sense the term "postexilic" is here distinguished from its use in a diachronic sense: the latter aligns with the date(s) assigned to the end of the exile(s) in modern historical reconstruction (e.g., 539 B.C.E.), but the former refers to the time a text envisions the exile to come to end. In any one case, the two may or may not agree. To illustrate the distinction, one can recall Isa 66:18–24, which is part of Third Isaiah, a section of the book usually dated after the exile (diachronic), even if in its own right 66:18–24 looks forward to a return—of still others—from exile (synchronic). See Bradley C. Gregory, "The Postexilic Exile in Third Isaiah: Isaiah 61:1–3 in Light of Second Temple Hermeneutics," *JBL* 126 (2007): 475–96.

[52] Sommer finds echoes of Isaiah 11 in 42:1–9; 49:22; 53; 60:1–61:1; 62:10; 65:25 (*Prophet Reads Scripture*, 84–88, 95, 249 n. 40). Many find an allusion to 11:12 in 56:8 (both sharing the distinctive phrase נדחי ישראל); see, e.g., Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 530; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19B; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 141–42; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 498 n. 103; Gärtner, *Jesaja 66 und Sacharja 14*, 58–59; Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 26; Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, 278; Ruszkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 134–35; Seizo Sekine, *Die Tritojesajanische Sammlung (Jes 56–66) redaktionsgeschichtlich untersucht* (BZAW 157; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 36; Sweeney, "Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant," 51–52. Isaiah 66:18–20 may echo 11:11–12 (both speaking of a gathering [קבץ] of God's people); see, e.g., Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 314; Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte*, 222. The allusion in 65:25 to 11:6–9 is widely recognized. So, e.g., Steck, "'. . . ein kleiner Knabe kann sie leiten,'" 104–13; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65–66," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; VTSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 455–74; van Ruiten, "Intertextual Relationship," 29–42. For further proposed links between ch. 11 and chs. 56–66, see Sweeney, "Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant," 41–62.

exilic restoration in chs. 40–66.[53] Hence, the "root of Jesse" who stands as a signal to the nations also stands as an important clue for how the book was to be read as a whole, at least for the author of 11:10. Whether, or the degree to which, such a reading does justice to the complexity of Isaiah for the modern reader will no doubt depend for some on whether this verse can be seen as part of a larger editorial strategy spanning the book.[54]

[53] Note, for example, how 11:10 brings together the theme of the "signal" (נס), found throughout the book (Isa 5:26; 11:10, 12; 18:3; 49:22; 62:10), with the theme of the monarchy, found throughout chs. 1–39. The theme of the "signal" has played an important role in discussions of Isaiah's unity; see, e.g., Ronald E. Clements, "Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 108–9; G. I. Davies, "The Destiny of the Nations in the Book of Isaiah," in *The Book of Isaiah = Le livre d'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* (ed. J. Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press; Peeters, 1989), 114–15; Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah*, 63–67. Moreover, if 11:10 is such a late addition, this may account (though it is impossible to be sure) for the close parallel between 11:10a (the "root of Jesse" as נס עמים, "signal to the nations") and 55:4a (David as עד לאומים, "witness to the peoples"), the former possibly reflecting on the latter. See Becker, *Isaias,* 62; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19A; New York: Doubleday, 2002), 370; Davies, "Destiny of the Nations," 115–16.

[54] Elsewhere, I discuss 11:10 in relation to Isaiah's composition as a whole. See Jake Stromberg, *Isaiah after the Exile: The Author of Third-Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (forthcoming).

The Interpretation of Isaiah 56:1–9: Comfort or Criticism?

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Isaiah 56:1–8 is described as a promise of salvation,[1] an exhortation containing a prophetic Torah,[2] or a prophetic oracle that introduces a new cultic norm.[3] Its

[1] Jan L. Koole, *Jesaja III vertaald en verklaard: Jesaja 56–66* (COuT; Kampen: Kok, 1995), 43–44.

[2] Georg Fohrer, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (11th ed.; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1969), 422; Theodor Lescow, "Die driestufige Tora: Beobachtungen zu einer Form," *ZAW* 82 (1970): 362–79, esp. 370; R. Norman Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1975), 197; Claus Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja: Kapitel 40–66 übersetzt und erklärt* (ATD 19; 4th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 249; Herbert Donner, "Jesaja LVI 1–7: Ein Abrogationsfall innerhalb des Kanons—Implikationen und Konsequenzen," in *Congress Volume: Salamanca 1983* (ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 36; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 81–95, esp. 81; Wim A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja deel IIIA* (De prediking van het Oude Testament; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1989), 20; Christoph Bultmann, *Der Fremde im antiken Juda: Eine Untersuchung zum sozialen Typenbegriff 'ger' und seinem Bedeutungswandel in der alttestamentlichen Gesetzgebung* (FRLANT 153; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 207-12.

[3] See Claus Westermann, *Prophetische Heilsworte im Alten Testament* (FRLANT 145;

origin is to be found in the cultic context of the temple, in which the admission of foreigners and eunuchs was discussed in view of the regulations from the Torah, esp. Deut 23:3–9.[4] On the other hand, the following passage, Isa 56:9–57:13, is classified as a "prophetic announcement of impending judgment," a "prophetic liturgy with threats," or "a chain of accusations."[5] These two interpretations have led to the almost universally accepted view that Isa 56:1–8 and 56:9–57:13 are not (or hardly) related to each other and that their present juxtaposition is attributable only to a redactor/writer.[6]

More recent studies have demonstrated, however, that both Isa 56:1–8 and 56:9–57:13 are closely related to Deutero-Isaiah and especially to ch. 55.[7] The theme of the "Servant of Yʜwʜ," for example, which has such a crucial position in Deutero-Isaiah, is continued in Trito-Isaiah as the "servants of Yʜwʜ" (56:6; 63:17; 65:8–9, 13–15; 66:14).[8] Similarly, the concept of the "mountain of Yʜwʜ" is elaborated in Trito-Isaiah (56:7; 57:13; 65:11, 25; 66:20), but in this case the theme is adapted from Proto-Isaiah ch. 11; it does not occur in Deutero-Isaiah.[9] However,

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Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 185–86; Leszek Ruszbowski, "Der Sabbat bei Trito-jesaja," in *Prophetie und Psalmen: Festschrift für Klaus Seybold zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Beat Huwyler et al.; AOAT 280; Münster: Ugarit, 2001), 61–74; Bernard Gosse, "Sabbath, Identity and Universalism Go Together after the Return from Exile," *JSOT* 29 (2005): 359–70, esp. 368–70. In this vein also, see Martinus A. Beek, "De vreemdeling krijgt toegang (Jesaja 56:1–8)," in *De Knecht: Studies rondom Deutero-Jesaja aangeboden aan prof.dr. J. L. Koole* (ed. Herman H. Grosheide et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1978), 17–22.

[4] See Westermann, *Jesaja 40–66,* 249, 252.

[5] See ibid., 253 (regarding 56:9–12); Fohrer, *Einleitung*, 423; Beuken, *Isaiah IIIA*, 45–46; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 65.

[6] Odil Hannes Steck, "Beobachtungen zu Jesaja 56–59," *BZ* 31 (1987): 228–46, esp. 229–30; repr. in *Studien zu Tritojesaja* (BZAW 203; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 169–86, esp. 170–71.

[7] See, e.g., Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Endgestalt* (HBS 16; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998), 509–15. The relationship was noticed already in earlier studies, but was generally ignored with regard to the unity of the book. See, e.g., Fohrer, *Einleitung*, 421, who writes: "Trotz der Abhängigkeit einiger Abschnitte von Dtjes liegt ein tiefer Graben zwischen beiden Schriften."

[8] Wim A. M. Beuken, "The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah: 'The Servants of YHWH,'" *JSOT* 47 (1990): 67–87; see also idem, "Trito-Jesaja: profetie en schriftgeleerdheid," in *Profeten en profetische geschriften* (ed. Florentino García Martínez et al.; Nijkerk: Callenbach, [1987]), 71–85, 78–83. Furthermore, see Gerhard Wallis, "Gott und seine Gemeinde," *TZ* 27 (1971): 182–200; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah: Profile of a Pietistic Group in the Persian Epoch," *PIBA* 7 (1983): 1–23; idem, "The Servant and the Servants in Isaiah and the Formation of the Book," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretative Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1: Leiden: Brill, 1997), 155–75.

[9] Wim A. M. Beuken, "Isa. 56:9–57:13—An Example of the Isaianic Legacy of Trito-Isaiah," in *Tradition and Reinterpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of*

because of the strong emphasis on the proclamation of "salvation," which seems to be in contrast to the following unit (Isa 56:9–57:13), Isa 56:1–8 is still considered to be more or less independent from the next pericope.[10]

This supposition of a gap between the two pericopes is strengthened by the contents of the first verse of the second pericope, Isa 56:9.[11] The verse is considered to be a negative saying, forming the introduction to the following oracle on the leaders of Israel as a kind of sarcastic prelude. Yet the delimitation of sense units in the textual tradition of the book of Isaiah suggests a different interpretation of this verse. If in the ancient manuscripts a pause was read at the end of Trito-Isaiah's first pericope, it is read *after* v. 9 instead of *before*, thus reading v. 9 together with the preceding verses and not with the following verses.[12] What do such readings suggest regarding the interpretation of the text and what is the implication of it for our exegesis? If the position of the break between the first pericope and the second in Trito-Isaiah moves back, this may have consequences for its interpretation. Is the supposed gap between the first and the second pericope so deep indeed, as is usually assumed? Or is there much more continuity between the two passages that was formerly overlooked? And if there is indeed some continuity between the two passages, is Isa 56:1–8(9) in that case a promise of salvation, or is it a polemical and critical text in line with the following passage? These questions will be the main topic of this article. First, I will briefly discuss the delimitation of the pericope in the light of the ancient witnesses. Subsequently I will explore the main message of this first pericope in Trito-Isaiah, which then will be studied from the perspective of its literary context. This will be followed by a discussion of some moments of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the text, reflecting already some aspects of my proposed interpretation of the text. Finally I will formulate some conclusions.

I. Isaiah 56:9: Introduction or Conclusion?

Isaiah 56:8-9 reads as follows:

<div align="right">

8a   נאם אדני יהוה

8b   מקבץ נדחי ישראל

</div>

J. C. H. Lebram (ed. Jan Willem van Henten et al.; SPB 36; Leiden: Brill, 1986), 48–64, esp. 50; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65-66," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah,* ed. Broyles and Evans, 455–74; idem, "The Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant in Isaiah," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (ed. Jacques van Ruiten and Marc Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 41–62, esp. 51–52.

[10] Beuken, "Isa. 56:9–57:13," 50; Blenkinsopp, "Servant and the Servants," 166.

[11] According to Beuken (*Jesaja IIIA*, 48), "the exhortation to the wild animals to come to eat surprises and has nothing in common with the preceding text" ("[d]e oproep tot de wilde dieren om te komen eten verrast en heeft geen enkel aanknopingspunt met het voorafgaande").

[12] See for the moment only *BHS*; and in addition n. 18 below.

עוד אקבץ עליו לנקבציו   8c

כל חיתו שדי אתיו לאכל   9a

כל־חיתו ביער   ס   9b

8a   Word of the Lord Yʜwʜ,
8b   gathering the outcast of Israel:
8c   "I will gather to him still more[13] beyond those already gathered.
9a   All beasts of the field come to eat,
9b   all beasts of the forest."

In every recent translation of the Hebrew Bible the first pericope of Trito-Isaiah is considered to be 56:1–8.[14] The following verse, Isa 56:9, is considered to be like an anacrusis to 56:10–13, introducing the animals coming to devour in the land, where the watchers neglect their task. The verb אכל is in that case rendered by "to devour" instead of the more common "to eat, to feed (both man and animal)."[15] This interpretation of אכל as "to devour" has been questioned by Wim A. M. Beuken, because no object to be devoured is mentioned in the text, neither in v. 9 nor in the following verses.[16]

Since Isa 56:9 seems to be an adaptation of Jer 12:9,[17] it is usually read as a sort of judgment on (the leaders of) Israel. The ancients, however, apparently preferred to read v. 9 together with the previous v. 8, in which the promise "I will gather

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[13] Hebrew עוד is taken here in the sense of "still more, in addition to"; see NJPSV; cf. *HALAT*, 752; Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 35; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 62.

[14] NJPSV; NAB; NEB; NIV; RSV; NRSV; EÜ (Einheits Übersetzung); LB; KBS (Katholieke Bijbelstichting); NBG (Nederlands Bijbel Genootschap); NBV (De Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling); Martin Buber, *Bücher der Kündung* (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1958), 177–78; *La Bible: Ancien et Nouveau Testament* (Villiers-le-Bel: Alliance Biblique Français, 1997) (although starting with a new *pericope* before v. 9, the text also starts a new *indentation* after it).

[15] BDB, 37; *HALAT*, 44; Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (18th ed.; ed. Rudolf Meyer and Herbert Donner; 4 vols.; Berlin/New York: Springer, 1987–2007), 53; *DCH* 1:240–42.

[16] The Masoretes accentuated the verse in such a way that the beasts of the forest are to be eaten by the beasts of the field. See David B. Freedman and Miles B. Cohen, "The Masoretes as Exegetes: Selected Examples," in *1972 and 1973 Proceedings of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies* (ed. Harry M. Orlinsky; SBLMasS 1; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 35–46; in addition see Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 48–64; idem, *Jesaja IIIA*, 48; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 66. See also *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,* which added the object from a comparable text, Ezek 39:14; see Raymond de Hoop, "Isaiah 56:1-9 in Targum Jonathan: A Comment" (forthcoming).

[17] See Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 200 (using such terms as "resemble, . . . hardly . . . slavish imitation"); John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34–66* (WBC 25; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 255–60; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 66–67; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 466 with n. 257. Cf., however, the cautious remarks in Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 56–58; idem, *Jesaja IIIA*, 48–50.

to him still more beyond those already gathered" is given. The Leningrad Codex reads a *ziaḥ* (indicated by ס in *BHS*) after v. 9 and not, as *BHS* seems to prefer, after v. 8.[18] The Leningrad division is supported by other major witnesses: a *petuḥa* in Codex Cairo and Codex Aleppo, and a *setuma* in Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus, Codex Reuchlinianus, Parma Bible, Rabbinic Bible, as are most of the other delimiters in this chapter (before 56:1, 3, 4, 6).[19] In addition, the ancient manuscripts from Qumran (1QIsa and 1QIsb) support this delimitation of v. 9, while they also in general support the delimitation of ch. 56 by means of *petuḥot* and *setumot*.[20] Further, a number of important manuscripts of *Targum Jonathan* have a break after 56:9.[21] (The LXX, the Peshitta, and most manuscripts of the Vulgate do not read a break before or after v. 9.[22]) Does this delimitation of the text suggest a more positive interpretation of v. 9, implying that the invitation to the beasts of the field and the forest has a positive tenor in line with the preceding verses?[23] The fact

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[18] See Raymond de Hoop, "Delimitation Criticism and Exegesis: Isaiah 56 as an Introduction to the Theme," in *The Impact of Delimitation Criticism on Exegesis* (ed. Raymond de Hoop et al.; Pericope 7; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1–28, esp. 4, and plate 2. A *ziaḥ* is indicated as a *setuma* in *BHS*, but is in fact an indentation to the left of a new line, often preceded by a *petuḥa*; see Marjo C. A. Korpel, "Introduction to the Series Pericope," in *Delimitation Criticism* (ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch; Pericope 1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000), 1–50, here 3–4.

[19] See Josef M. Oesch, *Petucha und Setuma: Untersuchungen zu einer überlieferten Gliederung im hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments* (OBO 27; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 221–22, T26+; see also Koole, *Jesaja III*, 64–65.

[20] Scholars differ in their interpretations of the spaces in 1QIsb. Eugene Ulrich ("Impressions and Intuition: Sense Divisions in Ancient Manuscripts of Isaiah," in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature* [ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch; Pericope 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003], 279–307) does not discern a space after Isa 56:9/before 56:10 (see esp. 295), while, for example, Oesch does (*Petucha und Setuma*, 221–22, T26+). In addition, see now de Hoop, "Delimitation Criticism," 6 n. 13, and plate 4, with an image of Isaiah 56 in 1QIsb, where the space, indicating a *setuma* after v. 9, is shown.

[21] Namely, ms Solger 2–4 (Nuremberg); ms Or. 2211 ([Margoliouth/London 138] London), ms hébreu 1325 (Paris), and ms hébreu 75 (Paris); de Hoop, "Delimitation Criticism," 9 n. 18.

[22] There is only one manuscript of the Vulgate that starts a new pericope *before* Isa 56:9; most of the others start a new pericope at Isa 57:1, reading the first chapter of Trito-Isaiah thus as one pericope; see *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pauli PP. VI, Tom. 13: Libri Isaie* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1969).

Regarding these traditions, see de Hoop, "Delimitation Criticism." On the other hand, LXXS, for example, has a break before 56:1, 3, 6β and 57:2b, but no break before or after 56:9. Syrb reads a break before 55:6 (cf. *setuma* in the MT), while Syrc has a break only before 55:1 and then finally after 57:14 (see de Hoop, "Delimitation Criticism," 8–9).

[23] See Oesch, who considers the possibility that 56:9 was related allegorically to 56:6–8 (*Petucha and Setuma*, 221–22). This suggestion is taken up by Berges, who asks whether this delimitation and interpretation suggest a negative attitude toward the joining of foreigners to the community, who are similar to "wild beasts" who will graze Israel bare (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 465

that the oracles of doom in Jeremiah 12 are not found in Isaiah 56 diminishes the necessity of a negative interpretation considerably. In addition, there is another text that, like Jer 12:9, is a parallel to our text (Isa 56:9) and might shed a different light on the question of a negative or positive interpretation: Ezek 39:17, "Speak to the birds of every kind and to all the wild animals (חית השדה): Assemble (קבץ) and come (בוא),[24] gather from all around to the sacrificial feast that I am preparing for you, a great sacrificial feast on the mountains of Israel, and you shall eat (אכל) flesh and drink blood." Remarkable is the fact this text employs the verb קבץ, which is used also in Isa 56:8, but there with a clearly positive tenor. This suggests that one cannot deduce from the mere fact that a more or less parallel text such as Jer 12:9 or Ezek 39:17 has a negative tenor that Isa 56:9 should also be interpreted in a similarly negative vein; the interpretation has to be determined by its context. In case of Isa 56:9 the context is somewhat ambiguous: vv. 1–8 seem to have a positive purport, while vv. 10–12 have a clear critical tenor.

In Hos 2:20 (Eng. 2:18), we read of the possibility that Yнwн will make a covenant with the beasts of the field, which might suggest that in our text (56:9) Yнwн invites animals as part of the new era to come. Such a covenant is frequently called ברית עולם, "everlasting covenant" (Gen 9:16; Ezek 37:26) or ברית שלום, "covenant of peace" (Isa 54:10; Ezek 34:25), reflecting the stability of creation. In this connection it is relevant to refer to the close relationship between Isa 56:7, 8 and Isa 11:1-12, 16; the former employs language and imagery from the latter.[25] The themes "mountain of Yнwн" and the "gathering of the dispersed" are applied in both texts (Isa 11:9, 12, 16; 56:7, 8).[26] It seems worthwhile, therefore, to consider the possibility

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n. 251). Yet this attitude toward proselytes is not reflected in the targumic rendering of the text and hardly at all in rabbinic literature; see Beek, "De vreemdeling," 18–19; Str-B 1:355–56.

[24] The verb בוא in Ezek 39:17 can be considered to be a parallel to the verb אתה in Isa 56:9; see *DCH* 2:118; and cf. Deut 33:2; Mic 4:8; Job 3:25; and Prov 1:27.

[25] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 50–52; Wolfgang Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66* (BZAW 225; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 262–79; Sweeney, "Reconceptualization," 51–52; see also Odil Hannes Steck, "Zu jüngsten Untersuchungen von Jes 56,1–8; 63,7–66,24," in idem, *Studien zu Tritojesaja,* 229–68, here 248 n. 119.

[26] Sweeney ("Prophetic Exegesis," 467–68) refers to the fact that the "tree" and "seed" imagery of Isaiah 6 is also employed in chs. 65–66, and there is also a strong connection with Isaiah 11, esp. v. 1: "a new shoot shall go forth from the stump of Jesse and a shoot shall sprout from its roots." Moreover, this imagery of the "stump" in Isaiah 11 seems to recur in ch. 56, when the סריס ("eunuch") complains הן אני עץ יבש, "behold I am just a dry tree" (56:3). This is not a matter of coincidence, but fits with the general tendency of Trito-Isaiah to reformulate and apply imagery from Proto-Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah. The imagery of the "stump" is applied to the members of this community, reformulating the Davidic covenant with regard to the community of "servants of Yнwн," which has been argued already by Sweeney ("Reconceptualization"); and Ulrich Berges, "Die Knechte im Psalter: Ein Beitrag zu seiner Kompositionsgeschichte," *Bib* 81 (2000): 153–78; idem, "Who Were the Servants? A Comparative Inquiry in the Book of Isaiah and the Psalms," in

of reading Isa 56:9 from a similar perspective, that is, using the imagery of Isa 11:6–8, where the peaceful presence of serpent (65:25; cf. 11:8), wolf (11:6; 65:25), bear (11:7), leopard (11:6), and lion (11:7) is foreseen.[27] From this perspective, the invitation of the beasts in 56:9 is a summary of Isa 11:6–8 in which a kind of eschatological perspective is offered. The beasts' presence at the mountain is not threatening: "They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain" (11:9). Deutero-Isaiah suggested already that even חית השדה, "the beasts of the field," will come to praise Yʜwʜ (43:20). In this way, Isa 56:9 might be understood as an invitation to the beasts of the field and the forest to participate in the salvation at the mountain of the Lord. This is in accordance with the preceding verses, which, as was noted above, adapt the themes from Isaiah 11. In this connection, it is interesting to refer to Exod 31:16, where observing the Sabbath is mentioned as a ברית עולם.[28] Whether the tenor is generally optimistic and friendly, however, might be a matter of dispute, to which we will return at the end of the following section.

It should be questioned, however, whether the general delimitation of the first two pericopes of Trito-Isaiah (viz., 56:1–8 and 56:9–57:13) is entirely wrong, if we were to follow the delimitation found in the ancient extant manuscripts. It is obvious that the imagery of the חית השדה/יער, "beasts of the field/forest," also is to be related to the following verses, where we find the imagery of the כלבים, "dogs" (56:10, 11) and the רעים, "shepherds" (56:11).[29] But this intertwining of images begins already in 56:8, where Yʜwʜ depicts himself as a shepherd, who gathers

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Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets (ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy; OTS 44; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–18.

[27] The serpent and the wolf are to be considered "beasts of the field" (see Gerhard Wallis, "שָׂדֶה," *TWAT* 7:709–18), while the bear, the leopard, and the lion are taken as "beasts of the wood" (see Martin J. Mulder, "יַעַר," *TWAT* 3:777–87). Whether the leopard should be seen as a "beast of the field" or of "the forest" depends on its line of descent; see Adriaan Schouten van der Velden, *Dieren uit de Bijbel: Een inventarisatie en beschrijving* (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1992), 110–11.

[28] Roy D. Wells ("'Isaiah' as an Exponent of Torah: Isaiah 56.1–8," in *New Visions of Isaiah* [ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney; JSOTSup 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006], 140–55, esp. 144) refers in this connection to the fact that Sabbath observance is a metonym for the recurring phrase "hold fast my covenant" (Isa 56:4, 6), whereas observance of the Sabbath received in Exod 31:12–17 a cosmological status, as it "features Creation as the rationale for the Sabbath" (Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus = שמות: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* [JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 5751/1991], 201). See also in this connection Isa 66:2–3, where the eschatological perspective of the Sabbath plays an important part in the new creation; see Gosse, "Sabbath, Identity and Universalism," 369.

[29] See, e.g., Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 48; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 66–67; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 465–66.

(קבץ) the dispersed and will gather even more (cf. Isa 40:11),[30] an image that is best illustrated by the situation as described in Nah 3:18:[31]

> Your shepherds (רעיך) are asleep (נמו), O king of Assyria,
>> your nobles slumber
> Your people are scattered (נפשו) on the mountains
>> with no one to gather (מקבץ) them.

The function of good רעים ("shepherds") is to gather the dispersed, but now Yʜwʜ will do it himself, because the shepherds "have turned their own way" (56:11; cf. 53:6).[32] So it appears that Isa 56:8–9, on the one hand, forms the closure of the preceding verses but, on the other hand, opens the rebuke of the leaders in the following verses. In that sense the proclamation found in Isa 56:8–9 seems to have the function of a Janus-text, looking backward and forward.[33] It seems, therefore, that the delimitation of the text found in the MT, 1QIsaᵃ, and 1QIsaᵇ—keeping Isa 56:8–9 together and not separating the verses over two pericopes—offers a quite viable reading. In addition, the delimitations found in the Greek version of Symmachus, the Syriac, and the Vulgate, which do not seem to read a break before or after these verses,[34] do justice to the interpretation of 56:8–9 as a passage with a Janus-function.

II. The Central Theme of Isaiah 56:1–9

The central theme of Trito-Isaiah is the question "Who are the servants of Yʜwʜ?"[35] This question is answered, for example, in 56:6–7aα:

> And the foreigners (ובני הנכר) who join themselves to the Lord,
>> to minister to him (לשרתו), to love the name of the Lord,
>>> and to be his servants (לעבדים)
> all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it,

[30] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 60; idem, *Jesaja IIIA*, 50.

[31] See also Jer 31:10; Ezek 34:13. On the text-critical questions and translation of Nah 3:18, see Klaas Spronk, *Nahum* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997), 141–43.

[32] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 60; idem, *Jesaja IIIA*, 51.

[33] The terminology is mostly applied to poetry, where it is referred to as "Janus parallelism"; see Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (JSOTSup 26; 2nd ed.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 156–59.

[34] See n. 22 above.

[35] Beuken, "Main Theme," 67–87; idem, "Trito-Jesaja: profetie en schriftgeleerdheid," 71–85. See also Wallis, "Gott," 182–200; Blenkinsopp, "Servants of the Lord," 1–23; idem, "Servant and the Servants," 155–75; Ulrich Berges, "Die Armen im Buch Jesaja: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des AT," *Bib* 80 (1999): 153–77, esp. 166–75; idem, "Who Were the Servants?" 1–18.

and hold fast my covenant,
these I will bring to my holy mountain.

The answer to this question suggests a polemic with certain groups in Israel's community.[36] At an intertextual level, this polemic seems to focus on texts like Deut 23:2 and its possible "derivatives" in narrative and prophetic literature such as Ezra 9; Nehemiah 9; and Ezekiel 44.[37] When reading Isa 56:1–9, however, once again it might appear that this is only partly true, that the text might have a slightly different purport, not solely a polemical but especially a critical import.

The message of the prophet is quite obvious with regard to Yʜwʜ's attitude toward the foreigner and the eunuch, despite certain laws and despite the oracles of other prophets—the Israelite community should be an open community. As Sweeney rightly states, however, "these chapters do not provide an overall warrant for the blanket inclusion of the nations in Yʜwʜ's covenant."[38] In both cases (of the eunuch and the foreigner) it is obvious that those "who keep (שמר) the sabbath (far from profaning it)" and "hold fast (חזק) the covenant" are welcome on God's mountain. These conditions have to be read in the light of the opening verses of our passage, Isa 56:1–2:[39]

Thus says Yʜwʜ:
    Maintain (שמרו) justice (משפט), and do (ועשו) righteousness (צדקה),
    for soon my salvation (ישועתי) will come,

[36] Westermann, *Jesaja 40–66*, 249, 252; Wallis, "Gott," 186–89; Sara Japhet, "יד ושם (Isa 56:5) —A Different Proposal," *Maarav* 8 (1992): 69–80, esp. 79–80; Michael Fishbane, "The Hebrew Bible and Exegetical Tradition," in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel* (ed. Johannes C. de Moor; OTS 40; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 15–30, esp. 26–28.

[37] See Wallis, "Gott," 188–89; Steck, "Jüngsten Untersuchungen," 248; Westermann, *Jesaja 40–66*, 249–50; Donner, "Jesaja LVI 1–7," 82–84; Fishbane, "Exegetical Tradition," 26–28. The idea that this text especially aims at situations that occurred during the era of Ezra and Nehemiah was criticized by Steck, "Jüngsten Untersuchungen," 246–47 n. 111; Christopher R. Seitz, "Isaiah, Book of (Third Isaiah)," *ABD* 3:501–7, esp. 502–4; Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Book of Isaiah as Prophetic Torah," in *New Visions of Isaiah,* ed. Melugin and Sweeney, 57–58; but compare Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 509–15. In addition to Ezekiel 44, Wallis also refers to Hag 2:10–19, which might be reflected in this passage (Wallis, "Gott," 188–89). In that sense, the passage is considered to represent a more liberal approach to a rigid and normative religion; see Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 197; Franz J. Stendenbach, "Überlegungen zum Ethos des Alten Testaments," *Kairos* 18 (1976): 273–81.

[38] Sweeney, "Reconceptualization," 51. This was stressed already by Harry M. Orlinsky ("The So-Called 'Servant of the Lord' and 'Suffering Servant' in Second Isaiah," in Harry M. Orlinsky and Norman H. Snaith, *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah* [VTSup 14; 2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 1–133, esp. 37–38), who stated that this passage gives strict rules for those who are allowed to enter the mountain of Yʜwʜ. See also Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 51–52, who emphasizes that the conditions on which one can enter the holy mountain are one of the themes Trito-Isaiah elucidates. See also Beek, "De vreemdeling," 18, 22; Wells, "Exponent of Torah," 140–55.

[39] See also the observations on this text in Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 509–10.

and my righteousness (וצדקתי) be revealed.
Happy is the mortal who does this,
  the one who holds (יחזיק) it fast,
who keeps (שמר) the sabbath, not profaning it,
  and refrains from doing (עשה) any evil.

The context of the passage suggests the need for the exhortation to maintain justice and to do righteousness. But instead of a harsh condemnation, the criticism is formulated in a positive tone: "happy is the mortal . . . ." This positive formulation (together with a part of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the text [esp. 56:4–5] in the NT[40]) has led scholars to emphasize the element of salvation only. J. L. Koole, for example, states that God's coming salvation and righteousness are not threatening "like an axe laid to the root of the trees (Mat. 3:10)."[41] Similarly John N. Oswalt wrote:

> there is a whole new motivation for doing righteousness. It is not now so much the fear of impending doom which compels righteousness, as it is the recognition that God is going to *mercifully* and righteously keep his covenant promises. We should be righteous, the writer says, because of the righteousness of God. This point is followed throughout the section: Human obedience should be the natural result of divine *faithfulness.*[42]

When the passage is read in this vein, it has a completely different tenor from that of the following criticisms of Isa 56:10–59:21.[43] In Isa 56:1–8/9, however, there is no reference to God's *mercy*, to keeping the covenant promises. But even so, it should be asked what God's salvation and righteousness imply: Do these also imply that the oppressors of the poor, the foreigner, the widow, and the orphan will receive righteousness and mercy after their deeds? Those who do not keep their

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[40] The narrative about the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:26–40 undoubtedly contributed to the "universalistic" interpretation of this passage, in which the "ethical" aspect of the text was generally ignored in favor of a universalistic aspect. See Johannes Schneider, "εὐνοῦχος, εὐνουχίζω," *TDNT* 2:765–68, esp. 768 (see quotation below in section V); Gerhard Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte,* erster Teil, *Einleitung, Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1–8,40* (HTKNT; Freiburg: Herder, 1980), 498–500. Contrast, however, Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte,* 1. Teilband, *Apg 1–12* (EKK 5/1; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), 289, with n. 22, who doubts the relationship between these texts, arguing that Isa 56:3–5 emphasizes legal matters, and especially the Sabbath.

[41] Koole, *Jesaja III*, 41.

[42] John N. Oswalt, "Righteousness in Isaiah: A Study of the Function of Chapters 56–66 in the Present Structure of the Book," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah,* ed. Broyles and Evans, 188 (emphasis added).

[43] In a similar vein, see E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah,* vol. 3, *Chapters 40 through 66: The English Text, with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 388–89.

hand from doing any evil, those who profane the Sabbath?[44] In the light of the following verses (vv. 3–7), this is clearly not correct: there are strict regulations for those who are to enter הר קדשי, "my holy mountain," and the exhortation to maintain justice and do righteousness emphasizes this aspect. Moreover, a positive interpretation of the text cannot be justified in view of the context, for instance, Isa 59:15–20, esp. vv. 17b–18, where one reads of "vengeance," "fury," "repaying," and "wrath."[45]

On the other hand, the need for such an admonition suggests that justice and righteousness were lacking in the community—hence the origin of the present passage in the *threat* of God's righteousness. The criticism of certain groups is implicitly present in our passage because a quite obvious commandment of the Torah (Deut 23:2–9) is abrogated in order to emphasize the importance of other laws:[46] keep the Sabbath (Isa 56:2, 4, 6), hold fast to justice/righteousness/the covenant (vv. 2, 4, 6), refrain from doing any evil/choose things that please God (v. 2, 4). It has been noticed by scholars that the stipulations in this text do not mention circumcision.[47] This might be explained by the fact that the emphasis here is on being recognized as a member of God's people through continuous, right, *ethical* behavior, not through a single act. Moreover, one might ask whether circumcision was a matter of concern during this era.[48] The answer to the complaints of the eunuch and

[44] The tendency to deny God's justice and righteousness as threatening and dangerous is criticized by Ulrich Berges, "The Violence of God in the Book of Lamentations," in *One Text, A Thousand Methods: Studies in Memory of Sjef van Tilborg* (ed. Patrick Chatelion Counet and Ulrich Berges; Biblical Interpretation Series 71; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 21–44. In addition, see Wim A. M. Beuken, "Obdurate Short-Sightedness in the Valley of Vision: How Atonement of Iniquity Is Forfeited (Isa 22:1–14)," in ibid., 45–63; Ulrich Berges, "Der Zorn Gottes in der Prophetie und Poesie Israels auf dem Hintergrund altorientalischer Vorstellungen," *Bib* 85 (2004): 305–30.

[45] On this passage, see Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 421. It is quite remarkable that Koole in his commentary on Isa 59:15–20 ignores the parallelism with Isa 56:1–8/9 (*Jesaja III*, 212). Although Oswalt ("Righteousness in Isaiah," 188) refers to Isa 59:14–18, which "dramatically underlined" the linkage of human obedience because of divine faithfulness, this reference ignores, in my opinion, the fact that Isa 59:15–20 announces impending doom for those who do not obey and who oppress those who turn from evil. It is not so much God's faithfulness that motivates one in this case as the threat of his coming wrath and justice, which is used here as a motivation.

[46] Beek, "De vreemdeling," 20; Westermann, *Jesaja 40–66*, 250; Donner, "Jesaja LVI 1–7," 81–95; Bultmann, *Der Fremde*, 211.

[47] E.g., Hans Klein, "Die Aufnahme Fremder in die Gemeinde des Alten und des Neuen Bundes," *TBei* 12 (1981): 21–34, here 29; Koole, *Jesaja III,* 52; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 419, 510, 513, 531; Gosse, "Sabbath, Identity and Universalism," 369 n. 15. Cf., however, Bultmann, *Der Fremde*, 200–201, who considers the term ברית ("covenant") to refer to circumcision. Yet Beek ("De vreemdeling," 17–18) and Wells ("Exponent of Torah," 143–45) both refer to Exod 31:12–17, to which Isa 56:1–8 seems to allude or which even is echoed in it, stating that the Sabbath shall be an אות ("sign") (cf. Isa 55:13) between Yнwн and his people.

[48] Circumcision is not a specific Israelite rite; it was practiced also by Egyptians, Edomites,

the foreigner in this text is an implicit criticism of leaders who apparently follow certain laws of the Torah but neglect more important ones. This becomes clear when we examine Isa 56:1–9 in its Trito-Isaianic context.

III. Isaiah 56:1–9 in the Literary Context of Trito-Isaiah

Isaiah 56:1–8 is generally considered to have been put in its present context, preceding 56:9–59:13, by a later hand (editor/writer). This seems to imply that its message is only a later addition to the criticisms found in 56:9–59:21. Apparently the promise of God's salvation and righteousness to come, in combination with the promise to foreigners and eunuchs, has led to this literary-critical judgment on the pericope.[49]

As stated above, recent studies demonstrate the dependence of our passage on other texts in the book of Isaiah, for example, ch. 11. In addition, it has been demonstrated that Isa 56:1–8/9 is closely connected to chs. 54 and 55,[50] similar to

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Ammonites, Moabites, and Arabs, according to Jer 9:24–25 (but contrast [the late] Jdt 14:10); see Jack M. Sasson, "Circumcision in the Ancient Near East," *JBL* 85 (1966): 473–76. For that reason it might be a matter of dispute when this institution became the sign of the covenant between Yʜwʜ and the people and in that sense of axial importance: Was it already during the exile or during the Hellenistic era, from which we have some narratives of converted Gentiles being circumcised (Jdt 14:10; Esth. 8:17 LXX)? See Roland de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1978), 286–87; idem, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (1965; repr., Biblical Resources Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 46–48; Werner H. Schmidt, *Exodus,* 1. Teilband, *Exodus 1,1–6,30* (BKAT 2/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 228; Robert G. Hall, "Circumcision," *ABD* 1:1025–31.

[49] This was especially argued by Odil Hannes Steck, "Tritojesaja im Jesajabuch," in *The Book of Isaiah: Le livre d'Isaïe. Les oracles et leurs relectures* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 361–406, esp. 390–91; repr. in idem, *Studien zu Tritojesaja,* 3–45, here 31 n. 81. Steck considers the possible relationship of 56:1 with the following (56:9–59:21) but rejects this relationship as being an organic one; he allows for a relationship only at the level of a later additional layer ("jüngere Erweiterungsschicht").

[50] Rolf Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 211–12; idem, "Zur Komposition des Buches Jesaja," *VT* 34 (1984): 295–320; Wim A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja deel IIB* (De prediking van het Oude Testament; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1983), 277–78; idem, "Isaianic Legacy," 50–51; idem, *Jesaja IIIA,* 7–8, 19–39; Steck, "Beobachtungen," 229–30; idem, "Tritojesaja im Jesajabuch," 402–3; Graham I. Davies, "The Destiny of the Nations in the Book of Isaiah," in *Book of Isaiah,* ed. Vermeylen, 118; Dwight W. Van Winkle, "The Meaning of *yād wāšēm* in Isaiah lvi 5," *VT* 47 (1997): 378–85, esp. 384; Sweeney, "Reconceptualization," 46; Oswalt, "Righteousness in Isaiah," 178; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja,* 509–15; Gosse, "Sabbath, Identity and Universalism," 359–70.

Some scholars consider the relationship between chs. 55 and 56 compelling enough to deny the validity of the Trito-Isaianic concept; see, e.g., Fritz Maass, "'Tritojesaja'?" in *Das ferne und*

the relationship of 56:9–57:13 with Isa 55:1–13.[51] Yet these observations of the intertextual relationship of both 56:1–8/9 and 56:10–57:13 with one and the same passage (Isa 55:1–13) raise the question whether the gap between Isa 56:1–8/9 and the following text is indeed as wide as generally supposed, or are 56:1–8/9 and 56:10–57:13 also related?

Isaiah 56:1–9 and 56:10–57:14 are connected by means of the concept of הר קדשי, "my holy mountain" (56:7; 57:13).[52] In addition to this concept, the theme of "servants of Yhwh" plays a central role throughout Trito-Isaiah.[53] Both themes are relevant to the message of Trito-Isaiah: the "mountain of Yhwh" is the place where the עבדים ("servants") of Yhwh, the righteous ones, will live. However, in contrast to what seems to be an impressive image, we are confronted in 56:10–59:16 with the fact that this place is destroyed by the oppression of the righteous ones.[54] Although the term "servants of Yhwh" is missing completely from 56:10–59:21, it is clear from the contrast between the צדיק ("righteous" [57:1–2]) and the זרע מנאף ותזנה ("seed of an adulterer and a whore" [57:3–4]), that the "righteous" are the true זרע ("seed") of the Servant (53:10; 54:3).[55] On the other hand, the "seed of the adulterer and the whore" is not described any further, but the "harlot" herself is described in a way that resembles the description of the daughter of Babylon (Isa 47:9–15).[56] The description is rather harsh, but it appears that the author of Trito-

nahe Wort: Festschrift Leonhard Rost zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres am 30. November 1966 gewidmet (ed. Fritz Maass; BZAW 105; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), 153–63; Aimo E. Murtonen, "Third Isaiah—Yes or No? Review Article of Karl Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde: Gott sammelt Ausgestossene und Arme* (*Jesaia 56–66*)," *Abr-Nahrain* 19 (1980): 20–42; Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*; William L. Holladay, "Was Trito-Isaiah Deutero-Isaiah after all?" in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah,* ed. Broyles and Evans, 193–217; Peter Höffken, "Eine Bemerkung zu Jes 55,1–5: Zu buchinternen Bezügen des Abschnitts," *ZAW* 118 (2006): 239–49. In addition, see the critical remarks in Seitz, "Isaiah, Book of (Third Isaiah)," 502–4.

[51] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 57–61, who states that both passages have the intention to comment on Isaiah 55. See also Steck, "Beobachtungen," 229–30.

[52] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 50.

[53] Beuken, "Trito-Jesaja," 78–83; idem, "Main Theme," 85 and *passim*; idem, "Isaiah Chapters lxv–lxvi: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah," in *Congress Volume: Leuven 1989* (ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 204–21; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Who Is the *Ṣaddiq* of Isaiah 57:1–2," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint et al.; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 109–20, esp. 116–19; idem, "Servants of the Lord," 1–23; idem, "Servant and Servants," 166–70; Berges, "Armen im Buch Jesaja," 170–75.

[54] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 56.

[55] Beuken, "Main Theme," 68; idem, "Isaiah lxv–lxvi," 213–15; Blenkinsopp, "Who Is the *Ṣaddiq*," 116–17; Berges, "Armen im Buch Jesaja," 169–70.

[56] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 52–56; idem, "Main Theme," 69–70; Mark E. Biddle, "Lady Zion's Alter Egos: Isaiah 47,1–15 and 57,5–13 as Structural Counterparts," in *New Visions of Isaiah,* ed. Melugin and Sweeney, 124–39. This application of the imagery of the "servants of Yhwh" and

Isaiah has strong reasons to criticize the group he had in mind. Who are these "godless" ones? Is it possible to draw a picture of them, similar to the image of the "servants" and the "righteous" in Trito-Isaiah?[57]

In his study of the book of Isaiah, Ulrich Berges argues that Isa 56:3–8 contains a criticism of the expectations formulated in chs. 60–62 (esp. the less favorable expectations regarding foreigners).[58] Isaiah 60:10 states that בני נכר ("foreigners") have to build Jerusalem's walls, and kings will minister (שרת) to the city, but the Israelites will be כהני יהוה ("priests of Yʜwʜ") and משרתי אלהינו ("ministers of our God" [61:6]).[59] This is to be contrasted with 56:6, which says that the בני הנכר ("foreigners") will minister to Yʜwʜ (שרת) and be his servants. The fact that the animals of other people will be acceptable upon the altar (60:7) is not comforting if those who bring them are not identified. However, Isa 56:7 states that *their* [the בני הנכר]) offerings and sacrifices will be accepted.

> Over against 60:4 they [the Servants] were convinced that Yʜwʜ's gathering (קבץ) could not solely be restricted to the exiled Jews, but must exceed this by far (in 56:8 a threefold קבץ). When a better memorial within the Temple(!) is promised to the eunuchs than the physical descendants (56:5), this is once again a reference to 60:4: the sons of the exiled Jews will come to Zion and their daughters will be carried on the shoulders.[60]

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the "servant's seed" to the righteous, and, on the other hand, "children of the adulterer" to the godless (imagery that is close to that used of the "daughter of Babylon"; Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," esp. 55–56) confirms Marjo C. A. Korpel's analysis of the imagery of Zion in ch. 54 as the "female servant" of Yʜwʜ ("The Female Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 54," in *On Reading Prophetic Texts: Gender Specific and Related Studies in Memory of Fokkelien van Dijk-Hemmes* [ed. Bob Becking and Meindert Dijkstra; Biblical Interpretation Series 18; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 153–67).

[57] For this picture, see the literature mentioned in n. 52 above.

[58] Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 511–13. Regarding Isaiah 60–62, Johannes C. de Moor ("Structure and Redaction in Isaiah 60,1–63,6," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah,* ed. van Ruiten and Vervenne, 343) argues on the basis of Isa 62:8b, "foreigners will not drink your must for which you have laboured" and 61:5–6 "foreigners shall till your land and dress your vines, but you shall be called priests of Yhwh," that there is a contradiction regarding the foreigners, which in his view is due to a process of editing. However, the contradiction is not very convincing because the work of a slave could be considered to be the work of the master; moreover, in Isa 62:8b the "foreigners" are parallel to "enemies," who are not favorable to foreigners (similar to Isa 61:5–6). Those texts may therefore be from the same author, and thus there is no need to consider a *diachronic* process in this text. In this sense Berges's observation that such editorial reconstructions in Isaiah 60–62 have failed can only be correct (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 428, with nn. 66–68).

[59] However, Beek ("De vreemdeling," 22) and Bultmann (*Der Fremde*, 212) apparently do not see a contradiction between Isaiah 60–62 and the sayings in Isa 56:1–8.

[60] Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 512–13: "Gegenüber 60,4 waren sie der Ansicht, JHWH's Sammlung (קבץ) könne sich nicht ausschließlich auf die Diasporajudenschaft beziehen, sondern müsse weit darüber hinausgreifen (in 56,8 dreifaches קבץ). Wenn den Verschnittenen im Tempel(!) ein besseres Denkmal als das leiblicher Nachkommenschaft verheißen ist (56,5), so ist damit ein weit-

In addition to these parallels, reference should be made to פנו דרך ("prepare the way"), an image that Isa 62:10 borrowed from Isa 40:3, which is taken up again in 57:14.[61] In the context of chs. 60–62 the announcement is focused on the rebuilding of the temple and Jerusalem, yet in 57:14 it is applied in a metaphorical sense related to removing the sinful situations in the community that are due to backsliding בדרך לבו, "in the way of his own heart" (57:17),[62] which seems to refer back to לדרכם פנו, "they turned to their own way" (Isa 56:11; see also 53:6).[63] The author of chs. 56–59 seems to apply a deliberate pun here, because in the latter verse the verb פנה is used in the qal, as an indication of turning away from the way of Yнwн, while in Isa 57:14 (similar to Isa 40:3; 62:10) the verb פנה is used in the piel in the sense of "preparing" the way of Yнwн (or the people).[64] This small morphological difference indicates an important theological difference: between "*turning* to their own way" or "*preparing* the way of Yнwн," which also differs from the use of the verb in Isa 62:10.[65]

However, it is not just an exclusive approach of the postexilic community that is criticized in our passage.[66] There were strong reservations in general regarding the postexilic community, which are presented in the main part of Trito-Isaiah. The contrast is clear from Isaiah 65–66, where the temple cult was criticized with harsh words for the community.[67] Isaiah 65:5a reads "[a people] who say 'Keep to yourself, do not come near me, because I am too holy for you.'"[68] Yet the preceding

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eres Mal auf 60,4 angespielt, die Söhne der Diasporajuden würden zum Zion kommen und deren Töchter würde man auf der Schulter tragen."

[61] See Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 461, with n. 232; Hans M. Barstadt, "Isa. 40,1–11: Another Reading," in *Congress Volume: Basel 2001* (ed. André Lemaire; VTSup 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 225–40.

[62] Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 461.

[63] Beuken refers to the parallel between Isa 53:6 and 56:11 ("Isaianic Legacy," 60).

[64] See *HALAT*, 885; *Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (ed. Frants Buhl; 17th ed.; Leipzig: Vogel, 1921), 645–46; BDB, 815; Klaus Koch, "דֶּרֶךְ," *TWAT* 2:293–312, esp. 309; Josef Schreiner, "פנה," *TWAT* 6:617–25, esp. 621.

[65] That the author of Isaiah 56–57 (at least, but maybe chs. 56–59) deliberately uses themes from chs. 60–62, may also be clear from the use of the "watchman" metaphor of Isa 62:6, which received a different, critical meaning in 56:10. There it is said that the watchmen have become "blind . . . they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber," in contrast to the watchmen of 62:6. The latter image clearly belongs to the Tritoisaianic *Grundbestand*; see Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 455, with n. 193.

[66] Taking Isa 56:1–8 as a polemic with Deut 23:2–9; Ezekiel 44; Ezra 9; Nehemiah 9; see Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 249–50; Watts, *Isaiah 34–66,* 249; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 510–12; etc.

[67] Berges, "Who Were the Servants?" 5.

[68] For the translation of the verb with suffix קדשתיך, in which the suffix is understood to be the equivalent of the preposition ל with a suffix, see John A. Emerton, "Notes on the Text and Translation of Isaiah xxii 8–11 and lxv 5," *VT* 30 (1980): 437–51, esp. 446–51.

depiction of this group suggests an ethical behavior that is far from holy, righteous, and according to the Torah (65:3–4). In 66:3 a clear juxtaposition of legitimate cultic behavior and sinful conduct is found, describing the behavior of those bringing legitimate offerings but simultaneously באשר לא־חפצתי בחרו, "choosing what does not please me" (66:4; 65:12), which might be contrasted with the formulation in 56:4, בחרו באשר חפצתי, "who choose the things that please me."[69]

IV. The Direct Context: Isaiah 56:10–59:21

Isaiah 56:10–57:13. A picture similar to that drawn above emerges from the direct context of our passage. The first verses say that the shepherds (i.e., leaders) "turned their own way to their own gain" (56:11). In other words, in order to look for their own profit, they forsake those who are entrusted to them, and so the righteous, the devout, those who walk in peace perish (57:1-2).[70] After the description of how the righteous perish, the polemic picks up again with ואתם, "but you" (57:3), in a strong antithesis to those who are guilty of this oppression.[71] It is remarkable, therefore, that the accusation does not immediately focus on socio-economic abuses, but refers rather to religious abuses by those who pervert and pollute the mountain of Yнwн, making it the opposite of what Yнwн really intended for the mountain.[72] The group addressed here is polemically depicted as the seed of a whore, resembling the description of the daughter of Babylon in Isa 47:9–15. They are accused of syncretistic behavior, of being unfaithful to Yнwн. The colorful description resembles that of Anat searching for her love Baʿal, in the story of Baʿal

[69] Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 522.

[70] Ibid., 422.

[71] See Steck ("Beobachtungen," 230–31), who states that the criticism is directed at the leaders (Isa 56:10–12). According to Berges (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 422), Isa 57:6–13a, employing the feminine "you," is directed against all the residents of "daughter Zion." With regard to the following chapter (Isaiah 58), this is not unlikely. If so, this would imply that the prophet creates a strong antithesis between the "servants" and "righteous ones," on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the group that seems to consist of the whole house of Jacob (Isa 58:1), which is vulnerable to criticism. However, even then one must ask whether in this case, too, the criticism is leveled especially against the leaders in Jerusalem, who are not able to move the people in the right direction (Isa 56:10–12).

[72] Beuken, "Isaianic Legacy," 52–56. Concerning Isa 56:9–57:13 Beuken (*Jesaja IIIA*, 75) writes: "This passage is related to the prologue (56:1-8) as a description of what really takes place on the holy mountain over against the program YHWH developed for his mountain" ("Deze passage verhoudt zich tot de proloog [56:1–8] als een beschrijving van wat zich in werkelijkheid afspeelt op de heilige berg, tot het programma dat YHWH voor zijn berg heeft ontworpen").

and Mot (*KTU* 1.6).[73] The prophetic text is not to be taken as an accurate depiction of the syncretistic developments during the postexilic era, but rather as a general description of the religious situation—if these polemics offer a reliable picture of the opposed group.[74]

Yet there is a small detail in the description that also emphasizes the contrast between the צדיק ("righteous") and the adulteress. In 57:8 it is stated, "you set up behind the door and the doorpost your symbol (זכרנך)." In view of the terminology in the accusation, this might refer to a kind of a phallic symbol.[75] The word זכרון can be viewed as parallel to אות ("sign") in 55:13.[76] Interestingly, the latter verse is parallel to 56:5, where יד ("hand") is used in the sense of memorial stone. However, 57:8 also uses the word יד, but now also as a possible euphemism for "phallus."[77] It seems that the choice of these words is not coincidental but deliberate in the context of the contrast between those who hold faithfully to the covenant of Yʜwʜ and those who are said to act unfaithfully, seeking after other lovers.[78] Those who hold to the covenant of Yʜwʜ will receive a יד ("memorial") within the temple that is worth more than children. These details emphasize the relationship of the first part of Trito-Isaiah (56:1–9) with its direct context (56:10–59:16).

Isaiah 58:1–59:8. This passage emphasizes the contrast found in the first chapters of Trito-Isaiah. The group with whom the author is engaged in a controversy is depicted as apparently behaving righteously, observing the Sabbath and the fast but at the same time ignoring the needs of the poor and the oppressed (58:1–59:8). In contrast, there is a group of people (foreigners and eunuchs) who are not allowed to enter the community because of the Torah but who act faithfully according to what pleases Yʜwʜ (56:4). In this section (58:1–14) the Sabbath, too, is a matter of critique (58:13). The Sabbath, together with fasting, should be reconsidered in the

[73] See Beuken (*Jesaja IIIA*, 64–65, 69), who draws the parallel with the Ugaritic myth. For translations, see Johannes C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Nisaba 16; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 82–99; Mark S. Smith, "The Baal Cycle," in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (ed. S. B. Parker; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 83–180, esp. 151–64; Nicolas Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues* (Biblical Seminar 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 128–45.

[74] Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 61.

[75] *HALAT*, 260; see also Ronald E. Clements, "זכר," *TWAT* 2:593–99, esp. 594; Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 66; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 95–97; BDB, 272 ("memorial"); Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 18th ed., 302 ("a pagan symbol"); *DCH* 3:112 ("symbol").

[76] Cf. Exod 13:9; Josh 4:6. See *DCH* 3:112; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 96.

[77] *HALAT*, 370; Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 18th ed., 438; *DCH* 4:94; Peter Ackroyd, "יד," *TWAT* 3:421–55, esp. 430; Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 65, 68; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 99–100.

[78] Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 469.

light of what is just and righteous.[79] The wording suggests that the mainstream post-exilic community—or at least those who play an important role in this community—demonstrated behavior that was only seemingly in line with the Torah (keeping Sabbath, fasting, making offerings) but in fact ignored one of the most fundamental aspects of the Torah, care for the oppressed, the poor, and the hungry (58:6–7, 9b–10).

Isaiah 59:15–21. The final verses of ch. 59 are devoted to the צדקה ("righteousness") and ישועה ("salvation") that are at hand (twice in 59:16b–17a). Yнwн is coming because he saw that "there was no justice (משפט) . . . and he was appalled because there was no one to intervene" (59:15–16). This description recalls that of the Servant in ch. 53, but here the prophecy is related to his זרע ("seed"), the righteous one of 57:1–2.[80] The wording of this passage (59:15–20) resembles the first verses of Trito-Isaiah (56:1–2) and in that sense these two passages form the opening and closing of these critical chapters (56–59). The section opens with an exhortation to do משפט ("justice") and צדקה ("righteousness") because God's צדקה and ישוע ("salvation") are at hand. The polemic closes with the announcement that because Yнwн saw no משפט in the squares, God's צדקה and ישוע are at hand, coming to Zion as a redeemer (גאל) to those who turn from transgression (59:15a, 20).[81] In fact, the opening and closing cannot be understood without each other: the opening is easily misunderstood if read apart from the following chapters,[82] and

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[79] This assessment is in line with the critique of the cult found already in Proto-Isaiah (e.g., 1:11, 13–14); see Koole, *Jesaja III*, 19. Gosse describes the approach in 56:1–2 as a contrast to 1:11, 13–14 ("Sabbath, Identity and Universalism," 359–60). Yet the clear criticisms in Trito-Isaiah of behavior that appears to be cultically correct going hand in hand with injustice make the supposed contrast questionable. Berges doubts whether 58:13–14 originally belongs to this literary context because, in his view, the ethical component is missing (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 475–76), but the critical reference to דרכיך ("your own ways") and חפצך ("your own business") in 58:13b seems to be strong enough to warrant its present position; see briefly Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 99, 116.

[80] Beuken, *Jesaja deel IIB,* 270–72; idem, "Trito-Jesaja," 79; idem, "Main Theme," 67–68; Blenkinsopp, "Servants of the Lord," 16–17; idem, "Servant and the Servants," 166–73; idem, "Who Is the Ṣaddiq," 116–17, 119–20; Berges, "Armen im Buch Jesaja," 170.

[81] The coming of Yнwн to those "who turn from transgression" (59:20) is an act of salvation, because those "who depart from evil" are those who suffer (59:15a); note that the verbs סור and שוב are often used side by side (1 Sam 7:3; 2 Chr 30:9; Isa 1:25; Jer 4:1; 32:40; Mal 3:7). The general division in this verse (between 15a and 15b) seems to prevent commentators from seeing the relationship between v. 15a and v. 20 (despite many other points of contact with the preceding passage); see, e.g., Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 148–49; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 216; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 477–79.

[82] Cf. the criticisms above of those interpretations that consider ch. 56 only as a promise of God's salvation, without taking into account the strong emphasis that is present in the first chapter of Trito-Isaiah on the right ethical behavior. This force is even more clear in the following

without the opening it is not clear who is the subject of the announced salvation and righteousness. Understanding 56:1–9 as the opening of the first four chapters of Trito-Isaiah enables us to read this section as the prelude to the critical passages in the remaining chapters (56:10–59:20).[83]

The general wording of the criticisms in these four chapters makes it difficult to determine precisely which group in the postexilic community is being targeted here. It seems clear, however, that there are several religious and social divisions in the community.[84] The first chapters of Trito-Isaiah seem to reflect the perspective of a group that characterizes itself as צדיק ("righteous") and עבדים ("servants") of YHWH. Yet it is not certain whether the harsh criticisms in these chapters actually reflect the views of this group or are the rhetorical language of a "preacher."[85] There is also a group that is accused of syncretism, of committing adultery (metaphorically), following its own ways (56:11; 57:10) and only ostensibly obeying the Torah concerning Sabbath and fasting. They are called the רעים ("shepherds"); they are the leaders; they influence the lawsuit; they are wealthy (since they are not hungry [58:7, 10]) with an eye to their own profit. This suggests that at the socioeconomic level the latter group belongs to the upper class of Jerusalem, which collaborated with the Persian empire.[86] Apparently they try to keep some people out of the com-

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chapters (57–59). In my view, this is one of the main weaknesses of commentaries that ignore this macro-structural element of Trito-Isaiah. See esp. the delimitations of units in Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, 219–305, and, regarding 59:15b–21, esp. 284–88; see also Koole, *Jesaja III*, 25–27.

[83] Beuken considers Isa 56:1–8 to be the prologue to Trito-Isaiah (*Jesaja IIIA*, 14–15, 19).

[84] Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit* (GAT 8/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 538–41; idem, "Religion in Israel during and after the Exile," in *The Biblical World* (ed. John Barton; 2 vols.; London: Routledge, 2002), 2:101–24, 114–15; John Kessler, "Persia's Loyal Yahwists: Power Identity and Ethnicity in Achaemenid Yehud," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 91–121; Lisbeth S. Fried, "The ʿam haʾareṣ in Ezra 4:4 and Persian Imperial Administration," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period,* 123–45; Lester L. Grabbe, "Israel under Persia and Greece," in *The Biblical World,* ed. Barton, 1:440–57, esp. 441–45.

[85] See Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period,* vol. 1, *Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (Library of Second Temple Studies 47; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 256–61, esp. 260.

[86] Large numbers of people in Yehud became impoverished during the Persian period. There is a wealth of literature on the socioeconomic and political situation of Yehud during that era; see, e.g., Adam S. van der Woude, "Geschiedenis van het volk Israël en zijn godsdienst tot de tijd van Alexander de Grote: Een proeve. B: Vanaf de tijd van de babylonische ballingschap tot de komst van Alexander de Grote," in *Bijbels Handboek 2a: Het Oude Testament* (ed. Adam S. van der Woude; Kampen: Kok, 1982), 141–71, esp. 153, 158, 162; Eric M. Meyers, "The Persian Period and the Judean Restoration: From Zerubbabel to Nehemiah," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 509–21; Gösta W. Ahlström, *The History of Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest*

munity (or out of certain positions) on the basis of dubious religious arguments, for example, it is "too holy for you" (65:5).[87] Further, passages stating that there are obstructions in the way of God's people (57:14)[88] and a yoke on the neck of the people (58:6, 9)[89] seem to imply an abuse of power. More important, however, the criticism suggests that the attitude of the leading class is characterized by haughtiness and ignorance. In this sense Isa 56:1–9 criticizes the upper class of Jerusalem implicitly, by allowing entrance to those who have been excluded by the "shepherds" of the people (56:11). Isaiah 56:3–9 offers true comfort for the oppressed and the foreigners, those who have been barred from the community. At the same time, this text ventures a strong criticism of those who want to exclude foreigners and the oppressed from the community, emphasizing as it does the ethical aspects over the formal aspects of membership.[90]

(JSOTSup 146; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 812–906, esp. 850–52, 866; Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels*, 538–41; Mary J. W. Leith, "Israel among the Nations: The Persian Period," in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael J. Coogan; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 367–419, esp. 400–402; Pierre Briant, "Histoire impériale et histoire régionale: À propos de l'histoire de Juda dans l'Empire achéménide," in *Congres Volume: Oslo 1998* (ed. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 235–46; Herbert Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen* (GAT 4; 3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 423–73, esp. 449–53; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in der Perserzeit: 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), esp. 51–54; see also the articles in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*.

[87] See Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, 343, referring to the application of the same terminology in Ezek 44:5, 13, 15; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 389, who states that "self-conceit has become blasphemous" ("de eigendunk is blasfemie geworden"). It is dubious whether these words have to be understood in the sense of the aforementioned syncretistic cults (65:3–4; see Wim A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja deel IIIB* [De prediking van het Oude Testament; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1989], 67), and has most likely to be considered in relation to the ostensible holiness, which we also find in the contrasts of 66:3 and which will turn against them (ibid.); in addition, see the quotation from *T. Mos.* 7:10 below in section V. Isaiah 65:5a is translated "Keep to yourself, do not come near me, for I am too holy for you."

[88] Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA,* 82–83; Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 470. It is doubtful whether Isa 57:14 should be understood in a spiritual sense, taking the obstructions in the sense of guilt, or feeling guilty, as Koole suggests (*Jesaja III*, 119-20).

[89] Regarding the "yoke," it is not clear what is meant, yet in the context of the first verse (58:6) it may be related to debt slavery and, in a more general sense, to every form of illegitimate deprivation of liberty. See Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 107–8; Koole, *Jesaja III*, 155. The second verse (58:9) could be a reference to the first, especially in relation to false lawsuits, which are mentioned several times and are used to strengthen the position of the upper class (Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA,* 111).

[90] The text of Isa 56:1–8(9) thus does suggest that it was a real issue during the Persian era (if such dating of this passage is correct) and that who was a Jew and how one might become one were important questions; *pace* Grabbe, *History of the Jews and Judaism*, 165. Intriguing is Bob Becking, "Law as Expression of Religion (Ezra 7–10)," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspec-*

V. Comfort and Criticism in Some Early Interpretations

In general, the text of Isa 56:1–8(9) is transmitted in the versions in a fashion that is quite close to the MT, and this applies to the rendering in *Targum Jonathan* as well. It appears that the targumist did not have any problems with the fact that the son of the stranger or the eunuch was included in God's people. In 56:8, however, it is remarkable that those who will be gathered are the *exiled*, shifting the focus of the text from "strangers"[91] and "eunuchs" to the exiled people, who will be gathered.[92] In *Targum Jonathan,* v. 9 is taken as a continuation of v. 8, as might be understood from the break *after* v. 9,[93] yet the verse is expanded considerably by a clause that states that the kings who were gathered to distress Jerusalem will become food for the beasts of the field and forest. This seems to be an adaptation of the text in line with the thoughts found in Ezek 39:17–29, to which reference has already been made. In this sense the targumist emphasizes the way of reasoning indicated in the accentuation and delimitation of the MT: the righteous shall prosper, while the wicked shall suffer.[94]

It was noted above that the positive elements in Isa 56:1–8(9) sometimes overshadow the critical and ethical aspects of the text in the Christian tradition. In Jewish tradition also the pericope had its impact and was quoted in the discussion of converts because of its positive attitude toward them. Next to texts from the Torah that reflect an open attitude toward converts, reference is made especially to Isa 56:6–7, as in the discussion of Passover in *Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael.* It is stated that Yʜwʜ loves converts, referring to Exod 23:9; 22:20; and Deut 10:19, but also "because the Bible often applies the same terms to them as to Israelites: Israelites and converts are called servants, ministers and friends. Also a covenant is connected to both the converts and Israel, acceptance is used with regard to both

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tives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era* (ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking; Studies in Theology and Religion 5; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 18–31. He describes the possibly more formal development within the Jewish community in a positive way against its historical background in opposition to the negative descriptions by earlier OT scholars of the deeds and doings of Ezra and Nehemiah as *Gesetzesreligion,* e.g., Gerhard von Rad and Theodoor C. Vriezen. The passage under discussion (Isa 56:1–8[9]) suggests that not everyone in Judean society approved of this formal approach.

[91] Or "sons of the gentiles/peoples" (בני עממיא) as *Targum Jonathan* renders the Hebrew בני הנכר. For this and other changes in the text, see de Hoop, "Isaiah 56:1–9 in Targum Jonathan."

[92] See Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* (ArBib 11; Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1987), 109 (notes).

[93] See n. 21 above.

[94] Freedman and Cohen, "Masoretes as Exegetes," 37.

groups."[95] Converts are even more precious to Yʜwʜ than the Israelites themselves, argued Simeon b. Yohai, "for those whom the king loves are greater than those who love the king."[96]

We referred to the example of the story of the conversion of the eunuch from Ethiopia (Acts 8:26–40), of which Johannes Schneider wrote:

> In Ac. 8:27ff. we read of the eunuch of Queen Candace who comes to faith and is baptised. Here the prophetic saying in Is. 56:3, 4 finds its true and complete fulfillment. The eunuch is no longer shut out from the kingdom of God and the Christian community.[97]

Though it is doubted by scholars that Luke intends to refer to the Isaian passage or to the law concerning eunuchs (Deut 23:1),[98] the word εὐνοῦχος ("eunuch") seems to be applied deliberately here, since it was used five times in this pericope.[99] Nevertheless, even if the focus of Isa 56:1–9 is different from the general interpretation of this passage (based on Acts 8), I think that the author deliberately uses the term εὐνοῦχος to refer to Isa 56:1–9.[100] Though this might be a

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[95] Gary G. Porton, *The Stranger within Your Gates: Converts and Conversion in Rabbinic Literature* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 58 (with 286 nn. 77, 78, 80, 81, which refer to Isa 56:6, 4, and 7 as the sole texts that support this opinion). See also Beek, "De vreemdeling," 18.

[96] Porten, *Stranger within Your Gates*, 58. In this context the parable "the deer, which entered the herd of sheep of the king" from *Num. Rab.* 8 (148c) is a fitting example of the general attitude toward converts (the parable is quoted, e.g., in StrB 1:355–56). On the sometimes ambivalent attitude toward converts, see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. Geza Vermes et al.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 3.1:150–76; Menaham Stern, "Aspects of Jewish Society: The Priesthood and Other Classes," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, vol. 2 (ed. Shmuel Safrai and Menaham Stern; CRINT I/2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 561–630, esp. 622–24.

[97] J. Schneider, "εὐνοῦχος," 768; G. Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 499.

[98] Coert H. Lindijer, *Handelingen van de Apostelen,* vol. 1 (De prediking van het Nieuwe Testament; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1975), 217.

[99] Gerd Petzke, "εὐνοῦχος, κτλ.," *EWNT* 2:202–4, esp. 204; G. Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 498, n. 6. Contrast, however, Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 289.

[100] The fact that in Acts 8:32–33 Luke quotes from Isa 53:7–8 LXX suggests that Luke was familiar with Isaiah LXX. Since in Isaiah the term εὐνοῦχος occurs only in Isa 56:3–4, it is rather likely that Luke was familiar with this text. Pesch (*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 289) suggests that εὐνοῦχος had to be clarified by the word δυνάστης, as an attribute or translation for the ignorant reader, similar to "queen of the Ethiopians" as explanation for the title "Candace." Yet this seems unlikely, since the meaning of the Greek word denotes "castrate" (see Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* [5th ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971], 40), and the author could have chosen to use a different word, since εὐνοῦχος was not a title similar to "Candace." The LXX translates סריס

different interpretation from what was probably intended, the promissory element of Isa 56:1–9 was considered in this way to be a promise of the spread of Yнwн's righteousness for all nations and all kinds of people, which already can be found in Ben Sira: "Give thanks to him who gathers (למק[בץ]) the dispersed of Israel, for his mercy endures forever" (Sir. 51:12–13).[101]

The critical purpose of the text did not go unnoticed either, because the text concerning eunuchs also played its role in the contrast of the godless and the righteous. Similar to the barren woman, the eunuch will receive a share in the temple of great delight (Wis 3:14; see also 4:1):[102]

> Blessed also is the eunuch whose hands have done no lawless deed,
> and who has not devised wicked things against the Lord;
> for special favor will be shown him for his faithfulness,
> and a place of great delight in the temple of the Lord.

In this way the eunuch is set as an example for those who have an ordinary life, who do not encounter troubles but who do not take the law too seriously. Together with the barren woman, eunuchs are set as examples for those in the cultic community who view the "righteous" life as the basis for the exclusion of others.

However, a final example of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of this passage from Trito-Isaiah is the quotation of Isa 56:7 in the narrative of the cleansing of the temple (Matt 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46): "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples."[103] Jesus is portrayed here as a prophet who revolts against the economic power of the temple aristocracy.[104] During Jesus' era the priestly Sadducean

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generally with εὐνοῦχος (J. Schneider, *TDNT* 2:766), even if סריס is also used for "high officials," who were not necessarily castrated (see *HALAT*, 727; *DNWSI*, 804; cf., however, Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, "סריס," *TWAT* 5:948–54, regarding the Akkadian etymology of סריס, demonstrating that it was specifically used for people who were castrated). This does not imply, however, that the LXX translator and the author of Acts knew about the possible etymological background of Hebrew סריס.

[101] Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 39. The Hebrew text has preserved only ק as first letter of the root קבץ; the other characters cannot be clearly read. For the Hebrew text, see Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts & a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 92. Francesco Vattioni reads the word למקבץ without differentiating between identifiable and unidentifiable characters in the text (*Ecclesiastico: Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siriaca* [Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1968], 279).

[102] Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA*, 29; but cf. esp. Pancratius C. Beentjes, "Wisdom of Solomon 3,1–4,19 and the Book of Isaiah," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah,* ed. van Ruiten and Vervenne, 413–20.

[103] In the version of Matthew and Luke the final words "for all peoples" are missing.

[104] On the meaning of Jesus' act, see the discussions in E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), 61–76; Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus,* vol. 3, *Matthäus 18–25* (EKK 1/3; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 186–87.

groups are depicted by their rivals as those who profited from their position in the temple. Ulrich Luz, for example, refers to a similar picture in *T. Mos.* 7:6–10, which might illustrate the rivals' view of the Sadducees during this period.[105] The text from the *Testament of Moses* seems to reflect the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of a critical aspect of Trito-Isaiah, since it almost has the character of an anthology:

> (6) But really they consume the goods of the (poor), saying their acts are according to justice,[106] (7) (while in fact they are simply) exterminators, deceitfully seeking to conceal themselves so that they will not be known as completely godless because of their criminal deeds (committed) all the day long,[107] (8) saying, "We shall have feasts, even luxurious winings and dinings. Indeed, we shall behave ourselves as princes."[108] (9) They, with hand and mind, will touch impure things,[109] yet their mouths will speak enormous things, and they will even say, (10) "Do not touch me, lest you pollute me in the position I occupy . . ."[110] (*T. Mos.* 7:6–10)[111]

It is remarkable that the story describes Jesus as quoting the words of the first pericope of Trito-Isaiah in an era and a context that seem to have close resemblances to the era of Trito-Isaiah itself.[112] In this sense it seems to support my theory that the wording of Isa 56:1–9 also had a critical purport, similar to its sequence Isa 56:10–59:20.

VI. Conclusions

It has been argued that vv. 8 and 9 of Isaiah 56 should not be separated but should be taken together as a passage that forms a bridge between the exhortation

[105] Luz, *Matthäus 18–25*, 187 n. 76; see also Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 65–66.

[106] Cf. Isa 58:3–4.

[107] Cf. Isa 59:1–15

[108] Cf. Isa 56:10–12.

[109] Cf. Isa 65:3b–4; Mal 3:3

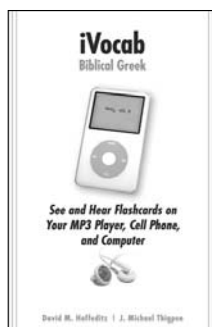[110] Cf. Isa 65:5, "Keep to yourself, do not come near me, for I am too holy for you."

[111] Translation after *OTP*, 1:930.

[112] For our purpose it is unimportant whether Jesus' action should be considered to be symbolic (Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 70–71) or as a criticism (as favored by Luz, *Matthäus 18–25*, 186–87), since in both cases my reading of Isa 56:1–9 fits with the interpretation of Jesus' act. However, the suggestion to combine both interpretations (see Sanders, 368 n. 60 for bibliography; also mentioned by Luz, 187) seems the strongest position in this regard. Nor is it important to determine whether the quotation of Isa 56:7 is "original" or a later expansion of the tradition; for these matters, see, among others, Hans Dieter Betz, "Jesus and the Purity of the Temple (Mark 11:15–18): A Comparative Religion Approach," *JBL* 116 (1997): 455–72; Henk Jan de Jonge, "The Cleansing of the Temple in Mark 11:15 and Zechariah 14:21," in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 87–100.

for justice and righteousness (56:1–2), emphasizing the importance of doing justice and keeping the Sabbath (56:3–7), and the rebuke of the leaders (56:10–12). Isaiah 56:1–9 has implicitly a critical purport for the members of the postexilic community, which is in accordance with the other critical passages in Trito-Isaiah in general (esp. chs. 65–66) as well as those in its direct context (56:10–59:21). This critical aspect recurs in the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the text as is shown in Wis 3:14; *T. Mos.* 7:6–10; and the NT (Mark 11:17 parr.), but more positive and promissory aspects of this passage are found in rabbinic literature and in the NT (e.g., Acts 8:26–40). In general, however, it must be concluded that Isa 56:1–9 should not be read solely as a comfort for those possibly excluded from the community but should especially be considered an implicit criticism of the leaders of the community, who, in the view of the author/editor of the passage, hypocritically emphasized only those elements in the Torah that suited themselves.

Were Joshua, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah Contemporaries? A Response to Diana Edelman's Proposed Late Date for the Second Temple

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In her recent monograph *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple: Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem,*[1] Diana Edelman proposed a drastic revision of the postexilic chronology, moving the dedication of the Second Temple from 516 B.C.E. to a time early in the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.E.). Her proposal results from an attempt to account for the anomaly that, according to the present biblical record, the temple in Jerusalem was constructed in a very small city that would remain unfortified for another seventy years, and she also attempts to fit the temple construction into Persian imperial policy. She proposes that Artaxerxes I initiated a single project to rebuild the temple *and* to fortify Jerusalem at the same time. Artaxerxes wanted to provide the temple as a place for the citizens of Yehud to worship their national god and to collect taxes for the empire.

In support of her hypothesis she discounts the eight dates in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah that link them to the reign of Darius I (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:1, 10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1), arguing that they were calculated secondarily, based on the prophecy in Jeremiah of restoration after seventy years (Edelman, ch. 2). She also calls into question the historicity of the account of the building of the temple in Ezra 1–6, arguing that it is based only on what could be learned from a series of biblical passages (Ezekiel 40–48; Second Isaiah; Haggai and Zechariah, including their

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[1] Bible World; London: Equinox, 2005.

dates; and 1 Chronicles 22–2 Chronicles 7; Edelman, ch. 3).[2] Two additional chapters investigate the size of Yehud in the fifth century (ch. 4) and the archaeological data that support her hypothesis (ch. 5). Chapter 6 contains her description of the pragmatic issues that led Artaxerxes to fortify Jerusalem and rebuild the temple at the beginning of his reign.

Responding to Edelman's impressive arguments throughout the book would require a monograph of nearly the same size; this note will contest only one crucial item, her attempt through genealogical research to make Joshua[3] and Zerubbabel, on the one hand, and Nehemiah, on the other, near contemporaries. She makes her case for this in ch. 1 (pp. 13–79), although she locates also many other persons genealogically in this chapter.[4] If her attempt to make Joshua, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah near contemporaries can be called into question, however, the more traditional date for the construction of the Second Temple, unanimously supported by Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, and Ezra 1–6, is quite likely to stand.

Edelman (pp. 38–40) defends the idea that Nehemiah himself served during the reign of Artaxerxes, as in the biblical text, because of a reference to Sanballat (the arch-rival of Nehemiah in the book of Nehemiah) and his two sons in Elephantine papyrus 30, dated to 408 B.C.E., and the resultant calculations about Sanballat's relative date of birth and his age during the time of Nehemiah.

I. The Chronological Date of Joshua

The Bible makes the high priest Joshua, under whom the temple was built, a contemporary of Haggai and Zechariah, who advocated strongly for constructing the temple in the early years of Darius I. Joshua appears in the following genealogy of priests.[5]

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[2] The only exception to such inner-biblical information is the governor Sheshbazzar, whose name she thinks is fictional. Edelman further denies the authenticity of the Persian documents in Ezra.

[3] I have chosen to use the spelling of names that are used in standard English Bibles, except where I quote Edelman's translation of 1 Chr 3:17–18. Edelman uses throughout spellings more similar to their Hebrew pronunciation, but does not use the transliteration style used in *The SBL Handbook of Style*.

[4] Edelman suggests that Meshullam the son of Berechiah (Neh 3:30) is the younger brother of the prophet Zechariah. But if this Meshullam is the same as the one mentioned in Neh 3:4, Meshullam's grandfather was Meshezabel and not Iddo. This also negates her assertion that the daughter of Meshullam in Neh 6:18 is the niece of the prophet Zechariah. She makes Hananiah in Neh 7:2 the son of Zerubbabel though no patronymic is given for him. If her genealogical reconstructions of Joshua and Zerubbabel are wrong, Hananiah also cannot chronologically be the son of Zerubbabel.

[5] For detailed discussion of these priests, see James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 43–111.

Seraiah	The last priest of the first temple, executed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kgs 25:18–21)
Jehozadak	The successor of Seraiah, who was deported by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chr 5:40–41 [Eng. 6:14–15])
Joshua (Jeshua)	Identified as the son of Jehozadak (Jozadak) by Ezra 3:2 and Hag 1:1
Joiakim	Neh 12:10, 12, 26[6]
Eliashib	Neh 3:1, 20–21; 12:10, 22; 13:28
Joiada	Neh 12:10–11, 22; 13:18
Johanan	Neh 12:22–23; Jonathan Neh 12:11[7]

There are only a few fixed dates that are helpful. Seraiah died in 586; Joshua was high priest in 520, according to the standard chronology; Eliashib was high priest in 444; and Johanan was high priest in 408. Hypothetical dates of birth and death make this genealogy plausible. If Seraiah would have been forty at his death in 586 (hence born in ca. 626), his son Jehozadak could have been born in ca. 606 b.c.e. Joshua would then be born ca. 586 and would have been seventy when the temple was dedicated in 516. Clearly, Joshua would not have been alive in 465, when, according to Edelman, Artaxerxes I began his reign and initiated the construction of the Second Temple. Edelman addresses this chronological issue by saying that Jehozadak may have been the grandson or great-grandson of Seraiah, thus arbitrarily adding twenty to forty years to the birth date of Joshua, making him born in 566 or even 546. This would make him 101 or eighty-one at the accession of Artaxerxes. The first age is impossible and the second highly unlikely, perhaps requiring that Jehozadak be the great-great-grandson of Seraiah. Edelman (p. 19) also offers the possibility that Jehozadak and Seraiah were not related to each other at all, which means that she can assign whatever dates she wants to for the subsequent priests. The calculations would change somewhat if the dates of the first son were lengthened to an average of twenty-five years, but clearly she can bring Joshua into the proper chronological horizon only by arbitrarily lengthening his genealogy by two or, more probably, three generations.

II. Zerubbabel

A genealogy of Zerubbabel is provided in 1 Chr 3:16–19:

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[6] Frank Moore Cross, Jr., inserted two additional names at this point, Eliashib and Johanan ("A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 [1975]: 4–18). For a critical discussion of this proposal, see VanderKam, *High Priests,* 85–97. Edelman also rejects the proposal of Cross.

[7] Vanderkam suggests that Jonathan is a copyist's mistake for Johanan (*High Priests,* 54–55).

Jeconiah (Jehoiachin)——— Shealtiel
                         Malchiram
                         Pedaiah———Zerubbabel
                         Shenazzar
                         Jekamiah
                         Hoshama
                         Nedabiah

According to 2 Kgs 24:8, Jehoiachin was born in 615, since he came to the throne when he was eighteen in 597, and it is known that he was still alive, at fifty-four, in 561 (2 Kgs 25:27). Assuming that Jehoiachin had his first child at eighteen or twenty, Pedaiah, his third son, would have been born in the mid to late 590s,[8] which seems plausible, since Babylonian records indicate that Jehoiachin had five sons who were given provisions in captivity by 592. If Zerubbabel was born in ca. 573, he would have been fifty-three when he is mentioned by Haggai, Ezra, and Nehemiah during the reign of Darius I, ca. 520. By the time of Artaxerxes he would have been 108 and presumably long since dead.

The study of the genealogy of Zerubbabel has long been plagued by notices in Ezra (3:2), Nehemiah (12:1), and Haggai (1:1) that Zerubbabel's father was Shealtiel, the oldest son of Jeconiah, and not Pedaiah. Numerous attempts have been made to explain this discrepancy, often by the hypothesis that Shealtiel died before siring a son, and that his younger brother Pedaiah married his widow and engendered a son in Shealtiel's name. After discussing this hypothesis and several other solutions and finding them unsatisfactory, Edelman calls attention to an unusual wording in the list of the sons of Jeconiah in 1 Chr 3:17–18:[9] "and the sons of Jeconiah, the captive: Shealtiel his son, and Malchiram, Pedaiah, Shenazzar, Jekamiah, Hoshama, and Nedabiah." This could be taken to mean that Shealtiel was the only descendant of Jeconiah mentioned, and his name is then followed by the list of six additional names. This list could be taken to mean that these six additional males were all sons of Shealtiel instead of Jeconiah, but the genealogy continues with the lineage of Pedaiah, who would be Shealtiel's *second* oldest son. Edelman (p. 21) thinks that the link should continue from the oldest son.[10] She therefore emends the genealogy to read as follows (with additions indicated in brackets): "the descendants of Yekoniah the captive: Shealtiel, his son, Malkiram [his son], and [the sons of Malkiram]: Pedaiah, Shenazzer, Yekamiah, Hoshama, Nedeviah [five]" (p. 21).

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[8] Edelman (*Origins,* 21) sets Shealtiel's birth at 597. There is no indication of how many wives were involved in bearing Jehoiachin's children.

[9] For discussion of other details of this genealogy, see Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 320–21, 327–28; and Ralph W. Klein*, 1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 109–10, 119–20. Both commentaries retain Zerubbabel as the grandson of Jeconiah.

[10] It should be noted, however, that in the two generations after Zerubbabel descendants do not come from the oldest son.

The resulting (simplified) genealogy would look like this:

Jeconiah—Shealtiel—Malchiram—Pedaiah—Zerubbabel

This conjectural emendation, therefore, has added two generations to Zerubbabel's genealogy (he is not the grandson, but the great-great-grandson of Jehoiachin). In Edelman's judgment, this brings Zerubbabel to the same generation as Nehemiah, or to the immediately preceding generation. She conjectures a birth date for Zerubbabel of approximately 500.

Assigning more realistic absolute dates to these figures, however, points out a major discrepancy. Since Jeconiah was born in 615, the following generations in the genealogy could be dated as follows: Shealtiel 597; Malchiram 577; Pedaiah 557; Zerubbabel 537. That is, after adding two generations by emendation, Edelman really has to add another generation to get a birth date for Zerubbabel that would locate him as an active leader in the early years of Artaxerxes, with a birth date of ca. 500.

Because of the severe chronological difficulties with both Joshua and Zerubbabel, even after Edelman's textual changes, I believe her proposal for a late date for the Second Temple is not plausible. Since all the other biblical data are against it in any case, she absolutely must resolve the chronological problems with Joshua and Zerubbabel if her radical hypothesis is to have a chance of succeeding.

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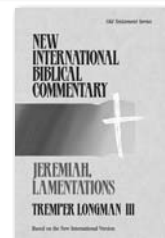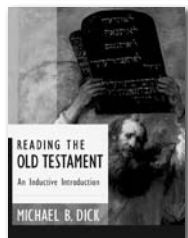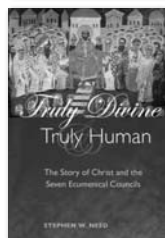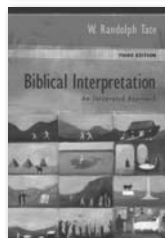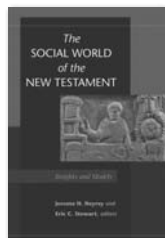
Who Constitutes Society?
Yehud's Self-understanding in the
Late Persian Era as Reflected in
the Books of Chronicles

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I. Literature and Self-understanding

Many studies have already been devoted to a description of Jewish society in the Persian province of Yehud. It has been rightly pointed out that one cannot merely use biblical records such as Chronicles to "read off" what this flesh-and-blood society looked like. It has been emphasized equally, however, that historical books such as Chronicles reflect something of the self-understanding of this community. Although this self-understanding does not necessarily coincide with the flesh-and-blood society of that time, it nevertheless gives us a good impression of the processes of self-identification within the Yehudite community.

The presupposition of this study is, therefore, that a close relationship between literature and self-understanding could be envisaged. In another article I have argued that the notion of "textual identities" (which is often used in social constructionism[1]) provides us with a theoretical underpinning for this presuppo-

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[1] Social constructionism (which developed as a social theory of knowledge after the publication of the epoch-making work by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* [New York: Doubleday, 1966]) considers how social phenomena develop in particular social contexts. In constructionist thought, a social construction (such as the self-understanding of a group) is a concept or practice that may appear to be natural and obvious to those who accept it but in reality is a product of the dynam-

sition.[2] In my view, the turn toward "textual identities" in social psychology[3] provides new avenues for the description of the processes of identity formation in Second Temple Yehud witnessed in, for example, the books of Chronicles. The following insights flow from this notion:

1. The notion "textual identities" emphasizes the fluid, dynamic, and discursive nature of processes of identity formation.
2. It emphasizes the close interrelationship between the social environment within which a group exists, the textual resources that are available in the given culture, and the role that renewed textual construction plays in the process of identity formation.
3. It cautions us not only to take into account multiple motivational factors that could have contributed to the self-categorization of the Yehudite community in the late Persian period but also to view those motivational factors within a discursive framework.

The aim of this article is to illustrate how these methodological insights from social psychology can assist us in the reading of Second Temple literature, such as Chronicles.[4] Against the background of the presupposition that literature is closely related to self-understanding, I will provide an illustration of how certain textual features can help us to a description of the self-understanding processes that were prevalent in the late Persian province of Yehud.[5] I will investigate the textual reflec-

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ics in a particular culture or society. Social constructionism opposes essentialism, which defines specific phenomena in terms of their essences, independent of the social environments in which they exist.

[2] See Louis Jonker, "Textual Identities in the Books of Chronicles: The Case of Jehoram's History," to appear in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* (ed. Gary N. Koppers and Ken Ristau; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009). This article is based on a paper that was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies (CSBS) in Saskatoon, Canada, in May 2007.

[3] The field of social psychology focuses on the behavior of the group and thus examines such phenomena as group dynamics and group development, social categorization and social identity formation. The presupposition of this field of study is that individual identities should not be divorced from the social environment within which they exist, and that these individual identities collectively contribute to a social identity (which is also more than and/or different from the sum of the individual identities). Social psychologists are therefore interested in the individual, but primarily within the context of larger social structures and processes, such as social roles, race, class, and socialization.

[4] The novelty of this contribution lies not in the observations on the biblical texts as such, but rather in its strategy of relating the observed textual phenomena to the social processes of identity formation among Second Temple Yehudites.

[5] In making this statement I am siding with those Chronicles scholars who view the origin of Chronicles as lying in the late Persian era. Although I do not deny that the final processes of redaction of these books could have extended well into the Hellenistic era, I still contend that these books reflect the life world of the late Persian era. For full argumentation of this point, see

tions of this self-understanding in the books of Chronicles (focusing mainly on 2 Chronicles 10–36). The emphasis will be on the person constellations included in the Chronicler's narrative, especially those that are absent from the Deuteronomistic *Vorlage*. In order to make this study manageable I have chosen to concentrate on the direct speech in these chapters. This focus can be motivated from at least two methodological perspectives:

1. In narratological studies, the role of direct speech in biblical narrative is normally emphasized.[6] Bar-Efrat even calls this the most important and most comprehensive ingredient of biblical narratives.[7] Direct speech gives a dramatic character to narratives in the sense that this technique makes the characters in the story present, so to speak, to the minds of the audience. However, the presentation of direct speech in narratives is much more a reflection of the narrator's intention than of the characters' thoughts. Direct speech in narratives remains *reported* direct speech. The narrator deliberately chooses to give voice to certain characters at certain times and decides what these characters will say. Equally, the narrator chooses which characters remain silent. By analyzing the direct-speech person constellations, that is, who addresses whom, as well as the content of the direct speech, that is, the information that is conveyed in the direct speech, one could get a glimpse of what the narrator wanted to achieve with the narrative.

These insights from narratology are important for our analysis of Chronicles. 2 Chronicles 10–36, the stories about the Judahite kingdom, are cast in a narrative format. Although the narrator, the Chronicler, made use of earlier sources (particularly the books Samuel and Kings), he[8] constructed his own narrative by adding,

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Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 13–16. See also Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 101–17, for an extensive discussion of the dating, as well as the earlier discussion of Sarah Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* (OTL; London: SCM, 1993), 23–28.

[6] This can be substantiated from a variety of works on narratology. Most recently, Shimon Bar-Efrat has provided a concise summary of the features that play a role in narratives ("Die Erzählung in der Bibel," in *Lesarten der Bibel: Untersuchungen zu einer Theorie der Exegese des Alten Testaments* [ed. Helmut Utzschneider and Erhard Blum; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006], 97–116). He remarks: "In den meisten biblischen Erzählungen wechseln Abschnitte mit Erzählerberichten und Passagen mit Figurenrede ab. Erzählungen, die ganz oder fast ganz aus Erzählenberichte bestehen und keine Figurenrede enthalte, gibt es . . . nahezu nicht. Dagegen kennt die Bibel einige Erzählungen, die ganz oder fast ganz aus Gesprächen zusammengesetzt sind. . . . Die Reden der Figuren sind der bedeutendste und umfassendste Bestandteil der biblischen Erzählungen. In den meisten Erzählungen nehmen sie den grössten Platz ein und tragen einen substanziellen Teil des Geschehens. Es ist die Fülle von Gesprächen, die den Erzählungen ihren dramatischen und lebendigen Charakter gibt" (pp. 104–5).

[7] Ibid.

[8] In the soziokulturellen environment of the time of origin of Chronicles, one could assume that the author(s) of these books was male.

changing, substituting, and omitting information in comparison to his *Vorlage*. In this way a new narrative was constructed—a narrative whose integrity should be respected in the analysis of Chronicles.[9]

2. Another methodological perspective that provides a motivation for my choice is that of text-pragmatical studies that are embedded in a communicational model. Text-pragmatical studies, such as those of Christof Hardmeier, depart from the presupposition that texts should be studied primarily from the perspective of their use and function within the context of societal communication processes.[10] Texts are constructed by human beings who are participating in speech acts, with the intention of communicating in specific circumstances to specific addressees. This communication typically takes place within the parameters of the speaker's (or narrator's) so-called *Origo*, that is, the operative consciousness of the speaker(s) in terms of the constellation *I/we* (as subject)–*now* (as temporal orientation)–*here* (as local orientation)–*over against somebody* (as orientation in terms of the configuration of person constellations).

Direct speech occupies a special position in text-pragmatic exegesis.[11] It is considered to be a special form of representation of speech acts. The usage of this form of expression by a narrator is always deliberate and free—a narrator can always choose to use the alternative forms of indirect speech or a summary of content—and the form of speech should therefore be studied explicitly with a focus on its pragmatic function in the narrative. The choice to give certain figures in the narrative a voice should be seen as a reflection of the *Origo* of the narrator. It reflects the communicational or discursive processes within which the narrative was embedded.

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[9] See, e.g., the plea of John Wright that one should respect the narrative integrity of Chronicles ("The Fight for Peace: Narrative and History in the Battle Accounts in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Historian* [ed. M. Patrick Graham et al.; JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 150–77).

[10] See, e.g., Christof Hardmeier, *Textwelten der Bibel entdecken: Grundlagen und Verfahren einer textpragmatischen Literaturwissenschaft der Bibel* (2 vols.; Textpragmatische Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte der hebräischen Bibel 1/1–2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003, 2004).

[11] See, e.g., Christof Hardmeier and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald, "Texttheorie und Texterschliessung: Grundlagen einer empirisch-textpragmatischen Exegese," in *Lesarten der Bibel,* ed. Utzschneider and Blum, 25: "In narratologischer Hinsicht von herausragender Bedeutung ist in der Hebräischen Bibel der extensive Gebrauch der *direkten Rede*, die als Sonderform der narrativen Darstellung von Redehandlungen zu betrachten ist. Da dieses Gestaltungsmittel völlig frei und fakultativ eingesetzt werden kann—es steht einer Autorin ja immer auch das Mittel der indirekten Rede oder der inhaltlichen Zusammenfassung zur Verfügung—, ist sein Einsatz rein text-pragmatisch und erzählfunktional begründet. Die wörtliche Rede bietet ein Höchstmass an Detaillierung, weil sie eine Redehandlung szenisch eins zu eins präsentiert und damit den höchsten Grad an mimetischer Vergegenwärtigung erreicht.

In what follows I will therefore concentrate on the direct-speech parts in 2 Chronicles 10–36, particularly those occurring in the so-called *Sondergut*, that is, those parts of the text that represent the additions and changes the Chronicler made to his *Vorlage*. The importance of the *Sondergut* passages is emphasized by the fact that almost half (44 out of 101) of the direct-speech passages in chs. 10–36 belong to the Chronicler's *Sondergut*. By focusing on these passages I hypothesize that in these literary forms that were added by the Chronicler we can see a reflection of the self-understanding of the Jewish community (or to be more precise, of a part of the Jewish community) in Persian-period Yehud. I begin my analysis with a description of the different person constellations that are manifested in these direct-speech passages. I will also analyze the content of the direct speech in order to discern whether certain themes or power relationships are reflected in them. In the end I will relate my description to the process of identity formation during the late Persian period.

II. Observations on the Direct-Speech Passages in 2 Chronicles 10–36

(The appendix should be considered together with this section.)

My observations will focus on the following aspects: a description of the speaker(s) and addressee(s), respectively; a description of the person constellations manifested in these interactions; and a description of the relationships constituted or themes addressed by them.

Speaker(s)

In the discussion of the speakers one should ask, Who was given a voice by the Chronicler over against the presentation of the narratives in Samuel–Kings? In order to get a full picture of how the Chronicler manipulated his *Vorlage* for his own purposes, however, one should also ask, Who was silenced by the Chronicler over against Samuel–Kings?

In terms of the voices that were added, the following can be observed:

1. In quite a number of cases[12] (nineteen in total), Judahite kings (in total, eight of them[13]) are given a voice over against the *Vorlage*.

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[12] I count the following as "cases" of direct speech: every instance where a person acts as speaker in the narrative. The speaker could be explicitly nominalized, or pronominalized, or could be implicit in the verb introducing the direct speech (in most cases, the verb אמר). Embedded direct speeches are counted as separate instances.

[13] Namely, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Amaziah, Ahaz, Hezekiah and Josiah.

2.   Another significant addition to the Chronicler's version is a prophetic pres-ence.[14] Nine different prophets or prophetic figures are introduced over against the *Vorlage*.[15] In all cases (except the voice of Elijah represented in a letter that was sent to Jehoram [21:12–15]), the prophetic figures are not known from the *Vorlage*.

3.   Priestly figures are also introduced.[16] These occurrences are localized in the narratives of four kings, namely, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Uzziah, and Hezekiah. In Josiah's narrative the Levites occur as addressees, but they do not speak there.

4.   Yahweh/God occurs as speaker in five instances, localized during the reigns of Rehoboam, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Joash. It is significant that (except for one instance) all cases of divine speech are embedded in the speech of either prophets[17] or priests.[18] The one instance that forms the exception—in Rehoboam's narrative where "the word of Yahweh" is mentioned as coming to Shemaiah the prophet—Yahweh/God is not directly mentioned as the subject of the verb.

5.   Judahites are given a voice in five instances. During Rehoboam's reign "the princes of Israel" pray (probably to Yahweh) together with the king as a reaction to the prophetic rebuke of Shemaiah (12:6). It is clear that the expression "princes of Israel" refers here to people from Judah. In the previous direct-speech part where the prophetic utterance is reported (12:5), these princes are called "the princes of Judah."[19] In Jehoshaphat's narrative "the descendants of Abraham" are mentioned in embedded speech—clearly referring to the people of Judah. In Ahaziah's narra-

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[14] See the discussions of the issue of prophecy in Chronicles in William M. Schniedewind, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Books of Chronicles," in *Chronicler as Historian,* ed. Graham et al., 229–66; and Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "Prophetie in den Chronikbüchern: Jahwes Wort in zweierlei Gestalt?" in *Schriftprophetie: Festschrift für Jörg Jeremias zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Friedhelm Hartenstein et al.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 351–67.

[15] Namely, Shemaiah the prophet, Azariah the son of Oded, Hanani the seer, Jehu the son of Hanani, Eliezer the son of Dodavahu, Elijah, an anonymous Man of God, an anonymous prophet, and Oded.

[16] Namely, Jehaziel the Levite, Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, and Azariah the priest from the house of Zadok. Other unspecified references to those who were to sing to Yahweh and to praise the holy splendor, as well as collective references to priests and Levites, also occur.

[17] In the cases of Yahweh getting a voice through the prophetic speech of Shemaiah during the reign of Rehoboam (12:5–7), and in the letter of Elijah that becomes known during Jehoram's reign (21:12–15).

[18] In the case of Yahweh getting a voice through Jehaziel the Levite during Jehoshaphat's reign (20:15–17), and God speaking through Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest during Joash's reign (24:20).

[19] Whether this is a deliberate confusion or an accidental mistake is not completely clear. Japhet remarks: "The appellation 'princes of Judah' (v. 5) refers to a geographical perspective, while 'princes of Israel' (v. 6) emphasizes their role as representatives of their people" (*I and II Chronicles,* 679). If she is correct, then the use of "Israel" in v. 6 would confirm the inclusive under-standing of this term. See the discussion of this inclusive trend below.

tive unidentified citizens of Judah justify the burial of the king by confirming that he has sought Yahweh with all his heart. The same happens in Uzziah's narrative, where unidentified citizens of Judah justify why the king was buried outside the royal tombs. In Hezekiah's narrative it is indicated that the citizens of Jerusalem expressed their opposition to the Assyrian army by explaining why the water supply was cut off.

6. In one instance (during the reign of Ahaz [ch. 28]) the chiefs of the Ephraimites (clearly associated with the northern kingdom, Israel) speak to the army of Samaria prohibiting them from bringing the Judahite captives to their capital. This follows after Oded, a prophet of Yahweh, has spoken against the Samarian army, warning them not to take the Judahites as slaves—otherwise they will evoke the wrath of Yahweh.

7. In two instances, during the reign of Josiah (ch. 35) and at the end of the Judahite history (ch. 36), two foreign kings are also given a voice. In the Josiah narrative Pharaoh Neco of Egypt speaks through messengers warning Josiah not to oppose God by attempting to stop the Egyptian onslaught. At the end of the Chronicler's history, the well-known passage occurs in which Cyrus of Persia is given a voice. In this last-mentioned direct speech, presented almost in prophetic fashion, the foreign monarch claims that Yahweh has charged him to let the temple in Jerusalem be rebuilt. He then orders the return of the exiles.

Now that we have looked at those persons who were given a voice by the Chronicler, let us consider those voices that were silenced.

1. It is well known that the Chronicler omits the history of the northern kingdom from his account. Only where the northern kingdom and the Israelite kings impinge on the story of the southern kingdom of Judah are they mentioned explicitly. The result is that all the Israelite kings are silenced by the Chronicler. Not a single northern king gets the opportunity to speak in this account of history.

Two other instances are also significant.

2. In the narrative about Manasseh in Chronicles (2 Chr 33:1–20)—an account that remains an enigma to biblical scholars[20]—Yahweh's voice speaking through his servants the prophets is silenced. It is well known that the *Vorlage* of this account in 2 Kings 21 presents Manasseh as the epitome of evil in Judahite history. In this account (2 Kgs 21:11–15) Yahweh addresses Manasseh through his servants the prophets, announcing the destruction of Jerusalem on account of the king's abominations. The Chronicler mentions that Yahweh spoke to Manasseh and

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[20] See, e.g., Japhet, *I and II Chronicles,* 999–1014; and Stephen L. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles* (Abingdon Old Testament Commentary; Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 353–58.

his people (2 Chr 33:10), but does not report the direct speech. In its place is a narrative about Manasseh being taken captive to Babylon, about his repentance during his captivity, and about his cultic restoration measures.

3. In the Chronicler's account of Hezekiah's illness (2 Chr 32:24–26), it is very briefly indicated in narrative form that the king prayed to Yahweh and that he received a sign from the Lord. Thereafter King Hezekiah remained proud of heart, and the wrath of Yahweh came over him and the citizens of Judah. He and the inhabitants of Judah then humbled themselves before Yahweh, and the wrath abated. When this account is compared to the *Vorlage,* it becomes clear that a whole series of direct speeches has been omitted from the Chronicler's summary. In 2 Kgs 20:1–11 it is reported in direct speech that Isaiah the prophet spoke Yahweh's word to warn the king that he should put his house in order, otherwise he will die. This prophetic utterance is then followed by a direct-speech prayer by Hezekiah to Yahweh in which he reminds Yahweh of his faithfulness in the past. Yahweh then calls to the prophet Isaiah again (in direct speech) to go back to Hezekiah and to announce his and the city's pardon. Isaiah then summons unidentified servants to bring a lump of figs to be put on Hezekiah's boils. A conversation between Hezekiah and Isaiah follows in which a sign is requested as confirmation of Yahweh's promise to the king. The section ends with an indirect report that Isaiah called to Yahweh for the sign and that Yahweh gave it.

Addressee(s) and Resulting Person Constellations

Let us now consider the addressees in the Chronicler's direct-speech *Sondergut* in order to see which person constellations are presented to the reader.

1. Kings of Judah are again prominent as addressees. Eight of the kings are directly addressed in twenty direct-speech sections. In ten of those instances prophets or prophetic figures are the speakers, and in another five instances the speakers to the kings are Levites and/or priests. Another three instances have Yahweh as speaker, but embedded in the speech of prophets (in Rehoboam's and Jehoram's cases) or a Levite (in Jehoshaphat's case). In two other instances messengers speak to the kings (unidentified messengers bringing information to Jehoshaphat, and the messengers of Pharaoh Neco of Egypt speaking to Josiah).

2. The Judahites, who are also prominent as addressees, are called in various ways. In Rehoboam's account "the princes of Judah" are explicitly mentioned, and in Jehoshaphat's account the full expression "All-Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" is used. The Judahites are addressed by certain kings (in the cases of Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah), by a prophet (Shemaiah addressing the princes of Judah in Rehoboam's narrative), by priests and/or Levites (in Jehosha-

phat's and Joash's narratives), and by Yahweh/God (embedded in speeches by She-maiah the prophet, by Jehaziel the Levite, and by Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest).

3. Prophets are addressed in three cases: the prophet Shemaiah addressed by the word of Yahweh, and King Amaziah addressing "a man of God" and "a prophet."

4. Yahweh is addressed directly in seven cases: the princes of Israel and King Rehoboam humbling themselves before Yahweh, Asa speaking to Yahweh his God, Jehoshaphat speaking to Yahweh twice (with, embedded in this speech, the descen-dants of Abraham addressing Yahweh), Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest addressing Yahweh, and Hezekiah praying to Yahweh to pardon the Judahites.

5. Priests and/or Levites are addressed four times, in all cases by Judahite kings (Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah).

6. The northern kingdom, Israel, features in two of the kings' narratives: King Jeroboam and All-Israel (here clearly referring exclusively to the inhabitants of the northern kingdom—see the further qualification in the same direct speech of "Israelites") are addressed by the Judahite king Abijah. In this direct speech Abijah clearly distinguishes between the Judahites (called the descendants of David) and the Israelites. In another instance, the narrative about Ahaz, Oded the prophet addresses the northern army who returned to Samaria after a raid on their south-ern neighbor, which resulted in the Ephraimite chiefs' prohibiting the Samarian army from bringing the Judahite captives to Samaria.

7. Judges are mentioned once in the royal narratives, namely, as addressees of Jehoshaphat. In this direct speech the Judahite king reminds the judges that they are passing judgment on behalf of Yahweh.

8. It has been mentioned above that the Judahites and Israelites as separate peoples are mentioned a few times in the royal narratives. In two instances it seems, however, that a deliberate confusion of these two peoples emerges. In 2 Chr 30:6–9 King Hezekiah addresses "the children of Israel." The preceding narrative, however, says that the king's couriers went through "All-Israel and Judah" with letters from the king and his officials—most probably then referring to the northern and south-ern kingdoms. The address "O people of Israel" (2 Chr 30:6) would then refer to both peoples, without making any distinction between the Judahites and Israelites. In the second instance, Cyrus's proclamation (2 Chr 36:23), the blurring of the dis-tinction between south and north occurs again. In the preceding section, Cyrus's herald was sent throughout his whole kingdom to make the proclamation. Those who are addressed are "those among you who are from his people," that is, from the people of Yahweh, the God of heaven. Although it is mentioned that Yahweh has charged Cyrus to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, which is in Judah, no specific distinction is made here between Judahites and Israelites.

Before we get to an interpretation of these person constellations, let us briefly look at the relationships and themes that emerge from these direct-speech parts.

Relationships and Themes

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of direct-speech sections in 2 Chronicles 10–36 deal with the relationship between Yahweh (sometimes called Elohim) and the Judahite kings/the people of Judah. This relationship is described mainly in two literary contexts—either in contexts dealing with battle accounts[21] or in those dealing with cultic reforms/transgressions. In the battle accounts it is normally emphasized that the Judahite king should rely (שען) on Yahweh and seek (usually דרש) him.[22] In those contexts, prophets or prophetic figures are very prominent, often as the interpreters of the king's deeds and policies. They communicate rebuke when the kings seek help from sources other than Yahweh, or when the king and people have transgressed in terms of cultic measures. But the prophets also encourage the kings to rely exclusively on Yahweh.

In the literary contexts that deal with cultic reforms, the cultic personnel (priests and Levites) are very prominent. Again, as in the battle accounts, the accounts of cultic reforms emphasize that Yahweh's teachings and commandments should be kept, and that the kings and people should serve no other gods or idol objects. Priests and/or Levites are those who voice cultic concerns, or they are the addressees when the kings announce their cultic reform measures.

In some instances, however, the roles of prophets and priests are blurred. For example, in the account of Jehoshaphat's battle against the Ammonites and the Moabites, the Levite Jehaziel fulfills the role that is normally associated with a prophet, namely, to encourage the king and people to go into battle because Yahweh is on their side and will fight the battle for them. The "prophetic" impression is strengthened by the introduction of this direct-speech part, in which it is indicated that the "spirit of Yahweh" came on Jehaziel the Levite.

Another example of the blurring of roles can be observed in the narrative about Jehoshaphat. The only time when judges are mentioned in the Chronicler's

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[21] For further discussions of the battle accounts in Chronicles, see Armin Siedlecki, "Foreigners, Warfare and Judahite Identity in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author* (ed. M. Patrick Graham and Stephen L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 229–66; Louis Jonker, "The Cushites in the Chronicler's Version of Asa's Reign: A Secondary Audience in Chronicles?" *OTE* 19 (2006): 863–81; idem, "Refocusing the Battle Accounts of the Kings: Identity Formation in the Books of Chronicles," in *Behutsames Lesen: Alttestamentliche Exegese im interdisziplinären Methodendiskurs* (ed. Sylke Lubs et al.; Leipzig: Evangelisches Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 245–74.

[22] Even the "scoundrel" of the Deuteronomistic History, Manasseh, is "transformed" into a repentant king in the Chronicler's account. The silencing of the prophetic voices mentioned in 2 Kings 21 probably stood in the service of the Chronicler's transformation of this king's reputation.

Judahite history is in this narrative, where Jehoshaphat reminds them that they are judging on Yahweh's behalf.[23] Immediately after this address to the judges, however, King Jehoshaphat addresses the Levites, priests, and heads of households commanding them to act as judges and instructors of the commandments of Yahweh.[24] The roles of judges and priests are therefore also blurred.

That the maintenance of the priesthood was an important matter had already been emphasized in Abijah's narrative. In this narrative the direct-speech section is the only place where a Judahite king addresses an Israelite king (in this case Jeroboam) and All-Israel (here referring to the inhabitants of the northern kingdom). When considering all the person constellations in 2 Chronicles 10–36, this direct speech in Abijah's narrative becomes more significant.[25] In the direct speech in 2 Chr 13:4–12, a very clear distinction is made between "we" and "they." According to Abijah, "we" (i.e., the Judahites) are the real Davidides; the God of Israel has confirmed his covenant with them, and they have appreciated the priests and Levites in their cult.[26] On account of this, the conclusion is drawn that Yahweh is on their side. On the other hand, the Israelites have abandoned the priests and Levites. The implication is therefore that Yahweh is not on their side in the intended battle.[27] The maintenance of the priesthood and the Levites therefore becomes a criterion of true worship of Yahweh[28]—a criterion that was certainly in the back of

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[23] McKenzie is probably right when he indicates that "[t]he entire episode might be regarded as an extended play on the meaning of Jehoshaphat's name, 'Yahweh judges'" (*1–2 Chronicles,* 293).

[24] See ibid., 293–94: "Jehoshaphat might also be seen as renewing or reinvigorating the system put in place by David . . . or, perhaps better, by Moses. . . . The remarkable picture in verse 4 is that of Jehoshaphat going personally among the people, restoring them to God. He then appoints judges (v. 5), presumably to keep the people in line. No distinction is made in this instance between secular and sacred matters; the judges are to remember that in all cases they judge for Yahweh (v. 6). The situation is different in Jerusalem, where a distinction is drawn between 'matters of Yahweh' and 'matters of the king' (v. 11). The precise nature of this division is not made clear. It may not have been between 'religious' and 'secular' as it is conceived in modern society, but between cultic and noncultic, with the latter category including matters that modern people would consider religious.

[25] McKenzie considers the Abijah narrative to be of a programmatic nature: "Since the division of the kingdom in the Chronicler's view was at least partly the result of Rehoboam's arrogance, he was certainly not a model for future kings of Judah in its relationship to Israel and to God. The Chronicler turned to Rehoboam's successor, Abijah, to provide such a model of proper kingly behavior" (*1–2 Chronicles,* 269).

[26] See ibid., 271–72.

[27] McKenzie is of the opinion that this does not imply that Israel was not also Yahweh's people: "The contrast . . . is not an ethnic or national one. Despite Israel's sins, they remain the people of Yahweh, albeit in apostasy. Thus, Abijah still calls them 'Israelites' (v. 12) and warns them against opposing Yahweh 'the God of *your* ancestors'" (*1–2 Chronicles,* 273).

[28] McKenzie confirms this point in his description of the three facets of apostasy on the side of Israel, the second being the driving out of the priests and Levites whom Yahweh had designated as cultic personnel. "In contrast," according to McKenzie, "the people of Judah observe

the Chronicler's mind when he constructed some of the other *Sondergut* passages in his Judahite history.

One interesting passage that highlights the difference in roles between priests and kings is the narrative about Uzziah (who is called Azariah in Kings).[29] Whereas the Kings version merely states that Yahweh struck King Azariah with leprosy, the Chronicler's version has more detail. It narrates that King Uzziah went into the temple to perform an incense offering on the altar of Yahweh. The priest Azariah (who, as a matter of fact, bears the same name that the book of Kings gives to the king), together with eighty priests, opposed Uzziah by warning him in a direct-speech section that he is not allowed to offer. This duty belongs to the priests who are the consecrated descendants of Aaron. This situation then leads to the king's becoming leprous. Why this strong distinction was deliberately included by the Chronicler is not clear. Could it have been that the postexilic cultic situation necessitated such a distinction?

This question could lead us over to an interpretation of the observations that we have made thus far. In the first section of the article, I indicated that I presuppose a close relationship between literature and self-understanding. In section III, we will therefore be on the lookout for those aspects that could point in the direction of a process of self-identification or identity formation.

III. What Self-understanding Is Reflected in the Direct-Speech *Sondergut* in 2 Chronicles 10–36?

First and foremost in the Chronicler's presentation is his understanding of the identity of the postexilic community.[30] It is very clear that the identity of the Chron-

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proper worship of Yahweh with the Aaronid priests and the Levites (vv. 10-11)" (*1–2 Chronicles,* 272). Japhet rightly mentions that this section (particularly v. 9) sheds important light on the Chronicler's view of the clergy: "The term 'priests of the Lord' is explicitly interpreted as referring to two major orders: 'the sons of Aaron' ('priests' in the strict sense) and 'the Levites' (all other members of the tribe of Levi). The same semantic duality has already often been noted in the use of the term 'Levites', which may refer to all members of the tribe (including the priests) or more specifically to the non-priestly order. The return in this passage to the wider, non-technical usage of the word 'priests' draws, in effect, an equation between 'priests of the Lord' and 'Levites'; in their narrow meanings, the two terms complement each other, while the broader meanings have become synonymous: Priests of the Lord = sons of Aaron (priests) + Levites; Levites = Levites + sons of Aaron (priests)" (*I and II Chronicles,* 693).

[29] McKenzie mentions the similarity of this account to 1 Chr 13:9–10, where the death of Uzzah in similar circumstances is told: "One wonders whether the similarity of Uzziah's name to Uzzah's was more than coincidence and may have influenced the Chronicler's preference for the name 'Uzziah' over 'Azariah'" (*1–2 Chronicles,* 331).

[30] See my earlier contributions in this regard: Louis Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah in Chronicles: Late Stages of the Josiah Reception in 2 Chr 34f.* (Textpragmatische Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte der hebräischen Bibel 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus,

icler's community is closely associated with the southern kingdom of the preexilic era.[31] Not only does the monarchic line of the southern kingdom form the plot line of the Chronicler's history (established by the omission of the northern voices), but the cultic values associated with the southern kingdom are also presented as the norm. The cultic institutions of the south (including the priesthood) are presented in a position of dominance, and it is indicated that the maintenance of these institutions determines whether Yahweh will be on their side.

This does not mean, however, that the inhabitants of the former northern kingdom are excluded from the self-understanding of the Chronicler's community. Although the Chronicler judges their apostasy through various aspects of these narratives,[32] it remains clear that Israel is still seen as part of the same religious community.[33] Nowhere is any judgment pronounced on the God of the northern kingdom, because this God is Yahweh whom they served in the south. On the issue of how this God should be served, however, the narratives make clear distinctions.

If my interpretation of the final direct-speech passage in Chronicles—Cyrus's speech—is correct, then it seems that this passage particularly blurs the boundaries between south and north. What distinguishes the postexilic community from others is their belonging to Yahweh. The book ends with the very significant words: "Whoever is among you of all his people, may the LORD his God be with him! Let him go up" (NRSV). The postexilic community is therefore first and foremost understood to be a religious community, not a political one. In the late Persian era this presentation was probably intended to underplay the political difference between the provinces of Yehud and Samaria and to emphasize what they had in common, namely, a religious identity.

It becomes clear from the direct-speech sections how important the cultic per-

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2003); idem, "The Rhetorics of Finding a New Identity in a Multi-cultural and Multi-religious Society," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 24 (2003): 396–416; idem, "Reforming History: The Hermeneutical Significance of the Books of Chronicles," *VT* 57 (2007): 21–44; idem, "Textual Identities." See also Jon L. Berquist, "Constructions of Identity in Postcolonial Yehud," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 53–66.

[31] See Erhard S. Gerstenberger's description of this *Kirchturmperspektive* of the Yahweh community in Jerusalem (*Israel in der Perserzeit: 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [Biblische Enzyklopädie 8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005], 76).

[32] Gerstenberger is of the opinion that a power struggle between the southern Persian provinces should be seen behind this portrayal: "Religiöse und politische Anliegen vermischen sich leicht. Im Grunde aber war der Streit zwischen Samaria und Jerusalem ein Machtkampf innerhalb der fünften persischen Satrapie. Welcher Stadt stand die Führungsrolle im mittleren Süden zu?" (*Israel in der Perserzeit,* 76). See also Gary N. Knoppers, "Revisiting the Samarian Question in the Persian Period," in *Judah and the Judeans,* ed. Lipschits and Oeming, 265–89.

[33] This observation confirms the inclusivistic tendency in Chronicles, which was identified first by Hugh G. M. Williamson (*Israel in the Books of Chronicles* [Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977]) and was then followed in various commentaries; see Japhet, *I and II Chronicles,* 46–47; Klein, *1 Chronicles,* 46; and McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles,* 50–51.

sonnel were. In quite a number of sections (nine in total), the priests and Levites (or individuals from their circles) are given a voice.[34] They are never evaluated negatively and are never reprimanded. Their roles are performed mainly in cultic situations; but in some instances they are also given the responsibilities of judges, and they occasionally act in a prophetlike manner. The one distinction that is upheld, however, is the distinction between the political leader and the priesthood. No transgression should take place in this regard.

Could this be a reflection of the dynamic in the postexilic community? Many scholars advance the opinion that the postexilic community was a cultic community par excellence. The material in the direct speech sections in Chronicles confirms this view. The kings disappear in a certain sense in the plot line of the Chronicler. They are very important as the fixed chronological beacons in history, but they are not the figures giving direction to the narratives. The cultic personnel play an important role in this regard.

The occurrence of so many prophetic voices should also be considered in this context. Many scholars have indicated that it is actually strange that the Chronicler makes mention of so many prophets, because the institution of prophecy was most probably no longer functioning in the Chronicler's day.[35] The direct-speech sections present the prophets as interpreters of the king's and the community's life before Yahweh. They, together with the priests and Levites, let Yahweh's voice be heard, and they indicate that the right reaction to Yahweh's voice is to rely on him and to seek Yahweh with all their heart by observing the commandments and the teachings of Yahweh. This culminates in two very prominent Passover celebrations during the time of Hezekiah and Josiah, in which priests and Levites play an important role again.[36]

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[34] For perspectives on the history of the Yehudite priesthood, see Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999): 49–72; and Thomas Willi, "Leviten, Priester und Kult in vorhellenistischer Zeit: Die chronistische Optik in ihrem geschichtlichen Kontext," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beate Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 75–98.

[35] See the emphasis of Rüdiger Lux on the prophetic involvement in the building of the Second Temple ("Der zweite Tempel von Jerusalem—ein persisches oder prophetisches Projekt?" in *Das Alte Testament—ein Geschichtsbuch? Geschichtsschreibung oder Geschichtsüberlieferung im antiken Israel* [ed. Uwe Becker and Jürgen van Oorschot; Leipzig: Evangelisches Verlagsanstalt, 2005], 145–72). The continued interest in the prophetic institution might be explained by the close association of the Second Temple with prophetic activity—even in a time when prophecy was no longer prevalent.

[36] It remains strange that the Chronicler omitted another prophetic voice, that of Isaiah, in the Hezekiah narrative. McKenzie is of the opinion that the story of Hezekiah's illness in 2 Kgs 20:1–11 presented a theological problem for the Chronicler: If Hezekiah was righteous, why did he become ill? (*1–2 Chronicles*, 350–51). In this case the avoidance of the theological problem was apparently more important for the Chronicler than the involvement of another prophet.

The blurring of the lines between priesthood (i.e., Aaronid priests and Levites[37]) and prophecy is probably a reflection of a cultic community in flux, a community within which a redefinition of cultic-religious roles was occurring.

A final element of the self-understanding that is reflected in the literature under consideration is the view of foreign kings. The fact that two foreign kings are given a voice by the Chronicler changes this aspect totally in comparison to the *Vorlage.*[38] In Kings the foreign monarchs are consistently portrayed negatively. The Chronicler, however, turns at least two foreign kings into conveyors of Yahweh's message. It is clear that the Chronicler, although acknowledging the political and military power of these foreign monarchs, portrays them as being under Yahweh's dominion. These kings are not portrayed as antagonists in history, but rather as those characters who are acting out Yahweh's plan with history. The portrayal of Cyrus especially emphasizes that the reconstruction of a new community takes place through this king. It is cleverly emphasized, however, that this happens after "Yahweh has stirred the spirit of Cyrus"!

Foreign monarchs are acknowledged for their role in history, but they are included within the Chronicler's religio-cultic frame of reference.

IV. Conclusion: Who Constitutes Society in the Chronicler's Self-understanding?

Who constitutes society in the Chronicler's self-understanding as reflected in the direct-speech *Sondergut* of the Judahite history (2 Chronicles 10–36)?

The observations made here show that Chronicles reflects a theocratic understanding of society.[39] Yahweh constitutes society according to the Chronicler's perception. Not only is the preexilic southern kingdom reevaluated in terms of relying on and seeking Yahweh, but its relationship with its northern neighbors also is seen within these parameters. Although a distinction between the south and the north could be made on political grounds, their unity remains a religio-cultic unity. Even the relationship with foreign nations is portrayed within these parameters. Foreign nations might have political power, but even the foreign monarchs are instruments in the hands of Yahweh, the God who made a covenant promise to the Davidides.[40]

[37] See again Japhet, *I and II Chronicles,* 693 (quoted in n. 28 above).

[38] See Ehud Ben-Zvi, "When the Foreign Monarch Speaks," in *Chronicler as Author,* ed. Graham and McKenzie, 209–28, for a discussion of the rhetorical function of the foreign monarchs' speeches in Chronicles.

[39] See also Jonathan E. Dyck, "The Ideology of Identity in Chronicles," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; Biblical Interpretation Series 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 89–116; idem, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Biblical Interpretation Series 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[40] See also Thomas Willi, "Der Weltreichsgedanke im Frühjudentum: Israel, Menschheit und Weltherrschaft in den biblischen Chronikbüchern," in *Exegese vor Ort: Festschrift für Peter Welten zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Christl Maier et al.; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 389–409.

The Chronicler therefore does not seek a new identity for the community in a political or ethnic realm, but rather in a religio-cultic realm.[41] The Chronicler categorizes his society not primarily in terms of its political position as a minor province in the Persian Empire, but rather as a religio-cultic community seeking acknowledgment within the wider sociohistorical context.[42] This observation, however, does not suggest that the Chronicler's community's self-understanding as a religio-cultic entity stood isolated from the political and ethnic environment within which it existed. The religio-cultic identity promoted by this literature was formed (or to be more precise: was in the process of being formed) in discourse with the political and ethnic conditions of the time. However, in this discursive interaction the religio-cultic realm became the primary mode of self-understanding of the community, probably as a means of survival within the political environment of the day.

The theocratic view of society in the Chronicler's time naturally also forms the backdrop for the description of the religio-cultic personnel. The prominence of these personnel in the royal narratives and the frequency with which they are given a voice by the Chronicler indicate that they occupied a position of dominance in the Second Temple society as reflected in the Chronicler's perception. It is even emphasized (in the narrative about Uzziah) that political leaders should not transgress in this domain. It also becomes clear, however, that the role differentiation within religio-cultic circles was in flux. The lines between priests (including the Levites), prophets, and judges are not always clear.

Is this a reflection of the flesh-and-blood society during Persian-period Yehud? One can never know for sure. However, the literature that we dealt with in this study provides a reflection of the self-understanding of the Chronicler's community. This self-understanding might not coincide with the flesh-and-blood society of that time—and it might be a reflection of only a part of that society—but it nevertheless provides an impression of the processes of self-identification within the Yehudite community.

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[41] See Thomas Willi's description of the phase of new national identity formation after the proclamation of the province of Yehud (*Juda – Jehud – Israel: Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Judentums in persischer Zeit* [FAT 12; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995], 18–39).

[42] This conclusion is supported by the fact that approximately half of the instances of direct-speech *Sondergut* occur in passages that deal with cultic reform or transgression.

APPENDIX
Person Constellations and Themes in Direct-Speech *Sondergut** of 2 Chronicles 10–36

King	Head	Following DS	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Relationship / Themes	Lit. context
Rehoboam	12:5c	12:5d (12:5e-f)	Shemaiah, the prophet | Yahweh	Rehoboam + the princes of Judah (cf. 12:5a) || Rehoboam + the princes of Judah (cf. 12:5a)	| Messenger formula || Rebuke, because they have abandoned Yahweh – Announcement that Yahweh will abandon them through Shishak	Battle account
	12:6b	12:6b	The princes of Israel + The king	? (probably Yahweh)	Humbling themselves before Yahweh	
	12:7c	12:7d-8b	The word of Yahweh	Shemaiah	Pardon, because they have humbled themselves – will nevertheless serve Shishak	
Abijah	13:4b	13:4c-12d	Abijah	Jeroboam + All-Israel (cf. 13:12c) Israelites (cf. 13:4c)	We (Davidides/Covenant by God of Israel/ Appreciated priests and Levites/Yahweh on their side) <> They (Israel/Abandoned priests and Levites)	Battle Account/ Cultic comparison
Asa	14:6a	14:6b-g	Asa	Judah	Encouragement to build cities, because the land belongs to them, for they have sought Yahweh	Cultic reform/ City building
	14:10b	14:10c-h	Asa	Yahweh his God	Prayer to Yahweh for help in battle against Cushites	Battle account
	15:2b	15:2c-7c	Azariah, the son of Oded	Asa	Stating the two ways: seeking Yahweh or abandoning him – Encouragement for king	
	16:7b	16:7c-9c	Hanani, the seer	Asa	Rebuke, because Asa relied on King of Aram	Battle account

- *Direct-speech *Sondergut:* The following are included here: (1) Direct speech in passages that were newly introduced by the Chronicler; (2) direct speeches that were newly introduced by the Chronicler in passages that were already present in the *Vorlage*.
- Direct-speech passages that were slightly changed or of which the speaker(s) or addressee(s) have been changed are not included here.
- Primary and secondary direct speech: Where direct speech is embedded in direct speech (so-called secondary direct speech) the different levels of communication are indicated with the \| and \|\| symbols.

King	Head	Following DS	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Relationship / Themes	Lit. context
Jehoshaphat	19:2b	19:2c-3c	Jehu, the son of Hanani, the seer	Jehoshaphat	Rebuke, because he helped the wicked but also approval of cultic reformations	Battle account/ Cultic reform
	19:6a	19:6b-7d	Jehoshaphat	The judges	Reminder that they are judging on behalf of Yahweh	Cultic reform (of judicial system)
	19:9a	19:9b-11f	Jehoshaphat	Levites, priests, and heads of households (cf. 19:8a)	Command to priests to act as judges and instructors, and to Levites to serve them as officers	
	20:2b	20:2c-d	Undetermined plural (?)	Jehoshaphat	Information/Warning	
	20:6a	20:6b-8b (20:9a-f) 20:10a-12d	‖ Jehoshaphat ‖ The descendants of Abraham ‖ Jehoshaphat	‖ Yahweh (cf. 20:6b ‖ Yahweh ‖ Yahweh/God	‖ Close identification of Yahweh/God as the God of Judah (on account of temple) ‖ Identification with Yahweh ‖ Prayer for protection against Ammon, Moab, and Mt. Seir (as before with the exodus)	
	20:15a	20:15b-c (20:15d-17d) 20:17e-i	‖ Jehaziel, the Levite ‖ Yahweh ‖ Jehaziel, the Levite	‖ All-Judah, inhabitants of Jerusalem, King Jehoshaphat ‖ All-Judah, inhabitants of Jerusalem, King Jehoshaphat ‖ All-Judah, inhabitants of Jerusalem, King Jehoshaphat	‖ Call to listen ‖ Assurance by Yahweh that he will fight the battle for them ‖ Confirmation that Yahweh will be with them	Battle account
	20:20d	20:20e-i	Jehoshaphat	Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem	Call to believe in Yahweh and his prophets	
	20:21b	20:21c-d	Those who were to sing to Yahweh and to praise the holy splendor	Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem	Thanksgiving to Yahweh (Quote from Psalm)	
	20:37a	20:37b	Eleasar, the son of Dodavahu from Maresha	Jehoshaphat	Rebuke, because he joined with King Ahaziah of Israel	Cooperation with Israel

King	Head	Following DS	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Relationship / Themes	Lit. context
Jehoram	21:12a	21:12b (21:12c-15b)	|A letter from Elijah || Yahweh, the God of David your father	|Jehoram ||Jehoram	|Introduction of Yahweh-speech || Rebuke, because the king has walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and announcement of punishment	Cultic transgression / Battle account
Ahaziah	22:9g	22:9h-i	Citizens of Judah	?	Confirmation that Ahaziah has sought Yahweh	Cooperation with Israel
Joash	24:20c	24:20d (24:20e-h)	|Zechariah, the son of Jehoiadah the priest ||God	|The people ||The people	|Introduction of God-speech || Rebuke that the people transgressed the commandments of Yahweh; Announcement that Yahweh will forsake them	Cultic transgression
Joash	24:22d	24:22e-f	Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada the priest	Yahweh	Death wish that Yahweh will see and avenge	

King	Head	Following DS	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Relationship / Themes	Lit. context
Amaziah	25:7a	25:7b-8e	A man of God	King Amaziah	Warning not to form an alliance with the Israelite army	Battle account/ Cultic trans-gression
	25:9a	25:9b-c	King Amaziah	A man of God		
	25:9d	25:9e	A man of God	Amaziah		
	25:15c	25:15d-f	A prophet	Amaziah	Rebuke of idolatry	
	25:16b	25:16c-e	Amaziah	Prophet	Opposition to prophet	
	25:16g	25:16h-j	The prophet	Amaziah	Announcement that God will destroy him	
Uzziah	26:18b	26:18c-f	Azariah, the priest, and priests of Yahweh	King Uzziah	Warning to king not to take over the duties of the consecrated Aaronic priests	Cultic trans-gression
	26:23c	26:23d	The people of Judah	?	Explanation why king was buried outside the royal tombs	
Ahaz	28:9c	28:9d-11c	Oded, a prophet of Yahweh	The army who returned to Samaria	Rebuke against Samarian army because they have taken Judahites/Jerusalemites captive	Cultic trans-gression/ Battle account
	28:13a	28:13b-e	Chiefs of the Ephraimites	The army who returned to Samaria	Prohibition of bringing the captives to Samaria, because it will bring Yahweh's wrath on them	
	28:23b	28:23c-e	King Ahaz	?	The king declaring his allegiance with the gods of Damascus	Cultic trans-gression

King	Head	Following DS	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Relationship / Themes	Lit. context
Hezekiah	29:5a	29:5b-11b	King Hezekiah	The priests and the Levites	Call on Levites to sanctify themselves and to purify the temple (in contrast to their fathers, who have neglected the temple, and therefore experienced Yahweh's wrath)	
	29:18b	29:18c-19c	The priests and Levites	King Hezekiah	Report-back about cleansing	
	29:31b	29:31c-e	King Hezekiah	The assembly – including priests and Levites	Invitation to bring sacrifices and thank offerings	
	30:6b	30:6c-9d	The king	Israelites (from All-Israel and Judah)	Call to All-Israel and Judah to return to Yahweh	Cultic reform
	30:18c	30:18d-19b	Hezekiah	Yahweh (or those who did not cleanse themselves for the Passover?)	Prayer to Yahweh to pardon the Judahites	
	31:10b	31:10c-e	The chief priest, Azariah, from the House of Zadok	King Hezekiah	Declaration that the priests and temple are well supported.	
	32:4b	32:4c-d	People of Judah/Jerusalem	(The Assyrians?)	Expression of resistance against Assyrian kings	Battle account
	32:6c	32:7a-8b	King Hezekiah	Princes of battle	Encouragement for battle against Assyrians	
	32:9c + 32:17a	32:10-15e + 32:17b-c	Not regarded as *Sondergut*—although a change of speaker has been made in Chronicles, the speech remains approximately the same as reflected in Kings.			

King	Head	Following DS	Speaker(s)	Addressee(s)	Relationship / Themes	Lit. context
Josiah	35:3a	35:3b-6c	King Josiah	Levites, who taught All-Israel and were holy to Yahweh	Instructions for the preparation of the Passover	Cultic reform
	35:21a	35:21b-f	Messengers (Implicit: Pharaoh Neco of Egypt)	King Josiah	Warning not to oppose God by attempting to stop the Egyptian onslaught	Battle account
	35:23b	35:23c-d	The King	His servants	Order to take him away from the battlefield, because he is seriously wounded	
Cyrus	36:22b	36:23a (36:23b-d)	| A voice (Implicit: King Cyrus) || King Cyrus of Persia	| His whole kingdom || His (Yahweh's) people	| Introduction of Cyrus-speech (messenger formula?) || Claim that Yahweh has charged him to let the temple be rebuilt in Jerusalem, and ordered him to let the exiles return to their land	Cultic reform

Simply Irresistible:
Augustus, Herod, and the Empire

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Recent scholarship has been arriving at increasingly appreciative evaluations of Herod the Great. A generation ago the consensus about Herod could be summed up with words and phrases like "ruthless," "little more than a creature of cruelty," or "one of the most wicked of men . . . ignorant [and] insensitive . . . bent solely on the affairs of this world."[1] Although such views still persist—a widely used introductory NT textbook describes Herod as "renowned for his ruthless exercise of power"—more and more frequently we read that "Herod was not a monster," but rather a leader whose actions, within their historical context, were "reasonable."[2] He can now be described as "thoroughly in tune with the cultural developments of his age," and as a ruler who "wished to convey to his people a new self-confidence in the spirit of the age."[3] Ehud Netzer expressed the emerging new perspective well when he closed his magisterial book on Herod with these words:

[1] A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938), xi; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Herod of Judea," in *The Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. 10, *The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 321; and Stewart Perowne, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 179–80.

[2] Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (4th ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 234; Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Studies on Personalities of the New Testament; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 314; Duane W. Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 259.

[3] Karl Galinsky, "The Augustan Programme of Cultural Renewal and Herod" (unpublished paper); Henner von Hesberg, "The Significance of the Cities in the Kingdom of Herod," in *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence: Acts of*

He was a practical and thorough man, with a broad world view, outstanding orga-
nizational talent and improvisational ability (in the best sense of the term), able
to adapt himself to his surroundings and to changing situations—a man who
anticipated the future and had his two feet planted firmly on the ground.[4]

Herod the Great has been getting a makeover.

The improvement in Herod's reputation is based on two significant changes in
the *status quaestionis*. First, an unprecedented amount of archaeological evidence
can now be brought to bear on historical analysis of Herod the Great. Excavations
at Caesarea Maritima, Herodium, Jericho, Jerusalem, Machaerus, Masada, and
Sebaste have dramatically expanded the scope of our database. Fifty years ago, Stew-
art Perowne's *The Life and Times of Herod the Great* devoted only fourteen pages to
discussion of all the archaeological sites just mentioned. In Netzer's book, analysis
of those sites takes up 356 pages. The new and more positive assessment of Herod
rests on evidence that was still in the ground when older, more pessimistic judg-
ments were being written.

Second, the rehabilitated Herod is considerably more Roman than his older
counterpart. In the new portrait of Herod, he faces west toward Rome and Augus-
tus rather than east toward the Hellenistic kingdoms, and he is described as "a
friend of the Romans" rather than as "an Arab monarch."[5] An earlier generation of
scholars certainly knew that Herod had traveled to Rome more than once and that
he had maintained a long and close relationship with Augustus, but this informa-
tion did not figure prominently in their judgments. Arnaldo Momigliano expressed
their collective sentiment when he wrote that Herod had "no deep understanding
of the spiritual values of Graeco-Roman civilization . . . [but] always retained the
suspicion and cruelty of an Oriental prince."[6] Recent scholarship, by contrast, sit-
uates Herod within the constellation of political, economic, social, and cultural
changes designated by the term "Romanization."[7] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, for

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*a Symposium Organized by the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the
Archaeological Institute, Georg-August-University of Göttingen at Jerusalem, November 3rd–4th
1988* (ed. Klaus Fittschen and Gideon Foerster; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften
in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd Series 215; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &
Ruprecht, 1996), 20.

[4] Ehud Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder* (TSAJ 117; Tübingen: Mohr
Siebeck, 2006), 306.

[5] Richardson, *Herod*, title page; Perowne, *Life and Times*, 121.

[6] Momigliano, "Herod of Judea," 321–22.

[7] The term (often spelled "Romanisation" in Europe) has an immense bibliography. Impor-
tant recent contributions include Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato, *Italy and the West: Compar-
ative Issues in Romanization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ramsay MacMullen,
Romanization in the Time of Augustus (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Greg D. Woolf,
Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul (Cambridge/New York: Cam-
bridge University Press, 1998); Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East: 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Cam-
bridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

example, has recently characterized the Roman Empire as "the construction of a new epistemological system," in which bodies of knowledge previously controlled by republican elites in the city of Rome were transformed into a diffused "multiplicity of knowledges that were linked and interconnected" around the Mediterranean world.[8] In addition, Ramsay MacMullen has described the spread of Romanization as a combination of "push" and "pull," meaning that both compulsion and attraction helped motivate participation in the empire. As MacMullen puts it, "Baths and wine and so forth recommended themselves to the senses without need of an introduction. They felt or they looked good."[9] From this perspective, Herod seems to have been not a petty eastern tyrant but rather an influential purveyor of powerful and attractive new Roman forms of knowledge.

In this article, I support the ongoing reinterpretation of Herod by offering two case studies in Herodian archaeology and Romanization. Specifically, I will compare two of Herod's most characteristic architectural achievements with two of those of his patron, Augustus Caesar. I will argue that previous discussion of this architecture has tended to overlook the element of attraction (or, in MacMullen's terms, the amount of "pull") in Herod's program of Romanization for Palestine. In this way, I will seek to advance the idea—already suggested by Peter Richardson, Duane W. Roller, Netzer, and Karl Galinsky—that Herod should be regarded as an unusually astute reader of the signs of his times. More than most in Palestine during the late first century B.C.E., he correctly understood which way the winds were blowing. Recognizing that old political, religious, and cultural patterns were passing away, and that a new synthesis—a first-century Mediterranean version of globalization—was on the way, Herod saw the Roman Empire coming. So he decided to get out front and help Augustus lead the parade.[10]

In the closing decades of the Roman Republic, politics became increasingly tormented, as military commanders acquired concentrations of power that the Senate found more and more difficult to control. The moment of crisis arrived in 44 B.C.E., after Julius Caesar openly transgressed some of the most cherished boundaries in the traditional system. But as Rome was turning itself from a republic into an empire, more than just politics was being shaken. The military successes of the Roman army were also generating social, cultural, and economic side effects that rippled outward (and inward) as Rome began to administer the regions conquered by the legions. Roman control was creating linkages between previously disconnected people and places around the Mediterranean, producing new classes of net-

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[8] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "*Mutatas Formas*: The Augustan Transformation of Roman Knowledge," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (ed. Karl Galinsky; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 81.

[9] MacMullen, *Romanization*, 134.

[10] The metaphor of Augustus "leading the parade" toward empire was included in an oral communication from Karl Galinsky. Here I extend his metaphor to include Herod.

worked professionals who were amassing new fortunes of wealth. At Praeneste in Lavinium, for example, an oracular shrine to the goddess Fortuna Primigenia was lavishly reconstructed on a magnificent scale by two local merchants whose personal circumstances had been enriched through business opportunities in new Roman territories.[11] Nor were the side effects of the emerging empire limited to the extremely wealthy: at Isola Sacra near Ostia, a necropolis of well-constructed early imperial tombs reflects the rising prospects of traders, shippers, doctors, and craftsmen in the area.[12] As the young Octavian began his public career, the traditional republican system in *all* its dimensions—military, political, social, cultural, and economic—was tearing through its seams.

After the assassination of Julius Caesar—an unsuccessful attempt to reassert senatorial control—the Second Triumvirate (Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus) was commissioned with the task of restoring stability. Octavian avenged Caesar's death by defeating Cassius and Brutus at Philippi in 42 b.c.e., and his victory over Antony in 31 b.c.e. at the battle of Actium brought the civil wars of Rome to an end. With peace secured, Octavian handed control of the restored *res publica* back to the Senate, which promptly did the only sensible thing and "commissioned him to continue taking care of it."[13] Over the next forty years Octavian (now Augustus) presided over the emergence of the empire from the remains of the republic. Among the monuments to his success are two architectural projects—specifically, two temples—that illustrate the skill and grace with which he symbolically presented an empire to the Senate and people of Rome.

No location was more central to Roman public life than the Forum Romanum. Yet the economic and social distress of the late republic was severe enough that by the time of Augustus some venerable structures in the Forum—including the Temple of Castor and the Temple of Concord—had fallen into disrepair. Upon his appointment as *princeps*, Augustus began to repair them, celebrating and refurbishing time-honored republican virtues and values. His effort was something more than mere traditionalism, however, for Augustus also placed an entirely new temple—the Temple of *Divus Iulius* ("the divine Julius")—right in the center of the Forum, amid the Regia, the Temple of Castor, and the Basilica Aemilia. This new temple reinforced Augustus's claim, also celebrated on coins and in inscriptions, to be *divi filius*, "the son of the divine." Thus, the rebuilding of the Forum Romanum was both "Augustan glorification . . . [and] a reaffirmation of the republican past" at the same time.[14] The new temple was designed in the Italian style—colonnaded,

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[11] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome,* vol. 2, *A Sourcebook* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 97–99.

[12] Ida Baldassare, Irene Bragantini, Chiara Morselli, and Franca Taglietti, *Necropoli di Porto Isola Sacra* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca della Stato, 1996).

[13] Beth Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2003), 59.

[14] Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 381.

directional, and set atop a platform—and the front of its platform was fashioned into a rostra, facing directly toward the older republican rostra at the other end of the Forum. The ships' prows on the republican rostra had come from the victory of the Roman navy at Antium in 338 B.C.E.; the ships' prows on the new imperial rostra came from Augustus's victory at Actium in 31. The two rostra now faced each other like bookends, linking Antium to Actium and republic to empire.[15] Thus, in Augustus's reconfiguration of the Forum Romanum, old and new were connected. Traditional republican temples to Castor and to Concord now stood in harmony and coherence with an imperial temple to *divus Iulius*. In this way the architecture of Augustus's renovated Forum Romanum joined the empire with all that Romans had always regarded as best in their history, religion, and culture, symbolically integrating the empire with the finest traditions of Rome. Passing through this Forum, between the two rostra, with temples new and refurbished all around, Romans would have noticed that the empire looked a lot like the republic, and a lot better.

Symbolic celebrations of Rome's past and present were also on display in the Forum Augustum, a magnificent marble complex designed and built by Augustus alongside the Forum Romanum and the Forum of Julius Caesar. Here there was no remodeling or refurbishing of older structures; instead, using his own personal funds, Augustus bought up a densely populated urban neighborhood, tore it down, and started fresh from the ground up. As a result, the Forum Augustum was laid out along conventional Roman architectural principles of axiality and symmetry. The one exception—the eastern corner—was caused by local property owners who refused to sell. Not wanting to undermine private property rights by taking the buildings by force (as had happened all too frequently during the late republican civil wars), Augustus worked around the recalcitrant few, and in the finished product, the break in the symmetry was rendered virtually imperceptible. In keeping with its coherent plan, access to the Forum Augustum was controlled through a limited number of points of entry. People did not wander into and out of this Forum; they were guided to vantage points that reinforced the comprehensive effect of the design.

That design celebrated Roman *imperium*, past and present. The Temple of Mars Ultor ("Mars the Avenger") dominated the complex, commemorating Augustus's victory at Philippi, where he "avenged" the assassination of Julius Caesar. This architectural symbol of Augustan power was situated, however, in the midst of an extensive array of traditional Roman symbols and images. In good Roman style, the temple was colonnaded, directional, and set atop a platform. Among the reliefs in its pediment were representations of Romulus and Roma. Matching exedra on either side—each 150 Roman feet in diameter—featured statues of Aeneas, the kings of Alba Longa, and Romulus. The lower levels of the colonnades on the long sides of the Forum were lined with niches holding statues of important leaders of Rome, including figures from both sides of the pre-Augustan civil wars. The gen-

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[15] Ibid., 379.

eral effect was of a Roman "hall of fame." All these references to Rome's past were oriented in axial symmetry around a statue of Augustus in the center of the plaza in front of the temple. Yet the Forum Augustum did not stop with appropriating the history of Rome; it went on to take up the history of Greece as well. A colossal statue of Alexander, symbolizing Greece's empire now overtaken by Rome, stood in an enclosure on one side of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the upper stories of the side colonnades were lined with caryatids, that is, sculptures that evoked the famed Erechtheum in Athens. With this constellation of visual symbols, the Forum Augustum took possession of both Roman and Greek history as its own, placing Augustus at the center of a grand marble celebration of Rome's imperial dominion. It was an unprecedented vision of the empire as the destiny toward which Rome had been moving throughout its long and distinguished history.

The public religious architecture of the Forum Romanum and Forum Augustum exemplifies Augustus's strategy of inspiring innovation by appealing to tradition, a strategy he pursued to great effect also in the arts and literature. The *Augustus of Prima Porta,* the Ara Pacis, Vergil's *Aeneid,* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are other examples of early imperial works of art and literature that celebrated the arrival of the empire.[16] Romans in general, and senators in particular, followed Augustus because he convinced them that the emerging empire was natural and good, a destiny to be welcomed and celebrated. He made empire seem real and attractive, even irresistible. His performance in this regard was so effective that during his own lifetime Augustus was widely worshiped as a god. As Galinsky has put it, "To many individual subjects throughout the empire it must have made perfect sense to construct the reality of an immensely powerful ruler in terms of divinity or something close to it."[17]

Like Augustus, Herod had a father who got him started in politics, and, like Augustus, Herod displayed a gift for navigating the troubled waters of the late republic and early empire. In 40 b.c.e., only seven years after he was appointed governor of Galilee—seven years during which Julius Caesar was assassinated, the Second Triumvirate was appointed, and Octavian was victorious at Philippi—Herod came to Rome, to the Forum Romanum, to the Senate, to be named client-king of Judea. He was thirty-three years old. In an act of uncharacteristically poor judgment, he sided with Antony against Octavian, but after Actium, Herod recovered with poise and daring. Throwing himself on Octavian's mercy, he asked to be judged, "not by *whose* friend I have been, but *how loyal* a friend" (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.390). It worked: Augustus promised that Herod would rule Judea "more securely than before" (ibid., 1.391), and he was loyal to Augustus for the rest of his life. Their

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[16] The definitive treatment is still Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (trans. Alan Shapiro; Jerome Lectures; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

[17] Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 323–24.

friendship was sustained by Herod's consistent ability to serve Roman interests in Palestine. Client-kings were not "a permanent part of the machinery of the Empire. Their rule was intended to be a preparatory stage to the full incorporation of their districts into the provincial system."[18] They were expected to socialize their subjects to the empire, and during his reign of nearly forty years, Herod faithfully guided the development of Palestine toward provincial status. He was, in the words of Richardson, "a secure point in Rome's eastern policy."[19] Among the monuments to his success are two architectural projects—specifically, two temples—that illustrate the skill and grace with which he symbolically presented the empire to the people of Palestine.

No location was more central to Jewish civilization than the temple in Jerusalem. The hill on which it stood had been sacred to Jews for centuries and thus was deeply inscribed with Jewish memory and custom. Yet the structure that stood atop that hill when Herod came to power did not quite measure up to Jewish memory and custom. According to Josephus, Herod acknowledged this embarrassing fact in a speech to the people of Judea: the Second Temple, he admitted, was not as tall as the temple of Solomon had been (*Ant.* 15.385). The time had come, he announced, to correct the deficiency. The potential obstacles to his project were daunting: the site was steeply sloping on two sides and hemmed in by urban construction; and Jewish priests would not lightly entrust the holy site to a Roman client. Undeterred, Herod won over the priests and proceeded to turn a relatively small ancient Near Eastern *naos* into one of the largest religious centers in the empire. Like the Forum Romanum, the temple in Jerusalem would undergo a renovation that respected tradition while transcending it.

To that end, Herod situated the rebuilt temple right where (according to tradition) the temple of Solomon had been. Sacrifices of the traditional sort would still be offered in the traditional way, but the new setting for those sacrifices would surpass the wildest dreams of priests in ancient Israel. The size of the temple was dramatically expanded by the construction of a massive platform of earth, measuring roughly 1,550 feet long (nearly as long as the Circus Maximus in Rome), 1,000 feet wide, and 100 feet high. The architecture that Herod set atop this platform was an intertextual evocation of multiple cultures and themes, including both ancient Israel and imperial Rome.[20] The structure of the *naos* itself, for example, reprised the Israelite tradition of successive enclosures with rising levels of purity, a vision of concentric holiness that had been built into the temple of Zerubbabel as well. Other architectural allusions, however, especially those around the perimeter,

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[18] Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 66.

[19] Richardson, *Herod*, 230. Martin Goodman agrees: "As it turned out, from the point of view of Rome the choice of Herod proved inspired" (*Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* [New York: Knopf, 2007], 53).

[20] Peter Richardson, *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2004), 278.

were unmistakably Roman. The platform, for example, was completely enclosed by colonnades in Roman style, and its southern end was taken up with a Roman basilica (the *stoa basileia*).[21] In addition, Herod added to the renovated temple a new feature that had never appeared in any previous version of the temple, either architectural or literary. This Herodian innovation was the Court of the Gentiles, a large area of the platform that was open to those who did not belong to the people of Israel. Its exact dimensions cannot be precisely determined, but by most estimates the Court of the Gentiles would have been the largest single architectural feature in Herod's temple, taking up between half and two-thirds of the surface area atop the platform.[22]

Scholars have generally tended to view Herod's innovation of the Court of the Gentiles as an expression of his desire to bring the Roman world to Jerusalem. "Why else would Herod have designed the Temple's massive Court of the Gentiles if he did not expect Gentiles to come there as curious tourists and/or pious pilgrims?"[23] Netzer has suggested that the *stoa basileia* was built "to enable Herod to receive, in full majesty, many of the guests and pilgrims who thronged to Jerusalem and the Temple Mount on the occasion of the various religious festivals."[24] This proposal is surely right, for the *stoa basileia* and the broad expanse of the Court of the Gentiles would certainly have made a strong impression on any visitor from abroad. However, although it is correct to regard Herod's temple as a kind of tourist attraction, this observation captures only half of the picture, for it overlooks the fact that the Court of the Gentiles would have impressed Jews from Palestine too. Herod's renovated temple thus had a double effect: it changed the way Romans thought about Jews *and* the way Jews thought about Romans. The Court of the Gentiles altered Jews' image of the empire, for in its wide and sunny plaza the Jewish temple was symbolically opened up to the empire.[25] Whenever a Gentile entered that generous space, and whenever a Jew crossed it on the way to offer sacrifice, empire and temple came together. Herod's Court of the Gentiles represented harmony and coherence between empire and temple, and, as such, it was more than an

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[21] Roller, *Building Program*, 91–92.

[22] For plausible but not identical reconstructions, see Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, 138–40, 160–61, 165–71; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide: From Earliest Times to 1700* (4th ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 81; Jonathan L. Reed and John Dominic Crossan, *Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001), 197–98; Richardson, *Building Jewish*, 287–88, 293–94. For richly detailed illustrations, see Leen Ritmeyer, *The Quest: Revealing the Temple Mount in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006).

[23] Reed and Crossan, *Excavating Jesus*, 167; see also Richardson, *Building Jewish*, 278.

[24] Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, 275–76.

[25] "There was a homologous relationship between the external conditions of the Empire and the internal arrangements within Judaism's temple" (Richardson, *Building Jewish*, 294).

expression of Herod's effort to change the image of Jews in the Roman world. It was also part of his effort, based on his responsibilities as a Roman client, to socialize the Jews of Palestine to the Roman Empire. The Court of the Gentiles linked the empire with all that Jews had always regarded as best in their history, religion, and culture. Taking a page from Augustus, who reconfigured the Forum Romanum to integrate the empire with the finest traditions of Rome, Herod reconfigured the temple to integrate the empire with the finest traditions of Judaism.

Symbolic celebrations of the empire are central also to the Herodian architecture at Caesarea Maritima, a fully equipped Roman city built by Herod on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Today the site offers a striking juxtaposition of nature and archaeology, as waves wash up alongside the remains of a Roman theater, palace, hippodrome, baths, orthogonal street plan, artificial harbor, temple, amphitheater, and aqueduct, all built by Herod the Great. Between 22 and 12 B.C.E.—contemporaneous with the construction of the Forum Augustum in Rome—Herod transformed a tiny and insignificant site previously known as Strato's Tower into a complete (and completely new) imperial city. At Caesarea there were few obstacles in the terrain, and none in the tradition, so Herod was able to build from the ground up. Like the Forum Augustum in Rome, the result would be a coherent and compelling architectural complex.

In the center of this complex, that is, at the intersection of the *cardo maximus* and the *decumanus maximus*, and facing the harbor, Herod built a temple to Roma and Augustus. The remains of this temple are not well preserved, since in subsequent centuries an early Christian church, a medieval mosque, and a medieval church each successively stood on the site.[26] Yet excavations indicate that Herod's temple was late republican in design: colonnaded, directional, and set atop a podium. The podium rose thirteen meters above sea level, an elevation that made the temple the most prominent landmark in Caesarea, visible from everywhere in the city, and from far out to sea as well.[27] A noteworthy aspect of this eye-catching temple was its orientation: it was not aligned with the city's orthogonal street plan, for it was not parallel to either the *cardo maximus* or the *decumanus maximus*. Instead, it was cocked approximately thirty degrees to the northwest, setting it in alignment with the harbor rather than the city. Josephus remarks that Herod's construction of the harbor was shaped by nautical factors, that is, by the direction of the prevailing winds and probably also sea currents (*Ant.* 15.338), and the orientation of the temple identifies it as part of the harbor complex.

Recent scholarship has tended to regard Herod's architecture at Caesarea Maritima as an assertion of Roman power. According to Jonathan L. Reed and John Dominic Crossan, for example, the message was "*Rome Rules! . . .* [It] communi-

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[26] Kenneth G. Holum, "Caesarea," *OEANE* 1:399–404.
[27] Roller, *Building Program*, 138.

cated even to the dullest mind that Rome and its representatives stood at the top of the social pyramid and held absolute control over the land."[28] Certainly that observation is correct, since every visitor to Caesarea Maritima would have noticed the temple of Roma and Augustus. Yet this perspective captures only half the picture, for it overlooks the fact that Caesarea Maritima did not celebrate Roman *imperium* merely by a show of brute force. Herod's architecture at Caesarea also invited participation in the empire by making the empire seem attractive. MacMullen's observation about baths and wine applies equally well to Caesarea's theater, hippodrome, orthogonal street plan, amphitheater, and aqueduct: they "commended themselves to the senses without need of an introduction. They felt or they looked good."[29] As if to reinforce the point, at the very center of Caesarea Maritima, the city that formed the most complete imperial footprint in his kingdom, Herod built a temple that was visibly askew from the *cardo* and *decumanus*. Atop a thirteen-meter podium, it loomed high over the city in alignment with the harbor, symbolically drawing attention to Caesarea's connection with the Mediterranean Sea. At the time of Herod, Rome was in the process of transforming that sea into its own private lake. Under the empire, the Mediterranean would be open for business as never before, with ships and people crossing it on a daily basis, carrying with them commerce, communication, and culture. Herod built Caesarea Maritima to be Palestine's broadband link to the Mediterranean, and thereby to the emerging networks of new knowledge, power, and prosperity around the empire. The temple to Roma and Augustus, set on high and deftly awry, gently tilted the city's axis of orientation out to sea, toward a wider world with which Herod was already familiar, and which he knew would bring to Palestine benefits previously unforeseen. In this way, this temple helped socialize Herod's subjects to the Empire by inviting them to participate in it. Like the Forum Augustum in Rome, where images of Roma and Augustus also figured prominently, Caesarea Maritima employed new construction on a grand scale to create a comprehensive vision of the empire as a destiny to be welcomed.

Roller and Netzer have noted that Herod's building program appears to have been influenced by structures that he viewed during his visits to Rome. In this regard they agree that the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Julius Caesar, perhaps the quintessential example of late republican temple architecture, stands out as a likely source of inspiration. With columns on the front and sides, directional, set atop a podium, and enclosed by colonnades, it was located directly alongside the Forum Romanum, where Herod would have seen it a number of times. Plausible as that observation may be, the identification of possible influences, precursors, and parallels to Herod's religious architecture is only a prelude to historical analysis of that architecture. The larger and more important task is to situate

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[28] Reed and Crossan, *Excavating Jesus*, 61.
[29] MacMullen, *Romanization*, 134.

Herod's building program in the context of the early empire. To that end, I have argued that previous discussion of Herod's temples at Jerusalem and Caesarea Maritima has underestimated the amount of "pull" they exerted toward Romanization in Palestine. I have further argued that, like Augustus, Herod created religious structures that made the empire seem real, natural, good, and attractive, perhaps even irresistible. These temples drew Herod's subjects toward willing participation in the empire.

Herod's religious architecture at Jerusalem and Caesarea Maritima can be added to the mounting evidence in support of the conclusion that, as Rome's client-king in Palestine, Herod conducted himself with extraordinary and consistent clarity of vision. Neither he nor Augustus created the empire, nor did they create the conditions that eventually produced it. Over a long period of time, Roman military leaders had done that, as (among others) Scipio, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar steadily expanded the dominion of Rome until an entirely new configuration of politics, economics, and society finally became a necessity. Coming to power at the critical moment of transition, however, Augustus and Herod were both able to recognize that the material and social conditions of their world had changed, and that Roman administrative control was going to generate a new pattern for civilization. Augustus stepped out front to lead the parade, and Herod fell right in step behind him.

For this reason, the new and more positive perspective on Herod is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction, a necessary corrective to the excesses of an earlier generation of scholarship. The architectural achievements analyzed here are certainly not the work of a "creature of cruelty," nor of a leader for whom the description "renowned for his ruthless exercise of power" is adequate. In this regard, it is noteworthy that both Richardson and Netzer have suggested that Herod himself may have designed many of his buildings.[30] The sophistication of these structures and their resonance with the most important currents in the larger world of his day firmly establish Herod as a figure of high prominence in the early history of the Roman Empire. They also establish him as a figure of unparalleled prominence in the history of the Romanization of Palestine.

[30] Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, 295–300; Richardson, *Herod*, 247.

Luke 16:16: The Good News of God's Kingdom Is Proclaimed and Everyone Is Forced into It

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In Luke 16:16 Jesus declares: ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου· ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. The last words, καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται, are lacking in some manuscripts;[1] this may be a sign of a certain difficulty with these words and their meaning. In fact, modern translations, as I shall argue, generally are unsatisfying precisely in regard to these words. The NRSV renders: "The law and the prophets were in effect until John came; since then, the good news of the kingdom of God is proclaimed, and everyone tries to enter it by force," and the RSV has: "The law and the prophets were until John; since then, the good news of the kingdom of God is preached, and everyone enters it violently." The God's Word translation runs as follows: "Moses' teachings and the prophets were in force until the time of John. Since that time, people have been telling the good news about the kingdom of God, and everyone is trying to force their way into it." The KJV and the Webster translation have: "The law and the prophets [were] until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached and every man presseth into it." The ASV runs as follows: "The law and the prophets [were] until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached and every man entereth violently into it."[2] Luther renders: "Das

[1] I.e., the first hand in the Sinaiticus (fourth–fifth century, London), G (tenth century, London), 788 (tenth century, Athens), and 716 (fourteenth century, London). See, e.g., the critical apparatus of Andreas Merk, *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1984).

[2] The Darby Bible translates: "The law and the prophets [were] until John: from that time the glad tidings of the kingdom of God are announced and everyone forces his way into it." The

Gesetz und die Propheten weissagen bis auf Johannes, und von der Zeit wird das Reich Gottes durchs Evangelium gepredigt, und jedermann dringt mit Gewalt hinein."[3] The Italian CEI translation runs: "La Legge e i Profeti fino a Giovanni; da allora in poi viene annunciato il Regno di Dio e ognuno si sforza per entrarvi," and similarly other modern versions,[4] such as the Spanish Reina-Valera version: "La ley y los profetas eran hasta Juan; desde entonces el reino de Dios es anunciado, y todos se esfuerzan por entrar en él," and the French Bible de Jérusalem translation: "Jusqu'à Jean ce furent la loi et les prophètes; depuis lors le royaume de Dieu est annoncé, et tous s'efforcent d'y entrer par violence."

While the modern versions and almost all commentators understand the last words of this verse as "everyone endeavors to enter it" or "forces his way into it," I do not think that this interpretation is correct, mainly because the Gospel of Luke itself records many cases in which the proclamation of the kingdom encounters opposition or indifference, certainly not enthusiastic adherence, for example, Luke 4:16–30 (Jesus preaches in the Nazareth synagogue, but his public is indignant and they even want to kill him); 9:53 (Jesus is granted no hospitality in a Samaritan village); 15:2 (the Pharisees and the scribes criticize Jesus); 16:1–15 (the Pharisees disagree with Jesus' teaching concerning riches); 19:7 (Jesus is criticized because he dwells in a sinner's house),[5] to which of course we must add that Jesus is finally put to death. Furthermore, the refusal of Jesus' preaching in Luke 16:1–15 comes immediately before the kingdom logion in Luke 16:16.

Thus, against almost all of the commentators, who generally take βιάζεται in 16:16 either as "endeavors, tries hard"[6] or as "uses force on, against,"[7] I think that βιάζεται here must be interpreted as a passive: "The kingdom of God is being preached and everyone is forced into it."[8] In my view it is probably a theological pas-

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Bible in Basic English similarly renders: "The law and the prophets were till John: but then came the preaching of the kingdom of God, and everyone makes his way into it by force."

[3] The 1984 revised Luther version only changes details in wording, but it maintains the same interpretation: "Das Gesetz und die Propheten reichen bis zu Johannes. Von da an wird das Evangelium vom Reich Gottes gepredigt, und jedermann drängt sich mit Gewalt hinein."

[4] E.g., Piero Rossano, *Vangelo secondo Luca* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1984), 147: "La Legge e i Profeti vanno fino a Giovanni; da allora c'è il lieto annuncio del Regno di Dio, e ognuno gli fa violenza."

[5] This is rightly remarked by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (2 vols.; AB 28, 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1981, 1985), 2:1117.

[6] So, e.g., Hans Conzelmann, John Martin Creed, Frederick William Danker, Erich Klostermann, Norman Perrin, Alfred Plummer, Karl H. Rengstorf, Gerhard Schneider, and Gottlob Schrenk.

[7] So, e.g., Erich Dinkler, Alfred Loisy, Alfred Robert Clare Leaney, Matthew Black, Adolf Schlatter.

[8] This understanding has been suggested or adopted by a few scholars (Frédéric Godet, *Commentaire sur l'évangile de saint Luc* [2 vols.; Neuchâtel: Monnier, 1969], 2:259; Philippe H. Menoud, "Le sens du verbe *biazetai* dans Luc 16,16," in *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R. P.*

sive, all the more in that God is mentioned immediately before, as the Lord of the kingdom itself. Everyone is pushed by God into his kingdom—of course, through its proclamation.

A strong piece of evidence in support of my exegesis is, to my mind, the exact conceptual parallel that is found in Luke 14:23. Here the kingdom of God is presented as a banquet to which a man—who symbolizes God[9]—invites all, including the poor, the blind, and all sorts of handicapped persons (14:21: τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀναπείρους καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς εἰσάγαγε ὧδε), and when his servant tells him that there is still room, he orders him to go out again and summon all and force everyone to enter: καὶ ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν, ἵνα γεμισθῇ μου ὁ οἶκος, "And force anyone to enter, that my house may be filled" (Vg: et conpelle intrare, ut impleatur domus mea).[10] So, according to this Lukan parable, God wishes to force everyone to enter the kingdom, which, in the active form, perfectly corresponds to the passive form in Luke 16:16: "The kingdom of God is being proclaimed and everyone is forced into it" by God. For I think that we ought to read Luke 16:16 in the light of other Lukan passages, and first of all of the aforementioned parable, which is strongly consistent with the logion in 16:16, rather than in the light of its Synoptic parallel.

In fact, the forced harmonization with Matt 11:11–12, which is usually considered the parallel to our Lukan passage, is, to my mind, misleading. The Matthean passage reads: οὐκ ἐγήγερται ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν μείζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ· ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν.[11] In the NRSV this passage reads: "Truly I tell you, among those born of women no one has arisen greater than John the Baptist; yet the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven has suffered

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Béda Rigaux [ed. Albert Descamps and André de Halleux; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970], 207–12; José-María Bover and José O'Callaghan, *Nuevo Testamento trilingüe* [BAC 400; Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1977]; and Fitzmyer, *Luke,* 2:1117–18), but with no systematic argument or detailed linguistic and philological analysis. These I intend to offer here, reinforcing them with arguments that derive from Luke's Gospel itself, from the ancient translations, and from patristic exegesis.

[9] This man is rich but is not called πλούσιος, which in Luke conveys a negative characterization; see Alan Sherouse, "'Some Rich Dude': Reading *anthropos tis plousios* in Luke's Parables," paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting in Vienna, July 22–26, 2007.

[10] The idea of forcing everyone in is lacking in the parallel passage in the *Gos. Thom.* 64:10: "The master said to his servant: Go to the outer lying parts, to the streets, and bring in anyone you happen to find, so that they may dine" (trans. Nicholas Perrin, *Thomas and Tatian: The Relationship between the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron* [Academia Biblica 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002], 117).

[11] See David R. Catchpole, "On Doing Violence to the Kingdom," *JTSA* 25 (1978): 50–71.

violence, and the violent take it by force." Here βιάζεται certainly is a passive and is attested by all manuscripts; only the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* has the variant reading διαρπάζεται.[12] Luke, having a source in common with Matthew (for which see also below and the appendix), puts Jesus' words in quite a different way, as is proved by the use of the same verb, βιάζεται, in the passive diathesis—as I think—in both cases, but with two different subjects, πᾶς in Luke and ἡ βασιλεία in Matthew, and as is demonstrated by the perfect parallel of the Lukan parable, where all are forced by the master (i.e., God, who is not even mentioned in the Matthean passage, which speaks of "kingdom of heaven," but is well present in Luke 16:16, where the kingdom is "of God") to enter his house. Now, this seems to me all the more significant in that the parallel parable in Matt 22:1–14 (where the protagonist is a king, ἄνθρωπος βασιλεύς, not ἄνθρωπός τις, "a person," as in Luke), does *not* include the exhortation "force anyone to enter, that my house may be filled" (it simply has ὅσους ἐὰν εὕρητε, καλέσατε εἰς τοὺς γάμους, "invite to the wedding feast whomever you find"). This strongly reinforces the impression that Luke considered the words of the master in the parable to be parallel to Jesus' words concerning the kingdom: just as the master forces all to enter his house, God (for βιάζεται is clearly a theological passive) forces all to enter his kingdom.

In my view, it is better to read Luke 16:16 in the light of Luke itself—a book endowed with a strong unity and characterizations of its own[13]—and in particular of the perfect conceptual parallel of Luke 14:23, than to try to harmonize it with its corresponding passage in Matthew, although the latter choice is typical not only of many modern translators and commentators but also of several ancient translators and patristic interpreters (as we shall see in a moment)—but there are important exceptions, which I shall point out—and even of early scribes. Indeed, a further proof that the interpretation of Luke 16:16 has been influenced by Matt 11:13 since the first centuries is the variant reading ἕως instead of μέχρι in MSS. A D W Θ Ψ° and in the so-called Koine textual tradition,[14] probably as a result of a scribal harmonization with Matt 11:13. It is clear that both Matthew and Luke depend on the same saying, but it is not certain that Matthew has preserved it more faithfully or

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[12] See, e.g., the critical apparatus of Merk, *Novum Testamentum*.

[13] See, e.g., on the theological plane, François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research* (2nd rev. ed.; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005), esp. 503–64 (with a survey of scholarship from 1980 onward), who deals extensively with Luke's soteriology, and, on the narratological and interpretive plane, Mikeal C. Parsons, *Luke: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), precisely on Luke as an original interpreter of the materials transmitted by the tradition.

[14] A = London, fifth century; D = Cambridge, fifth/sixth century (Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis); W = Washington, fourth-fifth century; Θ = Tiflis, ninth century; Ψ° = Athos, eighth-ninth century. The Koine recension, also called Byzantine recension, is a group of manuscripts divided into three subclasses for the Gospels (see, e.g., Andreas Merk and Giuseppe Barbaglio, eds., *Nuovo Testamento Greco e italiano* [Bologna: Dehoniane, 1990], 37).

has understood it more precisely. For example, Fitzmyer has observed that, in the reference to "the Law and the Prophets," Luke 16:16 has preserved the more primitive order,[15] as is the case in other passages of Luke-Acts (Luke 16:29, 31; Acts 13:15; 24:14; 28:23), whereas the Matthean parallel has the reverse: "the Prophets and the Law."[16]

Important support for the reading of Luke 16:16 that I am proposing comes also from the investigation of the Latin translations of this passage and of its Synoptic parallel. The Vg translates Luke 16:16 in the following way: Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem. Ex eo regnum Dei evangelizatur et omnis in illud vim facit.[17] But the VL is much more telling. In Luke 16:16, it presents discrepancies among the various attestations, even more than usual.[18] The most important variant reading is that of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (a fifth-century manuscript that probably transmits a much earlier translation),[19] fol. 252a, which is completely different from that of the Vg and strongly supports my understanding of the Greek original: Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohanen [*sic*] prophetarunt/a quo Regnum Dei evangelizat/et omnes in eam conatur, which clearly means, "The Law and the Prophets prophesied until John: starting from him, he proclaims the good news of the kingdom of God and endeavors to drive all into it."[20] The meaning of both verbs, thanks to the syntactic parallel and the identity of the implied subject, is patently active: only *conantur* could have *omnes* as its subject, but *conatur* can have *omnes* only as

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[15] Attested in Qumran texts such as 1QS 1:3; 8:15–16; 6Q15 3:4.

[16] Fitzmyer, *Luke,* 2:1116.

[17] For Matt 11:11–12 the Vg translation runs as follows: Non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Iohanne Baptista. Qui autem minor est in regno caelorum maior est illo. A diebus autem Iohannis Baptistae usque nunc regnum caelorum vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud. In three manuscripts (ZGΦ) instead of *rapiunt* we have *diripiunt.*

[18] Cf. *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung* (ed. A. Jülicher; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1954), 187–88; and *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae* (ed. P. Sabatier; Remis: Reginaldum Florentain, 1743), 3:338–39.

[19] Codex Bezae includes the Greek text and the Latin version of the Gospels and Acts: it was presented by Theodore Beza to the University of Cambridge in 1581 and, according to Antonio Ammassari, was written at the beginning of the fifth century. For this manuscript and its relevance to NT textual criticism, see Antonio Ammassari, *Il Vangelo di Matteo nella colonna latina del* Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996); and idem, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis: Copia esatta del manoscritto onciale greco-latino* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996), 517, with a review article of both books by Ilaria Ramelli in *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 52 (1998): 171–78, with further documentation.

[20] The exact meaning does not seem to have been grasped by Ammassari (*Il Vangelo di Matteo,* 123), who devotes only a brief and generic statement to Luke 16:16 in Codex Bezae: "Le quattro note sui farisei . . . sul Regno di Dio che dev'essere conquistato con slancio (*Lc* 16,16) . . . sembrano introdotte ai fini pratici di completezza del Vangelo, secondo le esigenze dei lettori e della sinossi con i Vangeli precedenti, divenuti paralleli." The translation of Codex Bezae, in contrast to the Vg, does *not* harmonize Luke's text with the Matthew parallel.

its object. So, the general sense of the sentence in Codex Bezae perfectly corresponds to my interpretation of the Greek text: Jesus proclaims the kingdom and drives all into it, that is, the kingdom is proclaimed and everyone is forced to enter it. An active meaning seems to be implied also by the variant reading in Codex Sangermanensis 2 of the VL, *ex eo Regnum Dei evangelizantur:* a passive sense would obviously require *evangelizatur*, but *evangelizantur* can only have *Regnum Dei* as its object, certainly not as its subject.[21] A complete uniformity in meaning, instead, is displayed by the witnesses of the VL for Matt 11:12.[22]

The Syriac translations,[23] which, like the VL, are more ancient than the Vg, at least the first of them, are very different from the Vg rendering and extremely interesting as well with respect to the confirmation they offer of my understanding of Luke 16:16. While the rest of v. 16 is almost identical in all four versions (Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta, and Harklean), the last segment, corresponding to the words εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται, differs dramatically: each version has a translation of its own. This is clearly a sign of difficulty: precisely those words were evidently felt to be a problem. What is more, only the most ancient version, that of the Sinaiticus, which represents the oldest known layer of the so-called Vetus Syra (VS) and is extremely important for its exceptionally ancient Greek *Vorlage* and its interpretations based on a very early tradition,[24] clearly takes βιάζεται to be a passive. It

[21] Tertullian, instead, is a witness to the more widespread passive form: Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem, ex quo Regnum Dei annuntiatur (*Marc.* 4.726B).

[22] Sabatier (*Versiones*, 3:64) gives this version in the text: A diebus autem Ioannis Baptistae usque ad nunc Regnum coelorum vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud. Codex Sangermanensis 1 has: Regnum coelorum vim patitur et violenti diripiunt illud. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4.37) has: et qui vim faciunt diripiunt illud; Hilarius (*In Matt.* 664C): Regnum coelorum vim patitur et vim facientes diripiunt illud (the same also in *In Psalmos* 2.46.51D and 134.470F). Similar is the version by Paulinus of Nola in Letter 25.168B: vim patitur regnum coelorum et qui vim faciunt rapiunt illud; 24.155C: Regnum coelorum a diebus Ioannis vim patitur [variant reading: *vi petitur*] et a diripientibus obtinetur. Ambrose (*Cain* 4) slightly alters the wording: Regnum coelorum cogitur et cogentes diripiunt illud. The following attestations are rather homogeneous: Jerome (*Ezech.* 18): et violenti diripiunt illud; Augustine (*Serm. Dom.* 1): Regnum coelorum vim patitur et qui vim faciunt diripiunt illud (so also in *In Job* 3.1; *Quaest. in Lucam* 2); Optatus (*Contra Donatum* 5.85A): Regnum Dei vim patitur et qui vim faciunt diripiunt illud (variant reading: *possident eum*).

[23] I use George Anton Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels, Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshîṭtâ and Ḥarklean Versions* (4 vols.; NTTS 21; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 3:333–34 on Luke 16:16.

[24] The VS is the most ancient version of the Gospels after Tatian's lost *Diatessaron* (which survives in fragments, mostly thanks to Ephraem's commentary). Known in Syriac as the "Gospel of the Separated" (in reference to its distinction from the *Diatessaron*), it dates to the late second century in its earliest phases, and its late phases date to the early fourth. It is likely that the VS originally extended to Acts and the Epistles, but neither section is included in the surviving manuscripts. The Sinaiticus palimpsest (S) and the Curetonianus manuscript (C) represent two different stages of the VS. The former (MS. Syr. Sin. 30) is a palimpsest from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai: its original leaves date back to the fourth century, and it reflects a still

translates: ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܘܗܟܕܝܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܘܢܒܘܬܗ, "The Law and the Prophets until John. Then, the king-dom of God is proclaimed and every human being is [or: will be] pushed into it." The crucial word, for us, is ܡܬܚܛܦ, which renders βιάζεται: it is a participle of the passive form, used with full verbal force—as often happens in Syriac—in a plu-ral form, "are pressed, will be pressed," with a *concordantia ad sensum*: the subject, "every human person," expresses a plurality and means "all persons." Thus, the ear-liest Syriac version known to us,[25] that of Sinaiticus, interprets Jesus' words in Luke as meaning that, after the proclamation of the kingdom, everyone is forced, or will be forced—the Syriac participle can also bear a future sense—to enter it: literally, all will be pushed (ܡܬܚܛܦ) into it (ܠܗ).

The later versions of the Curetonianus[26] and the Peshitta (fifth century)[27] interpret βιάζεται in an active sense and render it through an active participle of the same verb (ܚܛܦ). The former runs as follows: ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܢܒܝܘ. ܡܟܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܚܡ ܚܛܦ ܠܗ, "The Law and the Prophets prophesied until John. Then, the kingdom of God is proclaimed and everyone is pushing in(to) it," where ܚܛܦ is a participle of the active form, that is, an active participle of the *peal* form.

The Peshitta has: ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ. ܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܘܟܠ ܠܗ ܚܛܦ ܐܢܫܐܘ, "The Law and the Prophets until John.

From then on, the kingdom of God is proclaimed and everyone who makes violence pushes into it," where the subject of the active participle ܡܚܒ can only be ܟܠ, "everyone." But the translation "everyone who makes violence pushes into it" is not justified at all by the Greek text of Luke 16:16 as we have it, where there is only πᾶς, not πᾶς ὁ βιάζων or πᾶς ὁ βιαστής and the like. It rather reveals an effort at harmonization with Matt 11:12. Not ܡܚܒ, but a totally different verb for βιάζομαι is found in the Harklean version (seventh century),[28] which offers yet another interpretation: ܟܬܒܘܢܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ. ܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܩܛܝܪܐ ܒܗ ܕܒܪ ܠܗ, "The Law and the Prophets until John. From then on, the kingdom of God is proclaimed and every human being with violence takes it." This translation, like the Peshitta, does not render πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται (since in Greek there is neither the verb "to take" nor the substantive "violence," and the Greek verb is not transitive), but rather it tries to harmonize Luke 16:16 with Matt 11:12. This is all the more evident from a careful analysis of all four Syriac versions of Matt 11:12. In the Peshitta and, even more, in the Harklean version we find the very same words that their translators also use to render Luke 16:16, namely, ܒܩܛܝܪܐ ("with violence"), ܕܒܪ ("to take"), and ܩܛܝܢܐ ("violent people").[29] In contrast, Sinaiticus and Curetonianus, both representatives of the VS, translate Luke 16:16 in a manner completely different from their rendering of Matt 11:12, with an entirely different vocabulary, referring to the "conquest" of the kingdom on the part of the "violent people." Most remarkably, in these two manuscripts, *none* of the Syriac terms that translate βιάζεται, βιασταί, and ἁρπάζουσιν in the Matthean passage occurs again to render βιάζεται εἰς αὐτήν in Luke 16:16.[30]

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[28] It was completed in 616 in a monastery outside Alexandria by Thomas of Ḥarqel, who revised the Peshitta on the basis of a former revision promoted by Philoxenus of Mabbug (mainly for theological reasons) and completed by his chorepiscopus Polycarp in 508. The Harklean version, which covers the whole of the NT, is an extremely literal translation from Greek into unintelligible Syriac, based on a highly refined translation technique. See Brock, *Bible in the Syriac*, 19–20, 35–37. The Kiraz edition for this version is based primarily on one of the earliest witnesses to this text, MS. Vat. Syr. 268, considered by Angelo Mai to have been written by Thomas of Ḥarqel himself. In any case, the manuscript dates to the eighth or early ninth century.

[29] The Peshitta translates: ܡܢ ܝܘܡܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܒܩܛܝܪܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܐ. ܘܩܛܝܢܐ ܡܚܛܦܝܢ ܠܗ, "From the days of John the Baptist to now, instead, the kingdom of heaven with violence is taken, and violent people (will) conquer it." The Harklean version has: ܡܢ ܝܘܡܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܒܩܛܝܪܐ ܡܬܚܛܦܐ. ܘܩܛܝܢܐ ܡܚܛܦܝܢ ܠܗ, "But from the days of John the Baptist to now, the kingdom of heaven with violence is taken, and violent people (will) conquer it."

[30] The Sinaiticus, in fact, renders: ܡܢ ܝܘܡܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܠܝܨܐ, ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܠܨܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܚܛܦܝܢ ܠܗ, "From the days of John the Baptist to now, the kingdom of heaven is necessitated [or even: necessary], and those who compel it (will) conquer it." ܐܠܝܨܐ is the passive participle of the verb ܐܠܨ, meaning "to necessitate, to force, to compel"; its passive participle often means either "compelled" or "necessary." ܐܠܨܝܢ, here with accusative

Thus, if the Peshitta and, even more, the Harklean version in their rendering of Luke 16:16 are heavily influenced by Matt 11:12, to the point that they modify the Greek in Luke to conform it to that in Matthew, Sinaiticus, instead—that is, the oldest witness to the VS, which arose precisely as a reaction to the earliest Gospel harmonization, Tatian's *Diatessaron*—does not endeavor to assimilate the Lukan to the Matthean passage. Rather, it reads Luke independently and in 16:16 interprets βιάζεται as a passive, as we have seen: "the kingdom of God is proclaimed and every human being will be pressed into it."

The passive understanding of βιάζεται is supported not only by the earliest Syriac version known and by one of the earliest Latin versions, but also by the Ethiopic translation, which renders: "and everyone has been pressed in respect to it," clearly meaning "has been pressed to enter it."[31] We shall also see that this interpretation is strongly supported by Greek patristic exegesis, which further confirms that βιάζεται in Luke 16:16 must be understood as a theological passive.

In fact, βιάζομαι in Greek can have a passive as well as a medial value. In the NT, βιάζω occurs only twice, both times in the passive form, precisely in the two passages dealt with here, Matt 11:12 and Luke 16:16. There are also two occurrences of a compound verb derived from it in the NT, παραβιάζομαι, in Luke 24:29: παρεβιάσαντο αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Μεῖνον μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, "They were insistent with him, saying: Remain with us!" and Acts 15:16: καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς, "and she insisted with us (to have us remain)." There is no occurrence of βιάζομαι in the NT

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pronominal suffix, is the *nomen agentis* of the same verb ܐܠܨ, which is used here as a participle with full verbal force, meaning "those who force, necessitate, compel." ܚܛܘܦܐ is the active participle of the intensive form of the verb ܚܛܦ, meaning "to take," thus "conquer" or "will conquer." The Curetonianus offers an almost identical translation, only with the addition of the particle ܕܝܢ, here meaning "instead": ܡܢ ܝܘܡܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܡܬܐܠܨܐ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܨܝܢ ܠܗ ܚܛܘܦܐ, "From the days of John the Baptist to now, instead, the kingdom of heaven is necessitated [or: necessary], and those who compel it (will) conquer it."

[31] For an edition of the Ethiopic Gospels, see *Hadis Kidan* (ed. P. Francesco da Bassano; 2nd ed.; Aśmara: Bamahtama ferancaskana, 1934); for Luke in particular, see *Wangel qedus zakama sahafa Luqas* (Aśmara: tahat ma bamahtama katolikawejan, 1924). The Coptic versions, instead, both Sahidic and Bohairic, translate Luke 16:16 in a way that is similar to the Vg. The Sahidic has: ⲠⲚⲞⲘⲞⲤ ⲘⲚ̄ ⲚⲈⲠⲢⲞⲫⲎⲦⲎⲤ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲀⲨⲠⲰϨ ϢⲀ ⲒⲰϨⲀⲚⲚⲎⲤ. ϪⲒⲚ ⲠⲈⲞⲨⲞⲈⲒϢ ⲈⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ ⲤⲈⲈⲨⲀⲄⲄⲈⲖⲒⲌⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲘⲚ̄ⲦⲈⲢⲞ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ. ⲀⲄⲰ ⲞⲨⲞⲚ ⲚⲒⲘ ϪⲒ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞϤ Ⲛ̄ϬⲞⲚⲤ̄ ⲈⲢⲞⲤ, "The Law and the Prophets reached unto John; from that time on, the kingdom of God is preached, and everyone takes himself by violence into it" (see *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* [1911–24; repr., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969], 2:312–13); the Bohairic has ⲠⲒⲚⲞⲘⲞⲤ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲚⲒⲠⲢⲞⲫⲎⲦⲎⲤ ϢⲀ ⲒⲰⲀⲚⲚⲎⲤ. ⲒⲤϪⲈⲚ ⲠⲒ ⲤⲚⲞⲨ ⲈⲦⲈⲘⲘⲀⲨ ϮⲘⲈⲦⲞⲨⲢⲞ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⲫϮ ⲤⲈϨⲒϢⲒϢ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞⲤ. ⲞⲨⲞϨ ⲞⲨⲞⲚ ⲚⲒⲂⲈⲚ ⲤⲈϬⲒ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞϤ Ⲛ̄ϪⲞⲚⲤ ⲈⲢⲞⲤ, "The Law and the Prophets until John: from that time on, the kingdom of God is preached, and everyone takes himself by violence into it" (see *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect* [1898–1905; repr., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969], 2:222 for the text and 223 for the variant readings, which do not affect the meaning with respect to our question).

in the meaning "to do/go by force" or even "to endeavor to." Most significantly, when the verb is medial and intensive rather than passive, in Luke-Acts we always find the compound παραβιάζομαι instead of the simple βιάζομαι, which rather has a passive value, as is clear in Matt 11:12, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, "the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, is forced."

In the LXX there are twenty-seven occurrences, mostly of compound verbs, which are much more numerous and varied than in the NT: Gen 19:3: κατεβιάζετο αὐτούς, "and he insisted (that they remain)"; 19:9: παρεβιάζοντο τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Λωτ, "they forced that man, Lot, (pushing him with violence)"; 33:11: καὶ ἐβιάσατο αὐτόν, καὶ ἔλαβεν, "and he was insistent with him, and he accepted"; Exod 12:33: κατεβιάζοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν λαὸν σπουδῇ ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, "the Egyptians forced/pressed the people [of Israel], for their eagerness to push them out of their land"; 19:24: οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ λαὸς μὴ βιαζέσθωσαν ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, "let the priests and the people not rush to go up toward God"; Num 14:44: διαβιασάμενοι: "making violence, disobeying (God);" Deut 1:43: παραβιασάμενοι, "acting against (God); disobeying"; 22:25: βιασάμενος κοιμηθῇ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς, "doing violence, (he) has intercourse with her"; Judg 19:7(AB): ἐβιάσατο αὐτὸν ὁ γάμβρος αὐτοῦ, "his father-in-law was insistent with him"; 13:15–16(A): βιασώμεθα δή σε καὶ ποιήσομεν ἐνώπιόν σου ἔριφον, "we wish to be insistent with you and we shall prepare a kid for you"; 1 Kgdms (1 Sam) 28:23: καὶ οὐκ ἐβουλήθη φαγεῖν· καὶ παρεβιάζοντο αὐτὸν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνή, "and he refused to eat, and his children and his wife tried to force him"; 2 Kgdms (2 Sam) 13:25–27: καὶ ἐβιάσατο αὐτόν . . . καὶ ἐβιάσατο αὐτὸν Ἀβεσσαλώμ, "and he was insistent with him . . . and Absalom insisted with him"; 4 Kgdms (2 Kgs) 2:17: καὶ παρεβιάσαντο αὐτὸν ἕως ὅτου ᾐσχύνετο καὶ εἶπεν Ἀποστείλατε, "and they were insistent with him until he felt confused and said: Do send them"; 5:16: παρεβιάσατο αὐτὸν λαβεῖν καὶ ἠπείθησεν, "he insisted that he accept, but he refused"; Esth 7:8: ὥστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα βιάζῃ, "to the point that you would rape (my) wife"; Prov 22:22: μὴ ἀποβιάζου πένητα, "do not rob the poor"; 2 Macc 14:41: τὴν αὐλαίαν θύραν βιαζομένων, "trying to force the court door"; 4 Macc 2:8: κἂν φιλάργυρός τις ᾖ βιάζεται τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον, "even though one is avid for money, he is forced to act against his own way of life"; 8:24: μὴ βιαζώμεθα τὴν ἀνάγκην, "let us not struggle against the necessity"; 11:25: βιάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν μιαροφαγίαν, "to force to eat defiling food"; Sir 4:26: μὴ βιάζου ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ, "do not try to stop the current of a river"; 31:21: ἐβιάσθης ἐν δέσμασιν, "you were forced to excess in food," with a clear passive meaning in one of the most recent books of the LXX, analogous to other passive meanings in 4 Maccabees, another very recent book.

So, in the whole of the Bible, βιάζομαι has only a passive or an intensive meaning, often with an accusative, but it never bears the sense of "to go by force." What is more, in the NT it is only passive, which seems to me determinant in order

to establish that in Luke 16:16, too, it must not mean "to enter by force" or "to endeavor to enter," but it must have a passive value: "everyone is forced to enter" the kingdom. And here the passive is obviously theological: it is God who wishes to press everyone into the kingdom, as is clear from the perfect conceptual parallel of the aforementioned parable of the man who orders his servant to force everyone into his house for the banquet.

In all of Greek literature, on the basis of my complete search through the TLG, βιάζω means "I force, I do violence" from Homer onward (e.g., *Od.* 12.297); βιάζομαι means "I am forced," either with infinitive or without it, for example, in Sophocles, *Ant.* 66: βιάζομαι τάδε; Euripides, *Orest.* 524 is very interesting: τοὔνειδος ὀργῇ βιασθέν, which means "insult forced by anger to come out," which is a good parallel to the Lukan idea "to be forced (by God) to go in"; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 890: βιάζομαι γάμοισι Πρωτέως παιδὶ συμμεῖξαι λέχος, "I am forced to marry the son of Proteus"; [Aristotle], *Mag. Mor.* 1.15.1: ἡ αἰτία ὑφ᾽ ἧς βιάζονται πράττειν, "the cause by which they are forced to act"; *De aëre aquis et locis* 8.15: ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου . . . βιάζεται, "it is forced by the sun"; Hippocrates, *Prorrh.* 2.41: βιάζεται δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὥστε κατακέεσθαι, "it is forced not in such a way as to be scattered"; Philo, *Ebr.* 200.3: ὁμολογεῖν βιάζονται, "they are forced to agree"; Cassius Dio 8.36.3: πείθεται γὰρ πᾶς ἥδιον ἢ βιάζεται, "each one is persuaded more easily than forced"; [*Subl.*] 34.3: γελοῖος εἶναι βιάζεται καὶ ἀστεῖος οὐ γέλωτα κινεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ καταγελᾶται, "he is forced to be ridiculous: with his humor he does not arouse laughter more than he is derided"; Teles, *Comparison between Poverty and Richness* 45.9: διὰ μὲν ἔνδειαν καρτερεῖν βιάζονται, "they are forced to endure because of their poverty"; Aelius Aristides, *On Bringing Help* 375.17: περὶ ὧν ἥττηνται βιάζονται, "they are forced in that they have been defeated"; Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 10.240: ἐπειδὰν λέγῃ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος τὸ σῶμα νοεῖν κατ᾽ ἐπισύνθεσιν μεγέθους καὶ σχήματος καὶ ἀντιτυπίας καὶ βάρους, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων σωμάτων βιάζεται τὸ ὂν σῶμα νοεῖν, "Since Epicurus says that he conceives the body as a synthesis of size, shape, resistance and weight, he is forced to conceive the existing body from bodies that do not exist"; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.7.21: ἀποκλεισμὸς ἐμοὶ οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βιαζομένοις, "it is not I who suffer an exclusion, but those who are forced to do so"; Sopater, *Distinction of Questions* 8.347.17: ὃ παθεῖν οὗτοι βιάζονται, "they are forced to suffer this"; Athanasius, *Ep. encycl.* 5.4.6: οἱ κληρικοὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας βιάζονται ἢ κοινωνεῖν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τῶν αἱρετικῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἢ μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, "the clerics belonging to the Catholic Church are forced either to participate in the impiety of the heretic Arians or not enter churches"; Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Io.* 1.548.5: ὑφ᾽ ἧς αὐτὸ παραιτεῖσθαι βιάζονται, "they are forced by her to excuse it"; Himerius, *Or.* 31.46: προσβλέπειν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀθρόως ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεχυμένου τῷ παντὶ κάλλους βιάζονται, "they are forced to gaze at all together by the beauty that is shed upon the totality"; [Alexander Philoponus], *Ethica problemata* 132.32: ὁ

βιαζόμενος ὑπό τινος, "he who is made object of violence by someone"; 129.24: εἰ γὰρ οἱ προαιρούμενοι βιάζονται, τίνες ἂν εἶεν οἱ μὴ βιαζόμενοι; "For, if those who make a choice for themselves are forced, who will ever be those who are not forced?" A nuance of the passive meaning is also "I am overcome," for example, in Homer, *Il.* 11.589: βελέεσσι βιάζεται, or "I am violated."[32]

Βιάζομαι is found also with an intensive meaning:[33] "I do violence, I treat with violence, I force [also with infinitive], I overcome," for example, Homer, *Il.* 22.229: Μάλα δή σε βιάζεται ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς, "swift Achilles treats you with much violence"; *Od.* 9.410: μή τίς σε βιάζεται οἶον ἐόντα, "no one overcomes you, who are alone"; Euripides, fr. 840.2 Nauck: γνώμην δ' ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται, "I am provided with wisdom, but nature forces me."[34] Similarly,

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[32] E.g., in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.77.1: βιάζεταί τις ἐν τῷ τεμένει; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.170: τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μυωπιζόμενος βιάζεται τὴν ἀδελφήν; Plutarch, *Amat.* 773D: τὰς κόρας βιάζονται.

[33] This intensive meaning of the middle form βιάζομαι (together with μάχομαι and χράομαι) is also noted by Apollonius Dyscolus, *De constructione* 2.2.398. See below for the classification of βιάζομαι in grammatical works of antiquity.

[34] See also Herodotus 9.41; Thucydides 8.53, and Antiphon, *Tetralogia* 2.1: αὐταὶ αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ χρεῖαι . . . παρὰ φύσιν λέγειν καὶ δρᾶν βιάζονται, "disgrace and necessity force people to say and do things against nature"; Plato, *Prot.* 337D: ὁ δὲ νόμος, τύραννος ὢν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν βιάζεται, "the law, insofar as it is a tyrant of humans, forces them to do many things against nature"; Sophocles, fr. 686.2 Radt: οὐ γὰρ πρὸ μοίρας ἡ τύχη βιάζεται, "for Chance does not force anyone before his destiny"; Euripides, *Orest.* 1623: πᾶσαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ὅδε βιάζεται πόλιν ζῆν, "This forces all your city to live"; *Alc.* 147: πεπρωμένη γὰρ ἡμέρα βιάζεται, "the day fixed by Fate is pressing"; *Heracl.* 647: τίς σ' αὖ βιάζεται; "who is forcing you?"; Xenophon, *Symp.* 8.20: οὐ βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πείθει, "he does not make violence, but he tries to persuade"; Demosthenes, *Phil.* 2.1: Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, "Philip acts and makes all effort against the peace"; *Eub.* 45: ταπεινὰ πράγματα τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἡ πενία βιάζεται ποιεῖν, "poverty forces free persons to do miserable things"; *Aristog.* 1.27–28: ἀναιδὴς ἄνθρωπος βιάζεται τοὺς νόμους, "an impudent person does violence to the laws"; *Mid.* 150: τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὡς ἀληθῶς βάρβαρον καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ἕλκει καὶ βιάζεται, "the truly barbarian aspect of nature, enemy of the gods, drives and makes violence"; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1281a23: ὁ τύραννος . . . βιάζεται γὰρ ὢν κρείττων, "the tyrant constrains the others because he has greater force"; Timocles, fr. 28.1 Kock: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐνίοθ' ἡ πενία βιάζεται ἀνάξι' αὐτῶν ἔργα παρὰ φύσιν ποιεῖν, "poverty sometimes forces many to do things that are against nature and unworthy of them"; Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica* 26.12.4: ὁ πόλεμος ἐνίοτε βιάζεται . . . ὑπομένειν ἀνάξια, "war sometimes forces persons to suffer things unworthy of them"; Philo, *Her.* 310.2: καπνὸς . . . δακρύειν δὲ βιάζεται τοὺς πλησιάζοντας, "smoke makes those who are close tear"; *Leg.* 3.147.6: τοῖς γὰρ ἀναγκαίοις σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ φύσις βιάζεται χρῆσθαι, "nature makes us assume the necessary food and drink"; Longinus(?) *Peri hypsous* 41.2: ἐφ' αὐτὰ βιάζεται, "they force toward themselves"; Galen, *De placitis* 6.5.2: βιάζεται καὶ τοὺς τἀναντία δοξάζοντας ἄκοντας ὁμολογεῖν τἀληθές, "forces even those who have an opposite opinion to recognize the truth"; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 5.50: τὰ πράγματα μὲν βιάζεται καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον ἀπαγγέλλειν ἃ οἶδα, "the situation and the advantage of my homeland

βιάζομαι may mean "I oppose, I chase," or "I do by violence" (Thucydides 4.11; 7.72; Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.3.12) or "I dare," such as in *Hypoth.* p. 199.31: ἀναισχυντοῦσα βιάζεται πράττειν ὧν ἕκαστον κοινωνίας ἐχθρόν, "impudently she dares do things, each of which is an enemy of communion"; Clement, *Strom.* 2.2.6: εἰς τὸν γνόφον, οὗ ἦν ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσελθεῖν βιάζεται, "he dares enter the darkness where God's voice was," with reference to Exod 20:21–22. Again, it may mean "I endeavor" (Clement, *Strom.* 6.9.72.2: ἐξομοιοῦσθαι βιάζεται τῷ διδασκάλῳ εἰς ἀπάθειαν, "he endeavors to be similar to his master as for absence of passions"), which is to be distinguished from the reflexive meaning.[35] Similarly, it means "I maintain a certain opinion with vigor," or "I insist," for example, in Demosthenes, *Mid.* 205.4: φησὶν εἶναι καὶ βιάζεται; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.11.2: αὐτὸν παραμένειν βιάζονται, "they insist that he remain"; Basil, *Adv. Eun.* (*PG* 29:589.46): ὅπερ οὗτοι βιάζονται, "which they maintain with insistence"; Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.1.26: ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι βιάζονται, "which those people maintain with insistence." Again, βιάζομαι is attested also with the meaning "I make an effort" (e.g., Thucydides 7.69: εἰς τὸ ἔξω, "to go out"; 79: πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐλθεῖν, "to go to the hill"; Lysias 9.16: βιαζόμενοι βλάπτειν, "making an effort to damage me") and "I go by force" (e.g., Thucydides 7.83: διὰ τῶν φυλάκων, "through the guards"),[36] but the latter is certainly not the only meaning of the verb.

The basic correspondence between ἀναγκάζω and βιάζομαι in its intensive meaning is well shown by a passage from Galen, *De usu partium* 3.398.1 Kühn: ἀναγκάζει τε καὶ βιάζεται . . . ὑποχωρεῖν τὰ περιεχόμενα, "it forces and presses what is all around to withdraw." But, notably, in Galen we also find the proof

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force me to reveal what I know"; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.3.21.3: τρυφή . . . πάντα ζητεῖ . . . βιάζεται πάντα, "luxury seeks everything, forces everything"; 6.15.118.2: τὰς ἀφόρους φορίμους γίνεσθαι βιάζεται, "forces those who do not produce fruit to produce it"; 7.16.94.4: βιάζονται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τὴν γραφήν, "they force Scripture to say whatever they wish"; John Chrysostom, *Serm. Gen.* (*PG* 54:629.1): οὐ βιάζομαι τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, "I do not offer a forced interpretation"; *Hom. Ps. 48:17* (*PG* 55:501.13): τῇ τέχνῃ τὴν φύσιν βιάζονται, "they force nature by means of art"; Ps. Alexander Philoponus, *Problemata* 1.94: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω βιάζεται τὸν ἀέρα, "the water forces the air to move downwards"; Gregory Palamas, *De processione Spiritus Sancti* or. 1.34: Λατῖνοι βιάζονται τὰς ῥήσεις, "the Latins force the expressions."

[35] Origen (*Hom. Jer.* 1.8.42) shows very well the reflexive meaning that βιάζομαι may assume, in that he uses it exactly in the same sense at first with the reflexive pronoun and then without it: μανθάνω *βιαζόμενος ἐμαυτὸν* ψελλίζειν, ὅτε παιδίοις διαλέγομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστάμενος παιδιστί, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, λαλεῖν, *βιάζομαι* τέλειος ὢν διαλέγεσθαι παιδίοις, "I learn to babble, *forcing myself*, when I speak to small children: for, since I cannot speak, so to say, as a baby, *I force myself*, even if I am an adult, to speak to little children." Another example of reflexive meaning is Adamantius, *Physiognomonica* 1.19: ἀνδρόγυνοι ὄντες ἄνδρες εἶναι βιάζονται, "although they are androgynous beings, they force themselves to be men."

[36] Philo, *Mos.* 1.108.4: εἰς τἀντὸς βιάζεται διὰ μυκτήρων καὶ ὤτων.

of the exact correspondence between ἀναγκάζομαι and βιάζομαι in its passive meaning: τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ δέρματος ὀλίγιστον ὄν, ἀναγκάζεται καὶ βιάζεται ῥήγνυσθαι, "the rest of the skin, being very thin, is *necessitated and forced* to break" (*De methodo medendi* 10.417.15), just as in Paul the Physician, *Epitomae medicae* 6.52.3.[37] The same occurs in a Christian author such as John Chrysostom, who equates βιάζομαι with ἀναγκάζω, making the intensive value of the former clear in *Catech. illum.* (*PG* 49:239.30): οὐκ ἀναγκάζω οὐδὲ βιάζομαι, "neither I force nor I press"; and *Hom. Matt.* (*PG* 58:541.11): οὐ βιάζομαι, οὐκ ἀναγκάζω.[38] But, again, it is interesting to note that the very same author equates βιάζομαι with ἀναγκάζομαι as well, both clearly with a passive meaning: Ὃ οὐ θέλω, τοῦτο πράσσω . . . ὃ ἀναγκάζομαι καὶ βιάζομαι, τοῦτο ποιῶ, "I do what I do not want to do, what I am forced and pressed to do, this I do" (*Hom. Rom.* [*PG* 60:509.13]). In Chrysostom's writings, in fact, the passive usage of βιάζομαι is abundantly attested, for example, in *Hom. Heb.* (*PG* 63:165.34): ὑπὸ τῆς ὀδύνης βιάζομαι, "I am forced by grief." The parallel between ἀναγκάζω and βιάζομαι is found in the Greek translation of Ephraem, *Sermo asceticus* 122.2: Ὁ πόνος ἀναγκάζει με . . . αἱ μὲν ὀδύναι φθέγξασθαί με βιάζονται, "pain forces me, torments press me to speak,"[39] but the equivalence between ἀναγκάζομαι and βιάζομαι is well attested in *Scholia in Aristophanis Plutum* v. 1028.2: ἀναγκάζομαι, βιάζομαι, with the most interesting remark that the former should refer to animate subjects and the latter to inanimate ones, but that exchanges may often occur: τὸ μὲν λέγεται ἐπὶ ἐμψύχων, τὸ δέ, ἤγουν τὸ βιάζομαι, ἐπὶ ἀψύχων· ἔστι δ' ὅτε θάτερον ἀντὶ θατέρου λαμβάνεται. The passive meaning of βιάζομαι is still well attested in Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 243 375a.31 Bekker), who repeats Himerius's aforementioned words: οἱ τι τῶν νέων δημιουργημάτων θεώμενοι προσ-βλέπειν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀθρόως ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεχυμένου τῷ παντὶ κάλλους βιάζονται; Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* 225.14: ἄκοντα βιάζονται συνθέσθαι τε καὶ διομάσασθαι, "they force him, against his will, to agree and swear"; Psellus, *Encomium in matrem* 1151: τοῦτο γὰρ βιάζομαι λέγειν, "I am forced to say so"; John Cinnamus, *Epitome rerum ab Joanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum* 220.17: ἀλλὰ τυραννοῦμαι, φησίν, ἀλλὰ βιάζομαι, "But I am tyrannized—he says—I am forced"; Michael Choniatis, *Ep.* 32.53: οἷα πάσχω κακὰ . . . εἰ . . . τοῖς αὐτοῖς κακοῖς περιπίπτειν βιάζομαι, "what misfortunes I am suffering, if I am forced to fall again into the same troubles"; Symeon Neotheologus, *Orationes ethicae* 6.1.12: κλαίειν ἐκ πολλῆς συμπαθείας βιάζομαι, "I am forced to cry out of deep sympathy"; Ps. Mauritius, *Strategicon* 12.8.20.14: μὴ

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[37] Τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ δέρματος ὀλιγοστὸν ὂν ἀναγκάζεται καὶ βιάζεται ῥήγνυσθαι.

[38] The same expression occurs in Ps. John Chrysostom, *De adoratione crucis* (*PG* 52:836.55). Cf., e.g., also John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* (*PG* 61:380.33): οὐδὲ γὰρ καταναγκάζω καὶ βιάζομαι.

[39] See also the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, document 53.19: βιάζονται καὶ καταναγκάζουσιν.

βιάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν; "they are not injured by the enemies"; Joseph the Patriarch, *Documenta Concilii Lugdunensis Secundi* 327.1: βιάζομαι παρὰ τινῶν συνθέσθαι, "I am forced by some to agree"; *Lexicon Vindobonense* K85: κινδυνεύω ἀντὶ τοῦ βιάζομαι, οἷον κινδυνεύω τἀληθῆ λέγειν, where the meaning is "I am forced to tell the truth," implying that βιάζομαι too is taken in the passive meaning.

A good example of the passive meaning of βιάζομαι as opposed to the active meaning of βιάζω and at the same time of their respective equivalence to ἀναγκάζομαι and ἀναγκάζω is provided by Arius Didymus, *De philosophorum sectis* 78.2.12, a fragment of Zeno, *SVF* 1.216: οὔτε ἀναγκάζεται ὑπό τινος οὔτε ἀναγκάζει τινά . . . οὔτε βιάζεται ὑπό τινος οὔτ' αὐτὸς βιάζει τινά, "neither am I forced by anyone nor do I force anyone, neither am I pressed by anyone nor do I press anyone." The double meaning of βιάζομαι, both as a passive and as an intensive middle, is well noted by Herodianus, *On Verbs* 3.2.809: προσλαμβάνων τὴν –μαι συλλαβὴν παθητικὸν καὶ μέσον ποιεῖ οἷον τύπτω τύπτομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τύπτομαι αὐτόν, καὶ πάλιν βιάζω βιάζομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βιάζομαι αὐτὸν. The same is found in many other grammatical works, with precise reference to βιάζομαι.[40]

It is remarkable that in the second century c.e. Athenaeus (15.38) uses βιάζομαι εἰς, the very same construction as in Luke 16:16 and endowed with the same local meaning, in the passive sense: μέλι δὲ χρηστὸν χείρονι ἐπιχεόμενον εἰς τὸ κάτω βιάζεται· λαμβάνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καθύπερθεν τὸ ἧττον, "A good kind of honey, if poured upon a bad kind, *is forced to go down*: it accepts the bad kind upon itself." An earlier example may already be found in [Aristotle], *Probl.* 879b29: ὀλίγη γὰρ ἡ ἰκμάς, καὶ οὐ βιάζεται ἐξιέναι, καὶ καταψύχεται ταχύ, "there is only little fluid, and it is not forced to go out, and it soon gets cold," where, most remarkably, the notion is exactly the same as in Luke: to be forced to

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[40] Syncellus, *On the Syntax of the Speech* 544: μέσα δέ, ἤτοι τὰ ποτὲ μὲν ἐνέργειαν, ποτὲ δὲ πάθος δηλοῦντα, οἷον· βιάζομαι, κομίζομαι, κολάζομαι, in Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* 1.72.11: βιάζομαι καὶ ἄλλα μυρία, μέσως ἔχοντα, in Georgius Choeroboscus *Prolegomena* 99.34: βιάζομαί σε καὶ ἐβιαζόμην σε ἀντὶ τοῦ βιάζω σε καὶ ἐβίαζόν σε; and 101.27: ἐν τύπῳ φωνῆς παθητικῆς ἔχει, σημαινομένῳ δὲ ἐνεργητικῷ οἷον βιάζομαί σε; also 170.12: τὸ γὰρ κολάζομαι καὶ βιάζομαι πρὸς τὴν σύνταξιν ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴπωμεν κολάζομαι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ βιάζομαι ὑπὸ σοῦ, παθητικά εἰσιν, εἰ δὲ κολάζομαί σε καὶ βιάζομαί σε, μέσα, in *Scholia Vaticana in Dionysii Thracis Artem grammaticam* 246.14: μέση δέ ἐστιν, ἧς ὁ τύπος καὶ ἐπὶ ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐπὶ πάθος προάγεται, οἷον πέπηγα ἐγραψάμην· ἐμπεριεκτικὴ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαθέσεων ἐπιδεικτική, ὡς ἔχει τὸ βιάζομαι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ τὸ πορεύομαι διὰ σέ; *Scholia Marciana in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* 401.21: Μέση δὲ καλεῖται διάθεσις, ὅταν ἡ αὐτὴ φωνὴ χωρῇ εἴς τε ἐνέργειαν καὶ εἰς πάθος, ὡς τὸ βιάζομαι· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἐνέργειαν καὶ εἰς πάθος, οἷον ἐὰν εἴπω βιάζομαί σε καὶ βιάζομαι ὑπὸ σοῦ; *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium* 7.4: καὶ δρᾶσιν καὶ πάθος ἐμφαίνουσιν, οἷον βιάζομαι.

go out/in; similarly in 945a32 Bekker: τὸ μὲν ἄνω τὸ δὲ κάτω βιάζεται, "one is forced to go up, the other to go down," said of elements that are forced by their nature to move toward their natural place; and *Probl.* 962b40: βιάζεται οὖν καὶ διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων, βιαζομένη δὲ τῇ τρίψει ποιεῖ τὸν ἦχον, "the voice [in mute persons, since it cannot easily pass through their closed lungs,] is forced to pass also through their nostrils, and being forced by friction produces the sound" (and there are many other examples of passive βιάζομαι in Aristotle).[41] Analogously already in Hippocrates, *Vict. Salubr.* 77: βιάζεται ἔξω σὺν τῷ πνεύματι θερμόν τε καὶ ὀξύ, "the hot and bitter element is forced to go out together with the *pneuma*." The same meaning of βιάζομαι, "to be forced to go in a certain direction," is attested in Theophrastus, fr. 8: ὅταν δ᾽ ἔλθῃ τι πνεῦμα ἀλλότριον βιάζεται διαδυόμενον πρὸς τὰς φλέβας, "when some alien *pneuma* comes, it is forced to insinuate itself toward the veins." All these are perfect parallels to the meaning of βιάζομαι in Luke 16:16.

What is even more relevant is that, as we have seen, in the NT βιάζομαι has exclusively a passive meaning (Matt 11:12: βιάζεται = "is forced, suffers violence"), and in the whole Greek Bible it is never found in the meaning "to go by force" or "endeavor to enter." Notably, in the most recent books of the LXX it assumes a passive value, as in the NT. Moreover, in a papyrus dating back to 22 C.E., a letter written by Sarapion, from Alexandria, to his sibling Dorion, the word has a passive meaning: ἐγὼ δὲ βιάζομαι ὑπὸ φίλων γενέσθαι οἰκιακὸς τοῦ ἀρχιστάτορος Ἀπολλωνίου, "I am being forced/pressed by friends to join the house of Apollonius, the chief usher" (*POxy.* 2.294.16–17). The meaning is identical to that of Luke 16:16, and the date is close as well.

The fathers' difficulty in explaining Matt 11:12 is palpable: all Latin fathers interpret the "violence" mentioned in it very loosely,[42] often allegorically, either in a moral sense[43] or in reference to the proclamation of the gospel to the

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[41] E.g., Aristotle, *Problemata* 893a2 Bekker: βιάζεται δὲ συντεῖνον τῷ πνεύματι, "when it is in tension it is forced by the *pneuma*"; 960b10 Bekker: Διὰ τί τὰ ὦτα ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ῥήγνυται τοῖς κολυμβῶσιν; πότερον διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τὸ πνεῦμα πληρούμενον βιάζεται; "Why do the ears of those who swim under the surface of water in the sea break? Maybe because they are forced in that they retain the *pneuma* and get filled by it?"

[42] On the basis of a systematic search in the CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), the Markan passage is cited according to the Vg and/or briefly commented on by several Latin fathers of the first four or five centuries. All references are here below.

[43] Jerome, *Ezech.* 6.18: Est autem et sancta uiolentia rapinaque optabilis, de qua scribit euangelium: a diebus Ioannis Baptistae regnum caelorum uim patitur, et uiolenti diripiunt illud; de qua et Iudas frater Iacobi loquitur: et alios quidem de igne rapite; alios uero qui iudicantur miseremini. See also idem, *Homilia De Lazaro et Divite* l. 296–98: Crux Christi aperuit paradisum: non uobis dixit quod "regnum caelorum uim patitur et uiolenti diripiunt illud"? Qui in cruce est [*sc.* latro bonus], non vim facit? Nihil medium est: crux et statim paradisum; *Ep.* 22.40: regnum caelorum uim patitur et uiolenti diripiunt illud. Nisi vim feceris, caelorum regna non capies; Cassian *Collationes* 7.6: et iam regnum caelorum vim patitur et violenti diripiunt illud: nulla namque

pagans,[44] or to believers' access to eternal life,[45] and the only comment on the idea of violence in Luke 16:16 is in Ambrose.[46] Very few Greek fathers cite Matt

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virtus sine labore perficitur nec ulli possible est ad istam quam cupit stabilitatem mentis sine ingenti cordis contritione conscendere; 24.26: Qui ergo hi violenti sunt? Nempe illi qui non alii, sed animae suae praeclaram inferunt violentiam . . . isti profecto sunt laudabiles violenti, qui vim faciunt perditioni suae; Faustus of Riez, *Ep.* 6: regnum caelorum uim patitur et uiolenti diripiunt illud. Vim enim sibi factura est anima, ut carnales affectiones spiritui subduat; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 24.8: ad corripiendam uitae uiam capiendumque Dei uerbum et praeualendum in regnum caelorum, quod a diebus Iohannis uim patitur ut a diripientibus, idonei esse non possumus, nisi omnia, quae uel amore uel cura, si in itinere istius saeculi nobis adhaereant, inpediunt et retardant, ante obitus nostri uesperam praemittamus et inde per totam huius saeculi noctem adprehendere et tenere Christum sollicita spiritalium operum ac studiorum contentione luctemur nec diuellamur a caritate Christi sicut Iacob ab eius amplexu, nisi extorqueamus benedictionem; *Ep.* 25.5: in euangelio autem quo ardore properandum sit ad conuersionem ostendit, cum dicit: a diebus autem Iohannis usque in hodiernum uim patitur regnum caelorum, et qui uim faciunt rapiunt illud . . . cum sine cuiusquam inuidia et cum Dei gratia possis esse uiolentus, ut capias regnum caelorum, quod uim patitur et gaudet Christus inuadi, quia pro abundantia caritatis et potentiae suae capax est et largiendi quod tenet et quod donauit obtinendi; Augustine, *Serm. Dom.* 1.40: quam uerum est, quod regnum caelorum uim patitur, et qui uim faciunt diripiunt illud! quanta enim ui opus est, ut homo diligat inimicos, et oderit patrem et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres! utrumque enim iubet qui ad regnum caelorum uocat; *Enarrat. Ps.* 86.6: Publicani et meretrices praecedunt vos in regnum caelorum: praecedunt quia vim faciunt . . . ibi enim positum est: regnum caelorum uim patitur, et qui uim faciunt, diripiunt illud; 147.27 *Div. Quaest.* 53: magna autem uirtus est haec implere maiora, quibus debetur hoc praemium: regnum enim caelorum uim patitur; et qui uim faciunt diripiunt illud.

[44] Hilarius, *Tractatus super Psalmos* 2.46: A diebus autem Iohannis regnum caelorum uim patitur et uim facientes diripiunt illud, quia, cum regni caelestis possessio Israeli praedicaretur, fides tamen gentium possessionem hanc sibi, Israel diffidente, praeriperet; *In Matthaeum* 11.7: Itaque uim regnum caelorum patitur inferentesque diripiunt, quia gloria Israel a patribus debita, a prophetis nuntiata, a Christo oblata, fide gentium occupatur et rapitur; Augustine, *Fid. op.* 21.39: Non itaque putandum est ideo dictum: regnum caelorum uim patitur et qui uim faciunt, diripiunt illud, quia etiam mali tantummodo credendo et pessime uiuendo perueniunt in regnum caelorum, sed quia reatus ille praeuaricationis, quem sola lex, id est littera sine spiritu, iubendo faciebat, credendo soluitur et uiolentia fidei sanctus spiritus inpetratur, per quem diffusa caritate in cordibus nostris lex non timore poenae, sed iustitiae amore conpletur; Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* 100: uelle suum Christus inplere non poterat, non inpossibilitate sua, sed nequitia perditorum; et quod aliis detulerat, aliis conferre cogebatur, dicente ipso: regnum caelorum uim patitur, et qui uim faciunt diripiunt illud.

[45] Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 2.49: A diebus Iohannis Baptistae usque nunc regnum caelorum uim patitur. Grandis est enim violentia in terra nos esse generatos et caelorum sedem quaerere possidere per virtutem quod non tenuimus per naturam. The very same idea is in *Tract. Ps.* series altera 93.151: vim patitur quia nobis subicitur per gratiam, quod non est subiectum per naturam, and in *Ep.* 121.1: a diebus praedicationis eius regnum caelorum uim patitur, ut, qui homo natus est, angelus esse desideret et terrenum animal caeleste quaerat habitaculum.

[46] Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 8.3: Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem, non quia lex defecit, sed quia incipit evangelii praedicatio: videntur enim minora compleri cum potiora succedunt. Et ideo vim faciamus regno caelorum: omnis enim qui vim facit vehementi studio properat, non torpenti

11:12,[47] and still fewer comment on it by trying to explain the meaning of the violence suffered by the kingdom: Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Top.* 5.180) understands βιασταί in a reflexive sense and takes it to mean that those who force themselves to justice and faith will inherit the kingdom: ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν, ἵνα εἴπῃ ὅτι Ὅσοι ἑαυτοὺς βιάζονται καὶ πολιτεύονται δικαίως καὶ μὴ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐννοίαις ἐξακολουθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι ταύτης τυγχάνουσιν. This exegesis is found, in identical terms, in the *Chronicon Paschale* 445.6.

Now, Cyril of Alexandria, the only Greek father who comments on the meaning of πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται in Luke 16:16, strongly supports my understanding of βιάζεται as a passive and the rendering "each one is forced into it," that is, into the kingdom. For in fr. 138, ascribed to his lost *Commentary on Matthew*, on Matt 11:12, but to my mind referring much more directly to Luke 16:16 (Cyril commented on Luke both in homilies that have survived in a Syriac translation and in a lost treatise)[48]—or at least conflating both passages—he observes:

> Ἐπειδὴ ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος Ἰωάννου ἤρχθη, ὃς ὑπεδείκνυ τὸν κηρυττόμενον διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἄγοντα εἰς βασιλείαν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ *βιάζονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εἰσελθεῖν* οἱ τῷ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἀποταττόμενοι παλαιῷ καὶ εἰκαίῳ ἔθει καὶ οἱ τῷ γράμματι μὴ προσέχοντες, *ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐκ βίας τινὸς διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως μεθελκόμενοι.*

> Since the kingdom of heaven is the faith in Christ, it began with John the Baptist's announcement, who showed that the announced one would lead to the Kingdom through baptism. Those who *are forced to enter* the kingdom of heaven are those who detach themselves from the old and trivial custom of idolatry and those who pay no attention to the mere literal meaning, but *they are dragged to the other side with violence, so to say, by the faith in Christ.*

Cyril clearly interprets βιάζομαι as passive and paraphrases it with μεθέλκομαι, another passive: the action of forcing and dragging is done by Christ through

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lentescit affectu. Est ergo fidei religiosa violentia, segnitia criminosa. Venerable Bede notably transfers Jerome's commentary on Matt 11:12 to Luke 16:16 in *In Lucae evangelii expositio* 5.16.208: Ideoque recte cum diceret regum Dei evangelizari, addidit Et omnis in illud vim facit. Magna enim vis et violentia grandis est nos terra genitos caelorum sedem quaerere possidere velle per virtutem quod non potuimus tenere per naturam. This lack of comments reveals the difficulty of the Lukan passage as it was translated into Latin.

[47] Justin (*Dial.* 51.3) cites it but does not comment on it.

[48] On the problems concerning Cyril's commentaries, see now Lois M. Farag, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, a New Testament Exegete: His Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Gorgias Dissertationstions: Early Christian Studies 7; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007). Although she concentrates on Cyril's commentary on John, she offers interesting remarks on Cyril's exegesis of the whole NT.

faith in him. Thus, Cyril's exegesis confirms not only that βιάζομαι is a passive but also that it is a theological passive, as is suggested, too, by the mention of God immediately before.

This interpretation, as I have argued, is supported on several grounds: (1) The Gospel of Luke itself attests that not everyone actually endeavors to enter the kingdom, but Jesus' announcement is rejected by many. Notably, an example of this refusal immediately precedes the kingdom logion in Luke 16:16. (2) Luke 14:23 provides an exact conceptual parallel, where the man/God orders his servant to force anyone to enter his house/kingdom, and it is better to understand Luke in the light of its own context rather than in the light of Matthew—something that was often done, as several ancient manuscripts, translations, and interpretations attest. (3) Matthew 11:12 is rather different from Luke 16:16; remarkably, βιάζεται is passive there, but its subject is "the kingdom," not "everyone," and the forced harmonization of Luke 16:16 with it is misleading. Moreover, it is not certain that Matthew preserved the original logion more faithfully than Luke (I showed that there are reasons to suppose that indeed this is not the case). (4) In addition, the parallel parable in Matt 22:1–14 is different from that in Luke 14:23. In particular, it does not include the exhortation "force anyone to enter, that my house may be filled," which Luke, instead, presents as parallel to Jesus' words concerning the kingdom: just as the master in the parable forces all to enter his house, God forces all to enter his kingdom. (5) A thorough linguistic analysis of the use and meaning of βιάζομαι in all of Greek literature and especially in the LXX, where it acquires a passive meaning in the most recent books, and in the NT, where it always has a passive value (whereas the medial-intensive meaning precisely in Luke-Acts is *always* expressed by a compound verb), strongly supports the passive interpretation of βιάζεται in Luke 16:16. (6) Two important witnesses to the VL understand the Greek passage in the same way as I do. (7) The earliest known Syriac version of Luke 16:16, the VS as attested in Codex Sinaiticus, translates βιάζεται as a passive: "every human being is pressed into" the kingdom. Moreover, both the main witnesses to the VS translate Luke 16:16 in a manner completely different from their own rendering of Matt 11:12, whereas the later versions betray clear lexical and conceptual harmonizations of Luke 16:16 with Matt 11:12, which are not justified by the original Greek. (8) The Ethiopic translation renders βιάζεται as a passive: "and everyone has been pressed in respect to it." (9) Cyril of Alexandria, the only Greek father who comments on the meaning of βιάζεται in Luke 16:16, clearly understands it as a passive. (10) The theological interpretation of the passive ("everyone is forced by God into the kingdom") is favored by the fact that the kingdom is said to be "of God" in Luke, rather than "of heaven," as it is in Matthew.

The reading for which I argue here perfectly fits in Luke 16 and makes new sense in the framework of Luke's overall theology. In the immediate context of ch. 16, God's kingdom seems to be central and contrasted with this world, with its cleverness and its riches, in the saying about serving two masters, the opposition

between God and mammon (v. 13), dives and Lazarus (v. 19–31), the remark on the Pharisees who love riches (v. 14), and the contrast between the "children of this world" and the "children of light."

The polarity between this world and God's kingdom is emphasized in many other Lukan passages, such as 18:16, where the kingdom of God is said to belong to those who are like children; 4:6, where the power, glory, and riches of this world are said to be in the hands of the devil; 12:31, with the exhortation to pursue God's kingdom rather than the things of this world; 6:20–26, where in the beatitudes Jesus contrasts this world with the kingdom, which belongs to the poor, to those who are starving, who cry, who are hated and insulted, in opposition to the rich, those who are sated, who laugh, who enjoy glory from this world. A similar antithesis is clear in 8:25 between acquiring the whole κόσμος and losing oneself, and in 8:29–30 between God's kingdom and all the rest: in order to enter the kingdom one must leave everything else. Now, Luke 16:16 implies that God wants everyone to enter the kingdom and compels each one to do so. It is meaningful that ch. 16 comes immediately after the parables of mercy in ch. 15, three typically Lukan parables—two of which lack Synoptic parallels—intended to show God's love precisely for those who were believed to be lost (ἀπόλωλα) and God's joy upon their being found again: the parables of the prodigal son, of the lost sheep, and of the lost drachma. God wants everyone to enter the kingdom, especially the last and the lost. In Luke 19:10 this will of God is said to be accomplished through the work of the Son—the Son who proclaims God's kingdom—who "has come to seek and save what is lost [ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός]."[49] This salvation of the lost is perfectly consistent with Jesus' words in 18:27: τίς δύναται σωθῆναι; . . . τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ εἰσι. The emphasis is on God, and the idea that it conveys corresponds to Jesus' description of God in 6:36: χρηστός ἐστι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς . . . οἰκτίρμων.

That it is God who wants and prepares salvation through Jesus is proclaimed from the beginning of this Gospel, in the Magnificat, in Zechariah's canticle, in the Nunc dimittis, in Hannah's words, in the sentence "every human being will see God's salvation," ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ (3:6). It is no accident that in Luke the kingdom is always called "God's kingdom," and the whole Gospel is focused on the announcement of the good news of God's kingdom: Jesus is sent by God to proclaim the good news (εὐαγγελίσασθαι) of salvation (4:18–19); in 4:43 he declares, εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, which corresponds to Luke 16:16, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται. This

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[49] Jesus rescues those who seem to be either physically or, more important, spiritually lost: the sick (6:19 etc.) and the sinners. For example, in 5:29–37 he says that he has come to call the sinners to μετάνοια; in Christ's name the disciples will preach μετάνοια καὶ ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (24:47).

makes clear that it is Jesus who proclaims the good news of God's kingdom; cf. 8:1: κηρύσσων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; 9:60: διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ; and 7:23: πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται by Jesus. The proclamation of the kingdom is then extended to the Twelve and the Seventy-two,[50] and there seems to be a tension—or better, a complementarity— between present and future in respect to the realization of God's kingdom.[51] That God wants all human beings to enter the kingdom is perfectly consistent with Luke's theology: everyone—and especially the "lost"—is pushed by God, through Christ's work, to enter the kingdom.

Appendix

Finally, from the point of view of source criticism, one may wonder whether the reading of Luke 16:16 that I propose, as contrasted with Matt 11:12, supports one hypothesis (mainly Q, Griesbach, Farrar-Goulder) better than the others. This is a difficult question and I shall leave it open, limiting myself to a few observations, as an appendix to my study. The implications of my interpretation would seem to fit only with some difficulty in the Farrar scheme, according to which Matthew was composed on the basis of Mark plus additional material deriving from oral sources, and Luke tends to be seen simply as a compound of Mark and Matthew. Since Mark contains no parallel to Luke 16:16, the Farrar hypothesis may have a problem in explaining the divergence between Luke 16:16 (which is likely to have preserved more closely the original meaning) and Matt 11:12. It would have to invoke Luke's free modification (which, however, would imply that the Lukan version of our logion is secondary, which is by no means certain) or have recourse to an independent oral tradition. The relation obtaining between Luke 16:16 and Matt 11:12 and, at the same time, their remarkable difference seem to be explained by the Q hypothesis, and perhaps even by the Griesbach model. According to Griesbach, Luke was composed on the basis of Matthew—the first Gospel in this hypothesis—and of independent oral tradition, which might be as old and as good as the Matthean material, or even more so, and would allow for a different interpretation of the saying in Matt 11:12. The divergence between the parallel passages in Luke

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[50] See 9:2: Jesus ἀπέστειλεν [*sc.* the Twelve] κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ; 10:9: the Seventy-two proclaim: ἤγγικεν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[51] In 17:21 Jesus is asked when God's kingdom will come, and he replies that it is ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, "inside you" (I think this is a better understanding than "among you," which in Luke would be more likely expressed with ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν). So, it is already present, but in spirit. In 13:28 the accent seems more on eschatology: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the prophets, and the Gentiles will be in God's kingdom.

16:16 and Matt 11:12 could be explained by their common derivation from the logia of Q, but requires that this material underwent a different interpretation. The Boismard hypothesis supposes a dependence of Luke on Matthew wherever the two Gospels are close to each other, but the dependence of both on Q wherever Luke and Matthew differ from each other. This would be the case with Luke 16:16 and Matt 11:12. But the Q hypothesis, too, with the postulation of an independent source for Luke, would probably fit our case even better. Since our two passages clearly do not derive from Mark, they may come from Q, but Luke's different interpretation of the common material may be traced back to Luke's own oral source, L, parallel to the independent oral source of Matthew, M.

Transformed "from Glory to Glory": Paul's Appeal to the Experience of His Readers in 2 Corinthians 3:18

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2 Corinthians 3:18 is about the transformation of the believer. This verse follows a somewhat complicated discussion in which Paul juxtaposes his διακονία with that of Moses. It states:

> And all of us (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες), with unveiled faces, seeing as though reflected in a mirror (κατοπτριζόμενοι) the glory of the Lord (τὴν δόξαν κυρίου), are being transformed into the same image (τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα) from one degree of glory to another (ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν), for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.[1]

According to this text, the believer[2] is transformed into τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα ("the same image"), usually understood to be the image of the risen Christ.[3] The believer's transformation is further described by Paul as ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν (literally, "from glory to glory").

The phrase ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν typically receives scant attention in the scholarly literature, perhaps because 2 Cor 3:18 is so riddled with other difficul-

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[1] NRSV, slightly amended. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are from the NRSV.

[2] I have chosen to use the term "believer" throughout this article in order to avoid the anachronism of the term "Christian."

[3] See, e.g., Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians: Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 32A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 241; Margaret E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (2 vols.; ICC; London: T&T Clark, 1994, 2000), 1:285; and Jan Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians* (SP; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999), 56.

ties.[4] The phrase is usually understood to refer to the believers' present glorified transformation—following conversion—with the expectation of a more intense future glorification.[5] Curiously, interpreters seem unconcerned that, understood in this manner, the phrase contributes little or nothing to the apostle's overall argument.[6] To counter this problem, I suggest that—since Paul appeals to the drama of death and resurrection in much of 2:14–7:4—we should attempt to view ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν in that light.[7]

In the pages below, I will argue that we should interpret the idea of transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν in reference to the believers' past and present glorification (rather than that of their present and future). Viewing the phrase in this way will enable us to see two significant things. First, it will allow us to understand how the notion of transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν advances Paul's argument in 2:14–4:6 (the first major section of 2:14–7:4). Second, it will point the way to comprehending how 2 Cor 3:18 functions to prepare readers for the second major section of 2:14–7:4.

I will begin my study with a brief methodological note concerning the integrity of canonical 2 Corinthians. Following that, I will focus on the situation that gave rise to Paul's *apologia* in 2 Cor 2:14–7:4.[8] I will then turn my attention to 2 Cor 2:14–4:6 (the first major section in 2:14–7:4). In my discussion of 2:14–4:6, I will

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[4] The difficulties include (to name a few) the change in subject at the start of the verse (from "us" [first person plural] to "all of us" [ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες]), the proper translation and interpretation of κατοπτριζόμενοι, the question of whether κύριος points to God or Jesus, and the meaning of ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.

[5] Accordingly, the beginning of the phrase, ἀπὸ δόξης, is taken to refer to the believer's initial transformation (presumably as a result of one's conversion) while the latter part of the phrase, εἰς δόξαν, points to the believer's future transformation into a more glorified state. From the perspective of some, that more glorified state will be realized at the parousia. Others, though, understand the transformation to a future state of more intense δόξα as a gradual process. There has also been the suggestion that the phrase ἀπὸ δόξης points to the source from which the glory comes (i.e., the deity). This last suggestion, however, has found little support. For a brief summary of the various treatments of ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, see Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:285–86.

[6] To my knowledge, the only way to make sense of this passage in its present context (as it is usually interpreted) is to assume that Paul is opposing some kind of Judaizing activities in the community. See, e.g., Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 310–11. However, there is no substantive evidence of such Judaizing in the Corinthian correspondence. See n. 61 below.

[7] For Paul's emphasis on death and resurrection in 2 Corinthians and particularly in 2:14–7:4, see, e.g., Steven J. Kraftchick, "Death in Us, Life in You: The Apostolic Medium," in *Pauline Theology,* vol. 2, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (ed. David M. Hay; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997; repr., SBLSymS 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 156–81.

[8] 2 Corinthians 2:14–7:4 seems to fit within the ancient genre of the apologetic letter. For a brief overview of that letter form, see Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 14–15.

review the difficulties of fitting 3:7–18—the so-called midrash on Moses[9]—into its larger context. I will then demonstrate how a reinterpretation of the idea of transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν (3:18) helps us to negotiate those problems. Finally, I will show how Paul uses the notion of the transformation of the believer ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν to set up a transition to the second major section (beginning in 4:7) by preparing his readers for his own bold and daring self-description in 2 Cor 4:7–12.

I. A Unified or Divided Letter?
2 Corinthians 2:14–7:4 and Canonical 2 Corinthians

The integrity of 2 Corinthians arguably presents the most difficult problem currently faced by scholars of the Corinthian correspondence. Although a few regard the canonical text as a single letter, most are convinced that it contains fragments from more than one missive. Unfortunately, beyond that there is no consensus. Some divide 2 Corinthians into two letters (chs. 1–9 and chs. 10–13);[10] others three (chs. 1–8, ch. 9, and chs. 10–13), while still others postulate five Pauline fragments plus a non-Pauline interpolation (6:14-7:1).[11] Those who hold to the last of these positions understand 2 Cor 2:14–7:4 (minus 6:14–7:1) as an independent letter fragment embedded in the so-called letter of reconciliation (found in 2 Cor 1:1–2:13 and 7:5–16). Obviously, the problem of competing hypotheses of division presents a significant challenge to the study of any given passage in 2 Corinthians. While I favor the view that 2:14–7:4 (minus 6:14–7:1) represents an independent letter fragment,[12] my argument does not stand or fall with that supposition, since

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[9] Richard B. Hays, however, has persuasively argued that "midrash" is a misnomer for this section (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 132).

[10] Of those who divide 2 Corinthians into two letters, there is a further split between those who see chs. 1–9 as the earlier of the two and those who argue that chs. 10–13 are chronologically prior.

[11] For a brief recent summary of the various positions, see Margaret M. Mitchell, "Korintherbriefe," *RGG* 4:1688–94; and eadem, "Paul's Letters to Corinth: The Interpretive Intertwining of Literary and Historical Reconstruction," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (ed. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen; HTS 53; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 312–21. For more detailed summaries, see Hans Dieter Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 3–36; and Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:3–77.

[12] 2 Corinthians 2:14–7:4 is either the earliest of the fragments found in 2 Corinthians or perhaps—as has been recently argued by Margaret Mitchell—the next earliest following 2 Corinthians 8. On the latter possibility, see her "The Corinthian Correspondence and the Birth of Pauline Hermeneutics," in *Paul and the Corinthians: Studies on a Community in Conflict: Essays in Honour of Margaret Thrall* (ed. Trevor J. Burke and J. Keith Elliott; NovTSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 33–36; and eadem, "Paul's Letters," 312–35.

there is little doubt that 2 Cor 2:14–7:4—surrounded as it is by Paul's narrative of his anxiety over Titus's visit to Corinth—is a discrete unit.[13]

II. Defining the Context:
Paul's *Apologia* in 2 Corinthians 2:14–7:4

Throughout 2:14–7:4, Paul's stance is defensive; his defensiveness appears to have sprung from suspicions that focused on his efforts to collect money "for the saints" in Jerusalem (cf. 1 Cor 16:1–4).[14] Passages throughout 2 Corinthians indicate that some in the Corinthian community suspected that Paul was nothing more than a fraudulent "peddler of God's word" (2:17) and that his collection of money "for the saints" was simply a pretext for him to line his own pockets.[15] These suspicions, it seems, were reinforced by Paul's lack of any kind of "official" standing in the early community of Jesus followers. Unlike James and Peter, for instance, he was neither a relative nor a follower of the historical Jesus.[16] Indeed, he was not even a follower of any of Jesus' original disciples.[17] We can imagine a situation in

[13] For 2:14–7:4 as a discrete unit, see, e.g., Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 35; and Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:188.

[14] The collection seems to have been part of the deal struck between Paul and the leaders of the Jerusalem church as recounted in Gal 2:1–10. Paul's effort to "remember the poor" (Gal 2:10) consisted of a collection of money gathered from the Gentile churches to be sent to the (Jewish) church in Jerusalem, most likely to support those in the community who could not support themselves (e.g., widows and orphans). For more on the collection, see Dieter Georgi, *Remembering the Poor: The History of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992).

[15] Besides 2 Cor 2:17, see also 2 Cor 7:2, where Paul uses the verb πλεονεκτέω, meaning "to defraud" in this context. On this, see C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 203; and Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:482. It is possible that the phrase οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν in 2 Cor 7:2 reflects a specific charge that had been made against the apostle (as opposed to merely a suspicion). On this possibility, see Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, 97; and Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 369. In addition, see 12:17–18, a passage outside 2:14–7:4, which uses this verb in a similar manner. Note also Paul's insistence on his integrity in 4:2, where he uses the verb δολόω, a term cited by Lucian (*Hermot.* 59) in his description of philosophers, whom he compares to wine merchants. According to Lucian, members of both these professions specialize in "cheating (δολώσαντες) and giving false measure (κακομετροῦντες)."

[16] James and Peter represent two of the three so-called pillars (Gal 2:9), an honorific title for the leaders of the Jerusalem ἐκκλησία. The identity of John, the third "pillar," is unclear although some would identify him with John the son of Zebedee. On the pillars, see Betz, *Galatians*, 101; and J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 204.

[17] Galatians 2:12 indicates the kind of authority that the followers of Jesus' brother, the "people from James," possessed.

which people in the community began to ask such questions as: "Who is this man?" "What do we really know about him?"[18] "Is there anyone who can vouch for him?"[19]

Suspicions about the apostle's legitimacy were reaffirmed by Paul's poor physical health (ἀσθένεια).[20] Several texts give us a glimpse of Paul`s awareness of how some viewed him. For instance, in 4:8 and 9, Paul describes himself (using the plural) as θλιβόμενοι ("afflicted") and καταβαλλόμενοι ("struck down").[21] In 6:9b, he further characterizes himself ὡς ἀποθνῄσκοντες ("as dying").[22] As these passages suggest, some—apparently suspicious of Paul's involvement in the collection—postulated that his physical suffering resulted from the deity's retribution for Paul's alleged financial malfeasance. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is 2 Cor 6:9c, where Paul describes his appearance ὡς παιδευόμενοι ("as punished").[23] In fact, in the very first verse of the unit (2:14), Paul's depiction of himself as "led in triumph" by God, presents an ambiguous image that could easily correspond to his detractors' view of him as an enemy of God led to a humiliating death by the victorious deity.[24]

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[18] In 2 Cor 6:8b–9, Paul employs the formula ὡς X καὶ Y. According to this formula, X represents the way that he is perceived while Y indicates reality as Paul sees it. Note that in 6:9a, Paul characterizes himself ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι ("as unknown") and follows this with the corrective ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι ("yet well known"). For a discussion of the antitheses found in 6:8b–9 as reflecting the community's concerns about Paul, see Paul B. Duff, "Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning: The Rhetorical Strategy Behind the Image 'Led in Triumph' in 2 Corinthians 2:14," *CBQ* 53 (1991): 81–82.

[19] 2 Corinthians 3:1–3 appears to reflect the Corinthians' concern that Paul is unable (or perhaps unwilling) to produce letters of recommendation. Typically, scholars argue that Paul's opponents possess those letters of recommendation while Paul does not. Mitchell, however, has recently described another possibility. According to her, the Corinthians' questioning of Paul's credentials, and specifically his lack of letters of recommendation, was the result of an "arrogant overreaching of authority by Paul" ("Paul's Letters," 331–33).

[20] Although this term does not appear in 2 Cor 2:14–7:4, it and its cognates appear a number of times in 2 Corinthians 10–13 (10:10; 11:30; 12:5, 9, 10; 13:4). It seems reasonable to assume that the issues are, for the most part, the same in both of these sections/letter fragments and so I feel justified in using the term here.

[21] For a discussion of 4:9 and specifically καταβαλλόμενοι, see below.

[22] Note Paul's use of ἰδοὺ here (and only here) to emphasize his survival, presumably against expectations.

[23] He follows this phrase with the correction μὴ θανατούμενοι ("yet not killed"). For other relevant passages, see also 4:8–17; 6:4; and 7:3–4. For more on this, see Duff, "Metaphor," 80–83; and idem "Apostolic Suffering and the Language of Processions in 2 Cor 4:7–10," *BTB* 21 (1991): 158–65.

[24] The punitive nature of the humiliating parade of prisoners of war in the triumphal procession is illustrated by the execution of the prisoners at the conclusion of the procession. On this, see Scott Hafemann, *Suffering and the Spirit: An Exegetical Study of II Cor. 2:14–3:3 within the Context of the Corinthian Correspondence* (WUNT 2/9; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 18–

Paul responds to these concerns throughout 2 Cor 2:14–7:4. In the first section of the unit (2:14–4:6), he insists that he is not a charlatan (2:17; 4:3) but rather the bearer of God's γνῶσις (2:14; 4:6),[25] a legitimate διάκονος, commissioned by the deity (2:17; 4:6). But, in the midst of this first section—between passages where Paul explicitly defends his ministry (2:14–3:6 and 4:1–6)—a unit appears that seems out of place (3:7–18). This unit has caused significant problems for interpreters, and the magnitude of the problems is apparent in the various twentieth-century attempts to explain 3:7–18 as some kind of interpolation.[26] A closer look at 3:7–18 in the context of 2:14–4:6 will more fully illustrate the issue.

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39. While earlier commentators had claimed alternative meanings for the word θριαμβεύω (most notably "to lead in triumph—as a victorious general leading his troops"), most scholars writing in the latter part of the twentieth century understood the term to mean "to be led in triumph" as a captured prisoner of war. See, e.g., Lamar Williamson, Jr., "Led in Triumph: Paul's Use of *Thriambeuō*," *Int* 22 (1968): 317–32; Peter Marshall, "A Metaphor of Social Shame: θριαμβεύειν in 2 Cor. 2:14," *NovT* 25 (1983): 302–17; Hafemann, *Suffering*; Duff, "Metaphor," 79; Recently, however, Roger David Aus has proposed that Paul meant the phrase τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς to suggest that he was a participant in a triumphal procession as one of the deity's conquering generals (*Imagery of Triumph and Rebellion in 2 Corinthians 2:14–17 and Elsewhere in the Epistle: An Example of the Combination of Greco-Roman and Judaic Traditions in the Apostle Paul* [Studies in Judaism; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005], esp. 40–41). Aus's thesis, however, is unpersuasive for two reasons. First, although he cites examples of the use of θριαμβεύω (or its Latin equivalent, *thriambo*) with the meaning that he advocates, he gives no examples that have the grammatical construction that appears in 2 Cor 2:14 (some form of θριαμβεύω followed by the accusative). Second, there are other passages in 2 Cor 2:14–7:4 that support the meaning "led in triumph as a prisoner of war" (i.e., to his death) as the appropriate understanding. In these passages (e.g., 2 Cor 4:7–11 and 6:9), it seems clear that some in Corinth had made the claim that Paul was on his way to his death. Consequently, the image of Paul as a prisoner of war on the way to his death would be appropriate. For more on this, see Duff, "Metaphor."

25 Although αὐτοῦ here could point to either God or Christ, the former seems more likely. See Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:199.

26 Hans Windisch suggested in his 1924 commentary that, on the one hand, the apologetic motif is missing from this section and, on the other hand, 3:7–18 could be removed from the letter without affecting the flow of thought (*Der zweite Korintherbrief* [KEK; repr. of the 9th ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970], 112). Since then, a number of theories have been proposed to explain the presence of 3:7–18. Sigfried Schulz suggested that these verses represent a "Jewish-Christian midrash" that Paul emended and inserted here ("Die Decke des Moses: Untersuchungen zu einer vorpaulinischen Überlieferung in II Cor 3:7–8," *ZNW* 49 [1958]: 1–30). Others speculated that Paul wrote this text for another occasion and inserted it here (Hans Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I–II* [HNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1969], 111; and C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* [3rd ed.; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981], 70 n. 1). Probably the most influential theory was put forth by Dieter Georgi in *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief*, a work that first made its appearance in 1964 (WMANT 11; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag) and later appeared in translation as *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986). Georgi proposed that 2 Cor 3:7–18 ultimately owed its existence to Paul's

III. Context

2 Corinthians 3:7–18 in the Context of 2:14–4:6

2 Corinthians 3:7–18 can be broken down into two subsections, 3:7–11 and 3:12–18. These two subsections, in turn, fit between 2:14–3:6 and 4:1–6. Together these four subsections constitute the first major section of 2 Cor 2:14–7:4.[27] As we will see, however, understanding the way that the inner subsections (3:7–11 and 12–18) fit into the apostle's larger argument proves challenging.[28]

In the first of the four subsections (2:14–3:6), Paul addresses the issue of his ἱκανότης ("worthiness") to be a διάκονος of the deity.[29] He implicitly raises the question of his ἱκανότης in the very first verse (2:14), where he depicts himself as a prisoner of war, led in triumph by the deity.[30] In 2:16b he again brings up the issue of his ἱκανότης, this time explicitly (καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός;). Significantly, between the implicit and explicit focus on his ἱκανότης lies a statement that suggests that those who do not properly perceive the gospel—and hence the legitimacy of his ministry—are "those that are perishing" (οἱ ἀπολλυμένοι).[31] In 2:17, Paul refutes suspicions about his honesty, and in 3:1 he addresses his lack of

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opponents and that Paul emended their text in an effort to undermine their authority. For the most part, however, the various theories of interpolation have fallen out of favor, as recent commentaries attest.

[27] For the breakdown of 2:14–4:6 into these four subsections, see Jan Lambrecht, "Structure and Line of Thought in 2 Cor 2,14–4,6," *Bib* 64 (1983): 344–80; reprinted in *Studies on 2 Corinthians* by R. Beiringer and J. Lambrecht (BETL 112; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994), 257–94. Lambrecht argues that the four subsections are laid out in a chiastic pattern, A (2:14–3:6), B (3:7–11), B´ (3:12–18), A´ (4:1–6). See also Thrall (*Second Corinthians,* 1:189–90), who follows Lambrecht.

[28] This is not to say that there are no clear connections between the outer (2:14–3:6 and 4:1–6) and the inner subsections (3:7–11 and 3:12–18). Throughout, Paul is focused on his ministry. Additionally, both the outer and inner subsections share the juxtaposition of two covenants (3:6 and 3:14), the theme of perception, openness versus hiddenness—or that which is veiled (2:15–16; 3:7, 13–16, 18; 4:3–4)—and an emphasis on the Spirit (3:6, 8, 17, 18). See Thomas E. Provence, "'Who Is Sufficient for These Things?' An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians ii 15–iii 18," *NovT* 24 (1982): 54–81, esp. 57; and Lambrecht, "Structure," 260–63.

[29] While ἱκανότης is usually translated "sufficiency" or "competence," a better translation in this context would be "qualification" or "worthiness." This is in the same sense that John the Baptist uses the related term ἱκανός in Mark 1:7 where John points out that he is not worthy (ἱκανός) to loose the thong of the sandal of "the coming one."

[30] As mentioned above, one could easily interpret this image in a manner compatible with the image of Paul that his detractors have promoted. Consequently, on its surface the metaphor mirrors the view of those in Corinth who are suspicious of Paul. See Duff, "Metaphor," 79–92.

[31] Paul ties the gospel closely to his διακονία throughout 2:14–7:4. Consequently, in Paul's eyes, to misperceive his ἱκανότης is to misperceive the gospel and hence to perish.

written credentials. In 3:2–3, Paul insists that the Corinthians themselves represent his letter of recommendation and in 3:4–5, he articulates his self-confidence and appeals to his divine commission.[32] Finally, he concludes the subsection (3:6) with a claim that the deity has commissioned him (ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς) as a "[minister] of a new covenant, not of letter (οὐ γράμματος) but of spirit (ἀλλὰ πνεύματος)."[33]

Paul addresses many of the same issues in the fourth subsection (4:1–6) of 2:14–4:6. There, he again expresses confidence in his divine commission (4:1 and 4:6; cf. 2:17b; 3:4–6) and again refutes suspicions about any wrongdoing (4:2; cf. 2:17a). In 4:3, harking back to 2:15–16, he insists that those who do not recognize his gospel (and hence the legitimacy of his διακονία) are those who are perishing (οἱ ἀπολλυμμένοι). He concludes the subsection—as well as the larger section of 2:14–4:6—with a description of himself as the bearer of the γνῶσις of God's δόξα (4:6), a description that calls to mind the self-portrait he had already drawn in 2:14.[34] But, while the connections between the first and fourth subsections are obvious, it is not entirely clear how the second and third subsections (3:7–18) fit into this picture.

In the second subsection, 3:7-11, Paul argues for the superiority of the ministry of the Spirit (i.e., his διακονία) over Moses' transitory ministry of death and condemnation.[35] Using an argument from the lesser to the greater (*a minore ad maius*), he describes his διακονία as more glorious (i.e., having more δόξα) than that of Moses.[36] His argument centers on an interpretation of Exod 34:29–35—a text to which he will return in the following subsection—that makes the point that the Israelites were incapable of viewing Moses' face διὰ τήν δόξαν . . . τὴν καταργουμένην ("because of the glory . . . now set aside").

In the third subsection (3:12–18), Paul continues to speak of himself in relation to Moses, but at the beginning of this subsection he contrasts himself to the lawgiver rather than drawing a comparison. As in the second subsection, Paul alludes to Exodus 34, but here he points to the story of Moses' veil to illustrate his own παρρησία ("openness," "boldness").[37] According to the apostle, Moses' lack

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[32] This appeal to his divine commission is his second in this subsection. We first encounter it in 2:17b.

[33] His appeal to the Spirit in 3:6 emphasizes the point he had made in 3:2–3: the Corinthians' experience of the Spirit is the only recommendation that he needs.

[34] In 2:14, Paul claims that the deity has manifested through him τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ.

[35] Paul labels the Mosaic διακονία transitory in 3:11. He refers to it as a ministry of death in 3:7 and a ministry of condemnation in 3:9.

[36] Significant for the present study is the concentration of the terms δόξα and δοξάζω in this section (3:7–11); they make up ten of the eighty-three words that constitute these five verses.

[37] As Linda Belleville has demonstrated, Paul's appeal to Exod 34:28–35 must be read in the context of an interpretive tradition ("Tradition or Creation? Paul's Use of the Exodus Tradition

of παρρησία was evidenced by the fact that he veiled his face so that the Israelites could not see τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου (a phrase meaning something like "the end of what was being set aside").[38] Paul continues his argument in vv. 14b–15 by focusing on the veiled perception of Israel.[39] In 3:16, Paul returns to the subject of Moses (and his unveiling) by pointing to Exod 34:34.[40] From this point on, the contrast between Paul and Moses recedes and, at the end of the subsection, the unveiled lawgiver emerges as a type for all believers.[41] At the beginning of v. 17, the apostle connects "the Lord" of the previous verse (v. 16) to the Spirit.[42] He ends 3:17 with the statement "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom (ἐλευθερία)." Since "freedom" in the Hellenistic world was closely related to παρρησία, "freedom" here functions as a virtual equivalent of παρρησία (cf. 3:12).[43] This prepares the reader for the concluding verse of the subsection (3:18), where Paul again returns to motif of the veil, this time, though, in connection with the members of the ἐκκλησία.[44] Surprisingly, however, while the "unveiled" per-

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in 2 Corinthians 3:7–18," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* [ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 165–86). Nevertheless, as she herself points out, "the contemporizing of the Mosaic veiling in the present veiling of the old covenant, and the corollary of the dulled perceptions and veiled heart of the Jew, are . . . uniquely [Paul's], although a similar interpretive move can be found in the Qumran Scrolls" (p. 185).

[38] The translation of this phrase is an emended version of the NRSV because the NRSV adds "glory" to the translation, a word that has no counterpart in the Greek.

[39] Israel's perception was and is "veiled" (i.e., deficient), specifically regarding the Scriptures. Israel's veiled perception here corresponds to its inability to look at Moses' face in 3:7.

[40] The REB translates this verse, "But (as scripture says) 'Whenever [Moses] turns to the Lord the veil is removed.'" I cite this translation because, in contrast to the NRSV, the REB clearly indicates—by means of its parenthetical statement—that the verse is meant as a quotation of Exod 34:34.

[41] The focus of the later part of the section seems to be on the primary comparison between the unveiled *face* of Moses and the unveiled *faces* of ἡμεῖς πάντες rather than the secondary contrast between the veiled *minds* and *reading* of Israel and the unveiled *faces* of ἡμεῖς πάντες. See Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:282–83.

[42] This will allow him—in the final verse of the subsection, 3:18—to demonstrate how ἡμεῖς πάντες ("all of us") are like Moses. In short, Moses' veil was lifted when he turned to the Lord (3:16). Believers' experience of the Spirit results in their faces being "unveiled" (3:18). As can be seen, the parallel is strengthened with the identification of "the Lord" and "the Spirit."

[43] Specifically, Paul's ability to speak openly to the Corinthians as well as the Corinthians' ability to perceive unhindered. As a number of commentators have pointed out, Philo connects παρρησία and freedom in *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 148–55. On this, see esp. Stanley B. Marrow, "*Parrhēsia* and the New Testament," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 431–44. In the context of 3:17, "freedom" really means freedom from the veil. As such, it looks back to 3:13, but, perhaps more important, it looks forward to the beginning of 3:18.

[44] Although some witnesses, most notably 𝔓46, omit πάντες (which would make the subject Paul himself), the term is well-attested, and consequently ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες represents the preferred reading.

ception of believers plays an important role in 3:18 (as we might expect), it is not the focus of the verse. Rather, the sentence that constitutes 3:18 centers on transformation, specifically transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν.[45]

While there are some clear links between the outer (2:14–3:6 and 4:1–6) and inner subsections (3:7–11 and 12–18) that comprise 2:14–4:6,[46] there are, nevertheless, significant issues in need of explanation. Particularly puzzling are three: first, the reason for Paul's appeal to Moses and Israel in the inner subsections (3:7–11 and 12–18); second, the role that perception (both hindered/veiled and unhindered/unveiled) is meant to play in both the inner subsections and the larger argument (2:14–4:6); and, third, the reason why Paul introduces the issue of believers' transformation at the conclusion of the third subsection. All of these issues come together (implicitly or explicitly) in 3:18.[47] It is to that verse that we now turn.

2 Corinthians 3:18 in the Context of 3:7–18

A quick glance at 2 Cor 3:18 clearly demonstrates that the notion of δόξα (the key term in the phrase under discussion: ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν), looms large there. It is curious that, although Paul had used the term δόξα extensively in the second subsection (3:7–11), he does not use it at all in the third until the final verse (3:18). This fact alone suggests that there must be something particularly significant about Paul's use of that term in 3:18. Consequently, we will now turn to Paul's use of δόξα in the different contexts in which it appears in that verse. As a result of that investigation, I will propose a new way of understanding the notion of the transformation of the believers ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν as well as the verse as a whole. I will then conclude this part of this article with a paraphrase of 3:18. This paraphrase will enable us better to appreciate the connections between the inner and outer subsections of 2:14–4:6.

IV. Δόξα in 2 Corinthians 3:18

Besides its appearance in the phrase ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, the term δόξα also appears toward the beginning of v. 18, where Paul states, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες

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[45] As Furnish points out, the sentence, despite its complexity, can be broken down into its subject ("all of us"), the predicate ("are being transformed"), and two phrases that describe the subject ("with unveiled face" and "seeing as in a mirror the glory of God") (*II Corinthians*, 238–39).

[46] See n. 28 above.

[47] First, Moses and Israel stand in the background of the phrase ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ. Second, perception clearly plays an important role in this verse (in that perception is described as "unveiled" but, at the same time, vision takes place "as in a mirror"). Third, the focus of the verse is, as mentioned above, transformation.

ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι . . . μεταμορφούμεθα ("and all of us with unveiled faces, seeing as in a mirror the glory of the Lord . . . are being transformed"). In this phrase, Paul ties the believers' perception of ἡ δόξα κυρίου with their transformation (specifically, their transformation "into the same image").

Before we investigate the meaning of ἡ δόξα κυρίου, though, a few words about the participle κατοπτριζόμενοι are in order. There has been a great deal of discussion centering on the proper translation of κατοπτριζόμενοι, but linguistic evidence suggests that the rendering cited throughout this paper, "seeing as though reflected in a mirror," is the best option.[48] We will return later to the question of why Paul appeals to vision here "as in a mirror." For now, though, it is sufficient to note that the phrase τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι indicates that believers (i.e., "all of us") perceive (in some way) τὴν δόξαν κυρίου ("the glory of the Lord").

The Meaning of ἡ δόξα κυρίου in 2 Corinthians 3:18

The phrase ἡ δόξα κυρίου appears frequently in the LXX, often in reference to the ministry of Moses.[49] Because of the frequency of its use in the LXX and its rarity in Paul (only here and in 2 Cor 4:6 and 8:19), it is conceivable that the apostle's employment of the phrase in 3:18 reflects its use in the LXX.[50]

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[48] While the verb κατοπτρίζω typically means "to show as in a mirror," the participial form of the verb that appears in 3:18 is in the middle voice. In that voice the verb means "to look into a mirror," "to behold oneself in a mirror," or "to behold (something) as in a mirror " (LSJ, s.v.). Other translations that have been proposed include "to reflect as a mirror," or "to see (without reference to a mirror)." It has also been suggested that Paul meant the term ambiguously so that it could mean either "to see as in a mirror" or "to reflect as a mirror" (J.-F. Collange, *Énigmes de la Deuxième Épître de Paul Aux Corinthiens: Étude Exégétique de 2 Cor. 2:14–7:4* [SNTSMS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972], 116). These possibilities, however, are unlikely. For a detailed discussion of the various options, see Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 214; and particularly Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:290–92.

[49] Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 214. See Exod 16:7; 40:34–35; Lev 9:23; and esp. Exod 24:17, a passage that refers to Moses ascending Sinai. David Balch has suggested that Paul had in mind also Num 12:8 when he penned 2 Cor 3:18 ("Backgrounds of I Cor VII: Sayings of the Lord in Q; Moses as an Ascetic ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ in II Cor. III," *NTS* 18 [1972]: 363). In the Numbers text, Υηωη says, "Mouth to mouth I will speak to [Moses], I speak face to face—openly (ἐν εἴδει) and not indistinctly (δι᾽ αἰνιγμάτων), and he has seen the glory of the Lord (ἡ δόξα κυρίου)" (my translation).

[50] This would mean, among other things, that the word κύριος points to God and not to Jesus. In Paul's letters, κύριος typically refers to the latter. In 3:18, however, Paul seems to be using κύριος in reference to God. Note that each of the last three verses of 2 Corinthians 3 contains the word κύριος and in each case the word appears to point back to God and not Christ. In

In the LXX, the phrase ἡ δόξα κυρίου ("the glory of the Lord") usually emphasizes the power of the deity. In the words of one interpreter, the expression "implies that which makes God impressive to [humans], the *force* of his self-manifestation."[51] While the LXX's connection of δόξα with force or power seems consistent with Paul's use of δόξα ("glory") in his earlier reference to Moses in 2 Cor 3:7 (where the apostle relates that the δόξα was so powerful that the Israelites "could not gaze at Moses' face"), it is not clear that we should understand the phrase in 3:18 in that way, since Paul simply claims that believers (meaning the Corinthians) have seen ἡ δόξα κυρίου. Is the notion of power present here? In order to answer that question, we will look at the same phrase a few verses later, in 4:6, in the hope that Paul's use of ἡ δόξα κυρίου there will help us understand its meaning in 3:18.

In 2 Cor 4:6, Paul talks about the knowledge (γνῶσις) of ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐν προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ ("the glory of the Lord in the face of [Jesus] Christ"). As many have pointed out, Paul almost certainly refers here to his life-changing encounter with the risen Jesus (Gal 1:15–16).[52] So, Paul seems to be saying that, at the time of his "conversion,"[53] he experienced ἡ δόξα κυρίου ("God's powerful presence") in a Christophany. The notion of power certainly comes through here. Consequently, it seems that we should understand ἡ δόξα κυρίου in 3:18 in a similar way, with an emphasis on the power of the deity.

But reading ἡ δόξα κυρίου in reference to the power of the deity raises a significant problem. How could Paul have suggested in 3:18 that the Corinthinas had perceived "the glory of the Lord" in a way comparable to his christophanic experi-

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the first of these, 3:16, there is virtual certainty that κύριος refers to God rather than Christ because this verse, if not an actual quotation, certainly alludes to Exod 34:34. See, e.g., Thrall (*Second Corinthians*, 1:272), who calls it a virtual quotation. The following verse (3:17) identifies κύριος with the Spirit. The definite article is anaphoric in this verse and so refers back to κύριος in 3:16, as many commentators have pointed out (see, e.g., Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 212; and Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:274). It is also clear that 3:17 provides a bridge between the previous verse (3:16) and 3:18. The context of 3:18, therefore, indicates that κύριος here refers to God and not Jesus. See Barrett, *Second Epistle*, 124–25; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 214; and Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:283.

[51] Gerhard von Rad, "δόξα, κτλ.," *TDNT* 2:238 (emphasis mine). In the quotation cited, von Rad is speaking about the phrase כבוד יהוה, the Hebrew equivalent to LXX's ἡ δόξα κυρίου.

[52] Thrall suggests three reasons that support the idea that Paul refers here to his christophanic experience: (1) the use of the aorist tense of ἔλαμψεν suggests a specific past event, (2) the reference to light corresponds to the various descriptions in Acts of Paul's life-changing experience (9:31; 22:6; and 26:13), and (3) the fact that the δόξα mentioned in 2 Cor 4:6 appears ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ (*Second Corinthians*, 1:316–18). See also Barrett, *Second Epistle*, 134.

[53] I have used quotation marks to indicate the problematic nature of the term, since Paul did not technically convert from one religion to another. On this, see Krister Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles, and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 7–23.

ence? One simple answer to this question might be that the believers experienced ἡ δόξα κυρίου (God's powerful presence) in their hearing of the gospel.[54] Margaret Thrall, however, has pointed to a problem with this seemingly simple solution. In her words, "Perhaps [Paul] did expect his readers . . . to be content with the 'representative' function of the preached gospel. And yet, in 3:18 . . . he seems to be trying to persuade them that they did themselves, in some way, *behold* God's glory."[55]

As Thrall points out, Paul appears to be saying that there is more to his readers' beholding God's glory than simply hearing the gospel. But what more could be involved? I contend that Paul indeed refers here to a more immediate experience in the lives of his readers than their hearing of the gospel. He, in fact, reminds the Corinthians that they have perceived the "glory of the Lord" (i.e., the life-giving power of God as it has been manifested in the resurrection of Christ) and that they have perceived it in their own lived experience, specifically through their experience of the Spirit.[56] I will return to this below. In the meantime, let us turn to Paul's use of δόξα in the phrase ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν.

Transformed ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν

A quick glance at the literature indicates that scholars typically have difficulty with this phrase. Most suggest that it does not describe a sudden transformation from one glorious state of being to another but rather a progressive or gradual glorification.[57] This glorification presumably begins upon conversion and continues into the indefinite future. While the notion that the phrase "from glory to glory" points to a gradual transformation of the believer is possible, there is nothing in the text that specifically recommends this reading and, in fact, the phrasing of the verse

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[54] E.g., Barrett, *Second Epistle*, 125; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 61–62.

[55] Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:319. Thrall puts "representative" within quotation marks because she is responding to Furnish's suggestion that "the gospel is introduced as the fundamental re-presentative agency for the splendor of God" (*II Corinthians*, 248).

[56] I understand the Corinthians' experience of the Spirit somewhat along the lines described in Acts 10:44–45. In other words, the Corinthians' experience of the Spirit was more than a "warm, fuzzy feeling." It was instead something that would have been obvious to any bystander. In this vein, Christopher Mount has described the Corinthian community as a "spirit-possession cult" ("1 Corinthians 11:3–16: Spirit Possession and Authority in a Non-Pauline Interpolation," *JBL* 124 [2005]: 316). For a description of spirit-possession in relation to the New Testament, see Stevan L. Davies, *Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 22–42.

[57] Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 242; Ralph P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1986), 72; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 56; Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:286.

does not easily lend itself to such an interpretation.[58] In addition, as mentioned above, the future orientation of this interpretation makes it difficult to see how it contributes to Paul's argument. Understanding ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν in this way, in fact, makes the phrase—and, indeed, the verse—seem inconsequential.

How, then, do we make better sense of it? It seems clear that ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν is meant to draw the reader's attention to the previous subsection (3:7–11), where the notion of δόξα looms large and where one manifestation of δόξα is compared to another (something that the phrase ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν might naturally suggest). In that second subsection (3:7–11), the glory of the ministry of death and condemnation (3:7, 9)—that is, the δόξα of the διακονία of Moses—is compared to the even greater glory of the ministry of Spirit and righteousness (3:8–9)—that is, the δόξα of the διακονία of Paul. The problem with reading the phrase ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν in connection with the glory attached to the two ministries is that the former (i.e., the ministry of death and condemnation) points to the διακονία of Moses, which is usually interpreted as the διακονία that brought death and condemnation to Israel (including the Jews of the apostle's time) while the latter ministry points to Paul's διακονία to the Gentiles. In short, the glorious ministry of death and the glorious ministry of Spirit apply to two different populations. The former refers to the condemnation of the *Jews*, and so it can hardly apply to the *Gentile* church at Corinth. Because of this, then, the only people who could be transformed from the glory of the Mosaic διακονία to the glory of the Pauline διακονία would be those Jews who became followers of Jesus. But there seem to have been few Jews in the Corinthian community in Paul's time[59] and, more important, Paul himself speaks of the Corinthian ἐκκλησία as a Gentile community (1 Cor 12:2). There is, however, a way out of this difficulty.

I have recently argued that the death and condemnation tied to Moses' ministry in 3:7–11 points not to the condemnation and death sentence pronounced on Israel but rather to the condemnation and death sentence that the Torah pronounced on the Gentiles.[60] Since there seems to be no suitable explanation as to why the apostle would refer to the "glorious" ministry of Moses that brought death

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[58] As Thrall points out, the idea that the phrase εἰς δόξαν refers to a future transformation does not seem to take into account the present tense of μεταμορφούμεθα (*Second Corinthians*, 1:286).

[59] In his letters, Paul mentions the following individuals who likely were Jews: Crispus (1 Cor 1:14), Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater (Paul calls them συγγενεῖς in Rom 16:21). See Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (2nd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 216 n. 29.

[60] Paul B. Duff, "'Glory in the Ministry of Death': Gentile Condemnation and Letters of Recommendation in 2 Cor 3:6–18," *NovT* 46 (2004): 313–37. Of course, condemnation would also apply to Jews who did not keep the Torah. But since the Corinthian church was viewed by Paul primarily as a Gentile community (1 Cor 12:2), Paul would point primarily to the condemnation of the Gentiles here.

and condemnation to the Jewish people in a letter to a Gentile church (in which there is no good evidence of "Judaizing"),[61] the idea that Paul here points to *Gentiles* who were condemned and sentenced to death makes good sense of an otherwise difficult passage.

If we accept this hypothesis, then we can see a clear connection between the phrase ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν in 3:18 and the earlier passage referring to the glory of the two ministries in the second subsection (3:7–11). The reference to the transformation "from glory to glory" in 3:18 should then be understood to refer to the (Gentile) Corinthians' own experience of transformation from their previous status, condemned before God (by ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου [3:7]) and under the sentence of death (by ἡ διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως [3:9]), to their new status as reconciled to God. This transformation would have been signaled by the experience of the Spirit, an experience directly comparable to Paul's Christophany, alluded to in 2 Cor 4:6.[62]

With this information in mind, we can now return to the issue of the Corinthians' perception of ἡ δόξα κυρίου. The interpretive difficulty that was identified by Thrall above focused on the believers' (i.e., the Corinthians') perception of ἡ δόξα κυρίου as something more than simply the hearing of the gospel. If, however, we understand the transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν to refer to the believers' transformation from death to life (i.e., from the διακονία of Moses to that of Paul), then the difficulty is solved. Consequently, when Paul, in 3:18, claims that believers perceive "the glory of the Lord," he means that they perceive the gospel (i.e., God's life-giving power) manifested in their own flesh as evidenced by their experience of the Spirit.

This understanding of the notion of transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, in turn, suggests the reason for Paul's reference to a mirror in the term κατοπτρι-ζόμενοι. If we recognize that the participial structure of the phrase τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι ties the vision of God's power manifested in Christ's resurrection to the believers' transformation, then the mirror imagery functions to emphasize what is already implicit in the verse, that is, that the vision of ἡ δόξα κυρίου represents the believers' vision of *their own* transformation.[63] In other

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[61] Those who see Judaizing as an issue in Corinth typically appeal to this section (e.g., Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul*, 310–11). Although Paul dealt with at least some Jewish opponents in Corinth, as 2 Cor 11:22 indicates, the issue underlying 11:22 was not Judaizing. Rather, in 11:22, Paul responds to opponents who have boasted about their Jewish "credentials." Lambrecht clearly feels the problem in 3:7–11 and tentatively suggests the presence of Jewish opposition from the synagogue (*Second Corinthians*, 62).

[62] Note the phrase καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος ("for this [i.e., the transformation of the community ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν] comes from the Lord, the Spirit") at the conclusion of 3:18. On the Corinthians' experience of the Spirit, see n. 56 above.

[63] Typically, the mirror imagery is understood to be from the wisdom tradition and perhaps specifically tied to Wis 7:26. See, Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 239; Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:293.

words, the believers see in themselves (i.e., "as in a mirror") "the glory of the Lord" as they are transformed into "the same image," that is, into the image of the risen Christ.[64]

The Perception of ἡ δόξα κυρίου and the Transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν: A Paraphrase of 2 Corinthians 3:18

Based on our discussion of Paul's use of δόξα in each of the two contexts in which it appears in 3:18, we can now venture a paraphrase of that verse.

So all believers[65] can clearly see (i.e., "with unveiled faces") God's power (i.e., "the glory of the Lord") in the resurrection of the executed Christ. We believers can see this in *ourselves* (i.e., "as in a mirror") because we are being transformed into the same image, the image of the resurrected Christ. Like Christ, we are being transformed from (the ministry of) death to (the ministry of) life (i.e., "from glory to glory") because Moses' glorious ministry brought condemnation and the sentence of death upon us but my ministry (i.e., the ministry of the Spirit and righteousness) brings reconciliation with God which is tantamount to life. All of this has come about because the Lord (i.e., God who raised Christ) is also the Spirit who is present in my ministry.

When viewed in this manner, 2 Cor 3:18, focused as it is on the motif of death–resurrection, fits quite well into Paul's argument in 3:7–18. But how does this argument fit into the larger context of 2:14–4:6?

V. Perception and the Integration of 2 Corinthians 3: 7–18 into 2:14–4:6

While 2 Cor 3:18 focuses on transformation, it is clear that the notion of perception also plays a significant role in this verse. And the attention paid to percep-

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[64] In some ways, my solution resembles that of N. T. Wright (*The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 185–89), who argues that Paul uses the mirror image to suggest to the Corinthians that they see the glory of the Lord reflected in each other. My explanation, however, avoids the necessity of postulating an indirect reflection as suggested by Wright (p. 186).

[65] I suggest that the change in subject at the beginning of 3:18 (to the more inclusive first person plural with the description πάντες ἡμεῖς) represents a shift from the earlier focus on Paul, the διάκονος to a focus on him *and* his audience, the members of the Corinthian ἐκκλησία. In other words, Paul's shift from "we" to "all of us" is really a subtle way for the apostle to talk about the experience of the Gentile Corinthians without resorting to the use of the second person. This is a good example of Paul speaking to the Gentiles as though he were a Gentile, a strategy he claims in 1 Cor 9:21.

tion in 3:18 (κατοπτριζόμενοι) demonstrates how 2 Cor 3:7–18 fits into its larger context (in 2:14–4:6, the first major section of 2:14–7:4).

As we have already seen, the first and the fourth subsections of 2:14–4:6 (i.e., the external subsections 2:14–3:6 and 4:1–6) each contain references, both implicit and explicit, to the theme of perception and, more specifically, the proper perception of both Paul and the gospel.[66] Likewise, in the problematic internal subsections (i.e., 3:7–11 and 3:12–18), the importance of perception—specifically "veiled" (or hindered) perception versus "unveiled" or unhindered perception—is also apparent.[67]

Paul's attention to accurate and faulty perception throughout 2 Cor 2:14–4:6— and particularly his claim that the clarity of one's perception is tied to one's status vis-à-vis salvation—recommends that this entire section is concerned with the distinction between appearance and reality.[68] We see this from the very beginning of the section (2:14) where Paul describes himself using the unusual term θριαμ-βεύω. As the metaphor suggests, Paul *appears* as "one led in triumph" by a vengeful deity (2:14).[69] Death *appears* to dominate both his message and his person (2:15–16). According to 3:1, Paul *appears* to have no suitable recommendation, and so suspicions about his motivation and honesty have grown (2:17; 4:2).

To the contrary, Paul insists that this way of looking at his gospel and ministry does not represent reality and so it befits only those who are perishing (2:15–16; 4:3). In the second and third subsections (3:7–11 and 12–18), Paul brings in Moses and the Israelites to make the point that the Corinthians are not like the Israelites.[70] To paraphrase his argument roughly, the *perception* of "those who are perishing" (i.e., those who misapprehend Paul's gospel and misinterpret his poor health) is like that of the Israelites in the wilderness (and in his own day) who were (and are) unable *to see* that the Mosaic ministry of death (a ministry condemning those who do not follow the Torah—meaning here primarily the Gentiles) was to be overturned.

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[66] Most notably, as already mentioned, in 2 Cor 2:15–16a (in the first subsection) and 2 Cor 4:3–4 (in the fourth), Paul ties the improper perception of the gospel (and hence his own ministry) to condemnation. Conversely, proper perception belongs to those who are on their way to salvation. See also n. 31 above.

[67] In 3:7, Paul alludes to Exodus 34 to depict Israel's inability to see the passing of the glorious "διακονία of death" (which brought condemnation to the Gentiles). In 3:12–13, Paul appeals to perception—both open and hindered perception—in the juxtaposition of his own παρρησία to Moses' act of veiling his face. In 3:14–15, he indicates that Israel's perception is "veiled" when the Israelites read the Scriptures. In 3:16, Moses functions as a type for believers who, as 3:18 tells us, perceive clearly ("with unveiled face") "the glory of the Lord" in themselves in their transformation from the sentence of death to life.

[68] In fact, this theme resounds throughout 2:14–7:4. Outside 2:14–4:6, see, among other places, 2 Cor 4:7–9; 4:18; 5:7, 16; and 6:8b–10.

[69] Duff, "Metaphor."

[70] Paul, however, also muddies the water by suggesting in 3:16–18 that the Corinthians are, in fact, like Moses.

Paul also implicitly suggests, however, that Moses contributed to Israel's perceptual problems, for the lawgiver veiled his face (i.e., was not totally open with Israel) when he came down from Sinai.[71] Paul, on the other hand (unlike Moses, as he points out in 3:12–13), has been completely open ($\pi o\lambda\lambda\tilde{\eta}\ \pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma i\alpha\ \chi\rho\acute{\omega}$-$\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$) with the Corinthians and has hidden nothing from them (i.e., has not hindered their perception in any way; cf. 4:3–4). In fact, his openness before the Gentile Corinthians has demonstrated to them that their death sentence—inaugurated by Moses' ministry—has been commuted.

In turn, their reception of his message (and the consequent formation of the $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma i\alpha$) proves beyond the shadow of a doubt the legitimacy of his gospel and hence his $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa ov i\alpha$. What more commendation could they (or anyone else) possibly need (3:2–3)? As Paul points out in 3:18, the Corinthians are (*or should be*) able to see God's power—as manifested in the resurrection of Christ. They can (*or should be able to*) see it most dramatically in their own transformation from death to life (i.e., in their transformation $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{o}\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu$) as evidenced by their experience of the Spirit. They are (*or should be*) reconciled with God and have (*or should have*) received life from the ministry of Spirit. All of this, of course, came to them by way of Paul's ministry (3:6).

While a much fuller explication of the flow of Paul's argument throughout 2:14–4:6 is not possible due to limitations of space, nevertheless, the contours of it as laid out above should suffice for the purpose of this article. We now need to turn to the relationship between 3:18 (and specifically the idea of transformation $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{o}$ $\delta\acute{o}\xi\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu$), and Paul's remarkable self-description in the section that follows 2:14–4:6.

VI. "Carrying Around the Dying of Jesus"

The second major section of 2:14–7:4 begins in 4:7 with Paul's famous image of "treasure in clay jars" ($\H{E}\chi o\mu\epsilon\nu\ \delta\dot{\epsilon}\ \tau\dot{o}\nu\ \theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\dot{o}\nu\ \tau o\tilde{\upsilon}\tau o\nu\ \dot{\epsilon}\nu\ \dot{o}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\kappa i\nu o\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$).[72] He illustrates the metaphor in the next two verses (4:8–9),[73] where he presents four antitheses, each one following the formula X $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\ o\dot{\upsilon}\kappa$ Y:

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[71] I suggest that what is veiled is not the nullification of Israel's covenant but rather that Moses has prevented Israel (past and present) from recognizing the deity's plan for the justification of all humanity, including the Gentiles. In other words, it is the Torah's condemnation of those who do not keep the law that is transitory, not Israel's covenant. See Duff, "Glory, " 327–28.

[72] The extent of the second section is disputed. For instance, Lambrecht (*Second Corinthians*, 71) and Thrall (*Second Corinthians*, 1:320) conclude the section at 4:15; Barrett (*Second Epistle*, 36) and Martin (*2 Corinthians*, 81) count 4:7–18 as a unit; Furnish (*II Corinthians*, 252) ends the unit at 5:10.

[73] As Lambrecht points out, in these antitheses Paul illustrates the distinction drawn in 4:7 between what is fragile and what is powerful (*Second Corinthians*, 76).

We are
afflicted in every way, but not (ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ) crushed;
perplexed but not driven to despair;
persecuted, but not forsaken;
struck down, but not destroyed.[74]

The list builds to the final and most significant antithesis, which seems to be a direct response to his detractors' view of his bodily weakness.[75] In that final antithesis, he describes himself as "struck down (καταβαλλόμενοι) but not destroyed (ἀπολλύμενοι)."[76] Paul's intention here is to point out that his bodily weakness has *not* resulted in his death. He wants his readers to understand that his weakness and suffering should not be seen as divine retribution, as some in the community have apparently suggested;[77] instead, his physical suffering is to be understood in a much more positive light.

The next two verses (4:10–11) make that positive interpretation explicit. In those verses Paul makes the remarkable claim that:

4:10 in our bodies [we are] always carrying around—as in procession (περιφέροντες)[78]—the dying (νέκρωσις)[79] of Jesus so that the life (ζωή) of

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[74] These verses present a list of trials, common in Hellenistic moral literature. On these *peristasis* catalogues," see John T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence* (SBLDS 99; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

[75] It has sometimes been assumed (notably by Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, 141) that this section (beginning with 4:7) has little or no polemical or apologetic aim. Instead, it is focused on all believers and is intended to edify. To the contrary, I contend that this section, like virtually all of 2:14–7:4, is part of Paul's defense of his ministry and should be read that way. Note the comment by Furnish that "4:7–15 [is] an acknowledgment and interpretation of the hardships and apparent defeats with which the Pauline apostolate has been beset" (*II Corinthians*, 277).

[76] It is noteworthy that the verb καταβάλλω can be understood in connection with death, in the sense that one can be "stuck down" dead. See LSJ, s.v.

[77] Note the antithesis in 6:9, ὡς παιδευόμενοι καὶ μὴ θανατούμενοι, as mentioned above.

[78] I have amended the NRSV here because περιφέρω is a term that suggests the ritual of procession. See, e.g., Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 17 (357F), 36 (365B); Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 4.59.2; Pausanius 9.22.1–2. The use of the root -φερω is particulary common in reference to epiphany processions, processions in which a god or a particular divine action was presented to spectators (see n. 81 below). There is a somewhat comparable use of processional language in Ignatius, *Eph.* 9:2, where the bishop depicts the Ephesian Christians as "God-bearers" (θεοφόροι), "temple-bearers (ναοφόροι), "Christ-bearers" (χριστοφόροι), and "bearers of sacred objects" (ἁγιοφόροι). See Philip A. Harland, "Christ-Bearers and Fellow-Initiates: Local Cultural Life and Christian Identity in Ignatius' Letters," *JECS* 11 (2003): 487–97.

[79] In the Pauline corpus, the term νέκρωσις is found only here and in Rom 4:19 (where it refers to the barrenness of Sarah). According to Rudolf Bultmann ("νεκρός, κτλ.," *TDNT* 4:895), its function is to indicate that the death of Jesus is "continuously actualized in the concrete life of the apostle."

Jesus may also be visible in our bodies. 11 For while we live, we are always being given up to death because of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may be made visible in our mortal flesh.[80]

In the first part of 4:10, Paul rather brashly likens his suffering to the public display of the "dying of Jesus."[81] While he retreats a bit in the early part of 4:11, perhaps sensing the audacity of his claim in 4:10,[82] nevertheless, in 4:11, he still claims that his physical weakness is "because of Jesus."[83] In the second phrase of each verse,[84] he makes the remarkable claim that his mere survival—seemingly against all odds—is the visible manifestation of God's resurrection of Jesus (ζωή). Because of our familiarity with the Pauline letters, it is hard for us twenty-first-century readers to appreciate fully the audacity of these verses. Given the kind of doubts that the community had about Paul, as is apparent throughout 2 Corinthians, how could he have expected his audience to accept this incredible claim?

Paul all too clearly understood the apparent arrogance of the claim that he was both "carrying around the dying of Jesus" and manifesting the resurrection of Jesus "in his body," and so he prepared his readers for it in a number of ways. First, he reminded them in several places that he was commissioned by the deity (e.g., 2:17; 3:6; 4:1; 4:6) and, as a result of that commission, he had great self-confidence (3:4) and acted very boldly (πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα [3:12]).[85] Second, he

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[80] I have amended the NRSV translation of v. 11. Particularly noteworthy is the substitution of "because of Jesus" (as suggested by Lambrecht [*Second Corinthians*, 73]) for the phrase "for Jesus' sake." This is because the phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦν in 4:11 has causative force. Although Paul employs the first person plural here, the reference is clearly to himself rather than to all διάκονοι. On Paul's use of the first person plural to refer to himself, see Hans-Josef Klauck, *2. Korintherbrief* (2nd ed.; NEchtB; Würzburg: Echter, 1988), 12–13.

[81] Ancient epiphany processions often displayed objects that would remind spectators of some significant action of a deity. For instance, Diodorus Siculus describes a procession in which stalks of grain were carried to remind people of "what the goddess so ingeniously discovered at the beginning" (1.14.3), and Atheneus describes the display of grapes being transformed into wine in the remarkable procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus (*Deipn.* 199A–B). See Paul Duff, "'The Transformation of the Spectator: Power, Perception, and the Day of Salvation," in *SBL 1987 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent Harold Richards; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 236.

[82] While in the early part of 4:10 Paul directly identifies his sufferings with those of Jesus, in 4:11 he drops the direct identification, merely stating: ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα διὰ Ἰησοῦν.

[83] Paul's use of παραδιδόμεθα in 4:11 is likely meant to call to mind Jesus' arrest—since that term had already been associated with Jesus' passion at Paul's time (Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 256–57; and Thrall, *Second Corinthians*, 1:236). For Paul's use of παραδιδόμεθα in a similar context in other letters, see Rom 4:25; 1 Cor 11:23; and Gal 2:20.

[84] While there is some variation in the earlier part of each verse, the conclusions of vv. 10 and 11 are almost identical.

[85] Although Paul uses παρρησία to describe his openness, the word also connotes "boldness." See BAGD, s.v.

compared himself to Moses and insisted that what he brought to them in his διακονία was even greater than that which the revered lawgiver brought (3:7–11). Third, he insisted on his sincerity (2:17; 4:2) and claimed that his proclamation was not about himself but about "the Lord Jesus Christ" (4:5).

Most important, though, he set the stage for the extraordinary description of his ministry in 4:10–11 with his earlier appeal to the experience of the Corinthians themselves. In 2 Cor 3:18 (as we have seen), he likened the Corinthians' transformation from death to life (ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν) to the death and resurrection of Jesus by suggesting that they had seen in their own flesh ἡ δόξα κυρίου.[86] If Paul could convince the majority of the Corinthians that the divine drama of death and resurrection could be seen in their own lives—a claim that the Corinthians would, no doubt, have been eager to embrace—he would have made it extremely difficult (and, indeed, somewhat embarrassing) for his detractors to then turn around and try to deny the role that Paul played in that same drama.

VII. Conclusion

In 2 Cor 3:18, Paul refers to the believers' transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν. By so doing, the apostle appeals to the Corinthians' experience (and perception) of their own transformation from death to life. As Paul had previously indicated (2 Cor 3:7–11), the Corinthians, like virtually all Gentiles,[87] were under the sentence of death according to the Torah (brought by Moses). Paul points out though that through his ministry (ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης), they have received the possibility of reconciliation with God and the commutation of that death sentence. The community's acceptance of the offer of δικαιοσύνη, which resulted in their experience of the Spirit, was—Paul argues—visible evidence that they had passed from death to life in a manner comparable to (or, more likely, as participants in) Jesus' transformation from death to life by his resurrection from the dead.[88] Thus, Paul claims that the community's experience of the Spirit (which brought about the formation of their ἐκκλησία) validates the legitimacy

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[86] Paul reiterates that claim in 4:12 with the statement to the Corinthians that "life [is at work] in you." Of course, he attributes that (with biting sarcasm) to the "death [that is] at work in [him]."

[87] Paul allows, however, for the possibility of a pre-Christ righteous Gentile in Rom 2:14–15. On this, see esp. Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 138–42.

[88] Although Paul is not absolutely clear about whether this transformation is tantamount to participation in the death and resurrection of Christ or merely analogous, the fact that he uses the phrase ἡ δόξα κυρίου suggests to me that he views their experience as participatory. This idea is further supported by Rom 6:2–3, where Paul describes the believers' baptism into Jesus' death.

(ἱκανότης) of his ministry (cf. 3:5–6). The community, Paul contends, has in effect become his letter of recommendation (2 Cor 3:2–3).

However, Paul not only employs the idea of the Corinthians' perception (κατοπτριζόμενοι) of their transformation ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν to argue for the legitimacy of his ministry in 2:14–4:6; he also appeals to their experience of ἡ δόξα κυρίου to prepare them for a more explicit and audacious description of his own διακονία in the second section of 2:14–7:4.[89] In that second section (esp. in 4:7–12), Paul focuses on his bodily weakness in an attempt to put a positive spin on it. He is not, he argues, "dying" for his sins as some seem to have suggested (6:9b–c). Rather he carries and manifests to all "the dying of Jesus" (4:10) in order that his survival—against overwhelming odds— might present (at least to those capable of seeing it) Jesus' resurrection.

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[89] The boldness of the self-description is anticipated also by his phrase πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα in 3:12.

"I Left You in Crete":
Narrative Deception and Social Hierarchy
in the Letter to Titus

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Behind every letter is a story, but behind a forged letter there are at least two—and one is a lie. The technique of the pseudonymous letter is to bridge surreptitiously the gap between the fiction it tells and the historical situation in which it seeks to have an effect. This is true for the NT letter to Titus.[1] To analyze the rhetoric of Titus is to map this secret crossing in a particular case. The provocative and innovative readings of biblical "love stories" by Mieke Bal raise the question that motivates my treatment of the letter to Titus.[2] In her work *Lethal Love*, Bal asks the question "Is there a relationship between ideological dominance and specific forms of representation?"[3] With Bal's question and also her methods in mind, I rephrase her question for my purposes and my subject, namely, What is the relationship between (1) the pseudonymity of the letter to Titus, (2) the narrative of interaction between "Paul" and "Titus" that the letter implies, and (3) the social structures of hierarchy that the letter sets up? To put it another way: What happens when the author writes and the audience hears the words "I left you in Crete"—especially if

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[1] The author of the Pastoral Epistles will be referred to as "Pseudo-Paul." The character who goes by the name Paul in the pastorals will be referred to as "Paul" (in quotation marks). Likewise, "Titus" (in quotation marks) indicates the implied addressee of the letter.

[2] Mieke Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); eadem, *Death and Dissymmetry: The Politics of Coherence in the Book of Judges* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); eadem, *Murder and Difference: Gender, Genre, and Scholarship on Sisera's Death* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

[3] Bal, *Lethal Love,* 3. Bal sees the Bible as a window on the insecurity of patriarchy. She does not define "forms or representation" with any clarity.

neither has ever been there? To hint at the conclusion this article develops, a narratological reading of the epistle to Titus suggests that the open-ended elements and time shifting of the epistle to Titus ("anachronies" in the terms of a narratological reading), and the relationship portrayed between Paul and Titus inscribe the ideology of the letter so that narrative performs a foundational element in the rhetorical action of the letter.

I. Methodology

A highly formalized reading of the letter to Titus makes clear the relation of the letter's duplicitous form to its rhetorical objectives: the duplicitous form of the letter to Titus is foundational to its advocacy of specific social manifestations of dominance. Umberto Eco has said that "[i]t is usually possible to transform a non-narrative text into a narrative one."[4] This is doubly true for a pseudonymous letter: one letter, two stories—the narrative contained within the letter and the historical story of the location and effect of the forged letter. It is exactly here, in the space between the historical and the fictional, that a combination of questions from historical criticism and from narratology can provide insights into the workings of the letter to Titus. Narratology has been "out of fashion" lately, largely because of the persuasive critiques of structuralism, which left narratology looking like yet another overconfident and underrelevant game that found the same truth (or the same deep structure) lying within everything it examined. Again, Bal is one of the few critics who has stood by narratology and met the critiques of structuralism directly—not by denying them but by reconsidering the role of narratology.[5] Without recapitu-

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[4] Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Advances in Semiotics; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 13; Norman Petersen, *Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 43; Larry Wolff, "Habsburg Letters: The Disciplinary Dynamics of Epistolary Narrative in the Correspondence of Maria Theresa and Marie Antionette," in *Neverending Stories: Toward a Critical Narratology* (ed. Ann Fehn et al.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 70.

[5] Mieke Bal, *On Meaning Making: Essays in Semiotics* (FF Literary Facets; Sonoma: Polebridge, 1994), 25–26: "The point of narratology, defined as reflection on the generically specific, narrative determinants of the production of meaning in semiotic interaction, is not in the construction of a perfectly reliable model which 'fits' the texts. In addition to unwarranted claims on the generalisability of structure and on the relevance of general structures for the meaning and effect of texts, such a construction presupposes the object of narratology to be a 'pure' narrative. Instead, narrative must be considered as a discursive mode which affects semiotic objects in variable degrees. Once the relationship of entailment between narrativity and narrative objects is abandoned there is no reason any more to privilege narratology as an approach to texts traditionally classified as narrative. Instead, other approaches may be better equipped to account for those aspects of narrative texts that have traditionally been under-illuminated, partly because of the predominance of a text immanent, structuralist approach."

lating her defense, suffice it to say that Bal makes it possible to understand narratology as a systematic tool to *produce* a paraphrase rather than to *discover* a structure. The question of whether the systematic paraphrases that narratology produces "are really there" misses the mark once it is conceived as a specific and strategic method rather than a general theory. This reduction of the authority of narratology is what makes it possible for narratology to retain its usefulness.

By combining these methods—that is, by comparing the story in Titus to a reconstruction of the historical situation of the letter—it is possible to bring to the foreground the relationship of pseudonymity and dominance, that is, the relationship of the narrative deception that the letter practices and the social hierarchy it strives to create or maintain.

II. Provenance and Program of the Letter to Titus

At the beginning, I should state my working position concerning the historical situation of the letter to Titus. I hold that the letter was written by someone other than Paul, was written well after Paul's death, and was written to be read in front of a community *as if it had been written by Paul*. The important element here for the present analysis is that "Titus" is falsely named as the audience just as "Paul" is falsely named as the author. That is, the original audience had to pretend to be Titus or had to listen directly as if it were listening surreptitiously. No "real Titus" ever received the letter and the historical author wrote doubly to a fictitious "Titus" and to a real congregation or congregations.[6] It is with this in mind and with an eye to the predicament of an "actual" audience in such a situation that I read the letter to Titus.

The historical questions regarding the Pastoral Epistles are basic: Who, in Paul's name, wrote the letter to Titus? And when, whence, and whither did Pseudo-Paul write? Answers to these four questions, however, are difficult to provide. Most writers and commentators are content with extensive explanations of why Paul did not write the Pastoral Epistles, or with desperate justifications of why we should still connect Paul to the Pastoral Epistles,[7] but few make disciplined investigations

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[6] See Jouette M. Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 20, 24. "[Third], if the author is pseudonymous, so are the addressees. It is necessary to separate the interpretation of the letters from the historical figures of Timothy and Titus and to regard the author's references to these men as part of his literary fiction." Michael D. Goulder, on the other hand, quite generously refers to the author as "the Pastor," and to the recipients as Titus and Timothy (in the case of the other two Pastoral Epistles) ("The Pastor's Wolves," *NovT* 38 [1996]: 256). Richard J. Bauckham suggests that Timothy, the companion of the historical Paul, is the author of the Pastorals ("Pseudo-Apostolic Letters," *JBL* 107 [1988]: 494).

[7] See, even in a scholarly series, Walter Lock, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Pastoral Epistles (I & II Timothy and Titus)* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924), xxv.

into who did write the Pastorals. While the author of Luke-Acts[8] or Polycarp of Smyrna[9] have both been suggested, these proposals are more easily disposed of than defended.[10] Less fantastic proposals are far less specific: Helmut Koester asserts that, without question, the Pastoral Epistles were written in "the realm of the countries of the Aegean Sea" most probably between 120 and 160 C.E." Werner Kümmel briefly mentions that "their [the Pastoral Epistles'] origin in Asia Minor which is often conjectured is not demonstrable" and suggests that the Pastoral Epistles were written at "the very beginning of the second century." Dennis MacDonald considers the judgment that the Pastoral Epistles originated in Asia Minor "almost certain," and he suggests 100–140 C.E. as a range of probable dates. Jerome Quinn is reticent, but hints at either Ephesus or, less probably, Rome as the origin of the Pastoral Epistles in 90–100 C.E. Though Jouette Bassler considers no definitive conclusion possible, she treats Ephesus around 100 C.E. as most probable.[11] Unless one is prepared to accept Timothy himself, Polycarp, or the author of Luke-Acts as the writer, more specific ideas about the origin of the Pastoral Epistles than Asia Minor between 100 and 140 C.E. are scarce; the identity of the individual responsible for the Pastoral Epistles is inaccessible.

Given the dates just mentioned, the Pastoral Epistles were certainly not written by Paul nor received by his companions Timothy and Titus. This disjuncture between the real and fictive audience that is generative for my analysis is thus an implication of a wide scholarly consensus. In addition to claiming a false author, the Pastoral Epistles make claim to a false audience. These two falsifications call the very idea of an addressee for these documents into question. The Pastoral Epistles were written as unit, and it is unlikely that any of them ever had an independent existence. It is not sufficient to say that they are pseudonymous letters. Conceived in their original situation, they are not letters at all. Only by practicing an initial deception do they even sneak into the letter genre and appropriate the functions of a letter. Thus, the original audience of the letter to Titus is probably the audience of the letters to Timothy. The identity of the intended audience is likely a congregation in Asia Minor, perhaps Ephesus.[12]

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[8] Stephen G. Wilson, *Luke and the Pastoral Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1979), passim.

[9] Hans von Campenhausen, "Polykarp Von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe," in *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), 197–252.

[10] See, e.g., Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 3–4.

[11] Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament: History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), 305; Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. Howard Clark Kee; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 386–87; MacDonald, *Legend and the Apostle*, 54; Jerome D. Quinn, *The Letter to Titus: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary and an Introduction to Titus, I and II Timothy, the Pastoral Epistles* (AB 35; New York: Doubleday, 1990), 20; Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus* 20, 24–25.

[12] Quinn, *Letter to Titus,* 20. Once the idea is abandoned that the Pastoral Epistles were ever dispatched as letters individually, even pseudonymously, or were ever presented as "look what the

The purpose of the Pastoral Epistles is easier to discern in some detail. The premise of the letter to Titus is that "Paul" is instructing "Titus" on how to install the appropriate social hierarchies in the Christian communities on Crete and warning "Titus" against failings or vices that the communities or their members might face. The desired hierarchies are that the bishop should rule over the church (1:7), the old over the young (1:5; 2:1–6), men over women (2:5), masters over slaves (2:9), imperial authorities over Christian inhabitants of the empire (3:1). The defects or vices against which the fictive "Titus" is instructed to guard include greed, drunkenness, violence (1:7), sexual promiscuity (1:6; 2:5), disrespect of authority (1:6, 10; 2:9), gossip (3:3), and theft (though the warning against theft is applied only to slaves [2:10]). The false "Paul" also warns against deception (φρεναπάται [1:10]; ψεῦσται [1:12]) and proclaims loudly the truthfulness of his forgery (more on this later). There is also a social dimension to the warnings that the false "Paul" offers. Beyond the very general characterizations of unsavory people as "corrupt" (1:15) or "foolish," the writer warns against the "circumcision party" (οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς [1:10]), against "those who heed Jewish myths" (προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις [1:14]), or who engage in "stupid controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels over the law" (μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας καὶ ἔριν καὶ μάχας νομικάς [3:9]). In addition to the set of virtues and vices that occupy the author's attention, the letter to Titus is clearly written in order to dissuade members of the church from Jewish practices and from Jewish fields of discourse.[13] Even here it is necessary to mention the retrojection of second-century conflicts and concerns onto a narrative of the first century. Anthony Grafton's comment that "nothing becomes obsolete like a period vision of an older period" applies in particular to these examples of Pauline pseudepigraphy.[14]

III. Pseudonymity in Antiquity[15]

Modern understandings of literary forgery in the ancient world have often been confused by contemporary attitudes to plagiarism, and by scholars' desire to

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messenger just brought from Paul!" there is no need to expect that the community in which they were produced and that for which they were intended are different.

[13] Wolfgang Stegemann recognizes the anti-Semitism in Titus, but holds that the author is deliberately (and only) associating his opponents with Judaism for rhetorical purposes; that is, anti-Semitism is being used as a topos for the conflicts of deviance that may or may not be directly related to Judaism. See Wolfgang Stegemann, "Anti-Semitic and Racist Prejudices in Titus 1:10–16," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; Biblical Interpretation Series 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 293.

[14] Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 67.

[15] For detailed studies on pseudepigraphy in the ancient world, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung*

preserve the authority of certain texts.[16] While there are several genuinely mitigating factors,[17] falsification was clearly an illicit activity: a work found to be pseudonymous or pseudepigraphical could lose its authority. Lewis Donelson sums up the issue aptly: "We are forced to admit that in Christian circles pseudonymity was considered a dishonorable device and, if discovered, the document was rejected and the author, if known, was excoriated."[18] The Muratorian Canon's rejection of the *Letter to the Laodiceans* and the *Letter to the Alexandrians* on the grounds of falsified authorship provides a simple example.[19] The worry about a "letter purporting to be from us" in 2 Thess 2:2 shows how clearly a self-consciousness about the deception of pseudepigraphy was manifest in the endeavor itself. The minority position, which I do not hold, is that Paul actually wrote 2 Thessalonians and worried about pseudepigraphy in his own lifetime. Paul's own narrative of "false brethren secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage" (Gal 2:4) shows that the worry about deception—not in this case literary—was part of the Paul's own foundational narrative of his relations within the movement of devotion to Jesus.

In order to understand the specificity of the pseudepigraphy of the letter to Titus, I want to situate it within a literary phenomenon more specific than pseudepigraphy in general, namely, letter writing, and within a cultural trope more widely distributed than the literary, namely, a phenomenon I have elsewhere called "disjunctive speech."[20] The move to situate the pseudepigraphy of the letter to Titus in

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(Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 1/2; Munich: Beck, 1971); and Norbert Brox, *Falsche Verfasserangaben: Zur Erklärung der frühchristlichen Pseudepigraphie* (SBS 79; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975). For a good English overview, see Lewis R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argumentation in the Pastoral Epistles* (HUT 22; Tübingen: Mohr, 1986). Grafton (*Forgers and Critics*) offers an illuminating study of forgery and provides several fascinating examples of the tangled web of indignation, admiration, and erudition that forgery inspired, but he specifically avoids consideration of religious forgery. Most recently see Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 1–11. Although it is possible to distinguish between pseudonymity and pseudepigraphy, scholarly usage does not display a careful distinction. Pseudonymity may suggest more conscious deception on the part of the author.

[16] E.g., Lock, *Pastoral Epistles,* xxv–xxxv.

[17] Such factors include respect for the authoritative figures of the past; "inspiration" as an author's self-understanding; prosopopoeia as a school exercise; the need for a word from "Paul" (or some other figure) on a subject on which he did not speak; valuing of imitation over originality; etc. See discussion in Bruce M. Metzger, "Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha," in *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (NTTS 10; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 1–22.

[18] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy,* 16.

[19] Muratorian Canon line 64; trans Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); cf. Hans Lietzmann, *Das Muratorische Fragment und die Monarchianischen Prologue zu den Evangelien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933).

[20] John W. Marshall, "When You Make the Inside like the Outside: Ethos and Pseudepigra-

the specific context of letter writing helps address the question posed by Hindy Najman of whether questions considering pseudepigraphic texts as forgeries anachronistically embrace concepts of authorship that are foreign to the ancient world.[21] The general answer to such a question, it seems to me, should be yes and no. This ambiguous answer proceeds from the broad scope of asking the question about pseudepigraphic texts in general. Concepts of authorship are bound up with concepts of genre, and to ask questions about concepts of authorship without specifying genre invites ambiguity. And so the concepts of authorship that ancients might apply to a text (treatise, narrative, or even revelation) that claims or possesses hoary antiquity might be substantially different than the concepts at hand when receiving (or composing) a text, or more specifically a letter, in the name of a figure in living memory.

Moreover, it is clear that ancient writers had a variety of concepts of authorship at hand that they could deploy in an evaluative fashion when faced with issues of pseudepigraphy. For example, Tertullian can, when he stands in support of a document's authority, justify the genuine Enochic authorship of "the writing of Enoch" by suggesting that Noah would have carried the Enochic tradition in the ark (*Cult. Fem.* 1.3). And if this is not convincing, Tertullian offers that the holy spirit might have reconstituted the writings of Enoch after the deluge by inspiration. On the far end of this author's conceptual continuum, the same Tertullian dismisses the *Acts of Paul* as falsely named and thus without authority, while he acknowledges that the author/compiler was a church elder who acted out of love for Paul (*Bapt.* 18). Tertullian has a range of notions of authorship available to him, and he deploys them to distribute authority to or to remove it from individual documents. The point of this economy of power flowing through documents via concepts of authorship is the exercise of power in the social world. In the case of Tertullian's attack on the authority of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, the power being removed is the power of a woman to act with religious authority.

The papyri, that is to say, the remains of actual letters sent between individuals, not the pseudonymous letters credited to the great philosophers, are the most fruitful place to start an investigation of the letter genre. In very substantial numbers, these documents are letters sent from one person to another. They begin with an indication of who the parties in the letter are; they greet and/or wish good health; they undertake to communicate a message; they use first to second person discourse; and they may close with salutations and further instructions to pass on greetings. This is the form of letter genre in a nutshell.[22] This form, however, with

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phy," in *Rhetoric, Ethic, and Moral Persuasion in Biblical Discourse: Essays from the 2002 Heidelberg Conference* (ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Anders Eriksson; Emory Studies in Early Christianity; New York: T&T Clark, 2005).

[21] Najman, *Seconding Sinai,* 6–10.

[22] Hans-Josef Klauck, with the collaboration of Daniel P. Bailey, *Ancient letters and the New*

all the features sketched above, entails a concept of authorship in order to make any sense of its function. Letters home instructing a spouse to send money, to a parent requesting forgiveness for a transgression, to a friend inquiring about welfare, all depend on a concept of authorship in which the writer in the letter corresponds simply to an actual author of the letter. It is impossible to read ancient letters sensibly without such a concept of authorship.

Moreover, this concept of authorship is responsible for the ancient extension of the letter genre to cover a vast range of functions much more specific than general personal communication. Examples in the form of a letter exist among the papyri that undertake employment contracts, arrange apprenticeships, offer receipts, bid for property, proclaim imperial decrees, sell an ass, estimate work orders, disburse funds, or enact a divorce.[23] The conduct of these functions *within the letter genre* makes sense specifically because of the correspondence of author-in-the-text and writer-in-the-world. Many examples of each of the functions listed above (and many more) include all the elements of the letter genre.

Before moving to the cases where letters operate in a situation of disjunction between author-in-the-text and writer-in-the-world we need to understand the concept of authorship that underlies regular letters because it is this concept of correspondence between author-in-the-text and writer-in-the-world that drives pseudonymous and fictional letters. Patricia Rosenmeyer's study of fictionalized authorship has shown how letters embedded in narrative fiction, epistolary fiction, and pseudonymous letters all trade on this concept of authorship even as they transgress it, regardless of whether their readers are aware of the transgression.[24] Thus, starting with the invented letters of the Second Sophistic to explain the pseudepigraphy of the Pastoral Epistles avoids the very foundation of the epistolary concept of authorship. In order to understand how a falsified letter operates in the social world, we must attend to functioning letters rather than to the philosophical transformation of the genre.

Forged documents were a known phenomenon in the ancient world, and some sorts of documents—letters in particular—were judged to be authentic or forged with much the same criteria in mind that moderns deploy in understanding forgery and authenticity. Plutarch (*Brut.* 53) knows that letters of Brutus may be forged or

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Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 17–25. Klauck also provides extensive bibliography on the letter form.

[23] Arthur S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri, with an English Translation* (2 vols.; LCL; London: Heinemann, 1932–34) (abbreviated *SP*). For examples, see *SP* 16 = *B.G.U.* 1107 (employment); *SP* 15 = *P.Oxy.* 724 (apprenticeship); *SP* 68 = *P.Tebt.* 110 (receipt for loan); *SP* 357 = *C.P. Herm.* 119, col iv (property offer); *SP* 212 = *P.London* 1912 (imperial proclamation); *SP* 33 = *P.Oxy.* 1707 (selling an ass); *SP* 360 = *P.Oxy.* 896 (estimation); *SP* 177 = *P.Fay.* 100 (disbursement); *SP* 8 = *P.Grenf.* ii.76 (divorce).

[24] Patricia A. Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

genuine. Jerome (*Apol.* 3.25) was incensed about a letter falsely circulated under his name.[25] The allusions to forged correspondence in 2 Thessalonians and the Muratorian Canon have been mentioned already. Moving beyond the epistolary, Galen went so far as to draw up an authoritative list of his own works in order to distinguish them in a marketplace where forgery of Galen's works was lucrative in his own lifetime.[26] Ancient narrative also knows of forged letters as a plot device in literature and historiography and as a practice in politics and conspiracy (e.g., Plutarch, *Sert.* 26; Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.4). It would be a simple matter to elaborate and to multiply these examples, but the point for the present analysis is clear: the writer of the Pastoral Epistles, whether well-intentioned or not, undertook a deceitful writing strategy in falsifying the authorship of letters[27] and risked rejection of his[28] writing. The excoriation and rejection that would accompany the failure of his deception offer some explanations of why the Pastoral Epistles struggle so desperately to appear authentic. By desperate struggles and shrill proclamations I have in mind statements like the assertion in 1 Tim 2:7 that "I am telling the truth, I am not lying," or the invocation in Titus 1:2 of the "God who never lies (ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός)."

In large measure, the author of the Pastoral Epistles succeeded in his deception; throughout most of the history of Christianity, those letters have been regarded as Pauline; even today most Christians do not think of them as forgeries. Concentrating on the letter to Titus, the narratological investigations which follow examine how this deception was accomplished and how the deception itself functioned. For Bal, dominance is the product of a system of interpretation that allows a text to have only one meaning. Dominance, for Bal, more deeply than specific exertions of power, is the tyranny of coherence that makes systems of oppression possible. This dominance is what the false authorship of Titus facilitates.

Bal asks about the relation between ideological dominance and specific forms of representation. Initially, I want to conceive of "dominance" only as the specific social manifestations of dominance that the letter to Titus seeks to create or maintain—men over women, old over young, Gentiles over Jews, clergy over laity, imperial structures over Christians—but by the end of the study I hope to have shown how these specific social structures are connected to, or even dependent on, a more fundamental act of dominance in the letter itself, namely, the duplicitous story it tells.

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[25] Cited in Bauckham, "Pseudo-Apostolic Letters," 471.

[26] Galen, "On His Own Books," in *Claudii Galeni pergameni scripta minora* (ed. Georg Helmreich et al.; Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), 91–124.

[27] Even allowing that Pseudo-Paul might have thought that the Pastoral Epistles are exactly what Paul would have written in Pseudo-Paul's situation does not remove the deception.

[28] I wrote that "the identity of the individual responsible for the Pastoral Epistles is inaccessible" (p. 782 above). His gender is not. 1 Timothy 2:12, stating that women must not instruct men, is quite unlikely to have come from a woman to a man. Several other examples are easy to find and almost as clear. See Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus,* 20, 24–25.

IV. The Tale of "Paul" and "Titus"

It is instructive to recall the story of Paul and Titus as inscribed in the letter bearing those names.[29] Once upon a time, Paul was a bad man among bad men, a disobedient fool, a lost soul, a slave to passions and pleasures, a misanthrope, and a thoroughly hateful creature. God's promise "from ages past," however, was realized in Jesus, and Paul became an heir of God designated to inherit eternal life. That is, Paul underwent a complete transformation from a bad state to a good one. Paul entered the service of God and through his preaching on behalf of God became the spiritual father of Titus. Together they traveled to Crete, presumably forming communities of the people of God. Eventually, Paul left Titus and at some later time, while wintering in Nicopolis (in northwestern Greece), wrote the letter that we find before us. Paul's companions send greetings. The rest of the story is in the future, as far as the primary story time of the letter is concerned, but presumably Titus followed Paul's instructions regarding the communities on Crete and equipped and sent off Zenas and Apollos. Paul would send Artemas or Tychicus to Titus, subsequently Titus would visit Paul in Nicopolis. The long-term happy ending of the story implies that Paul and Titus attain eternal life.

Make no mistake: recounting this tale here implies no claim in support of the historical veracity of this story; Galatians yields a substantially different picture. The tale above, however, is entirely derivable from the letter to Titus and the rest of the study concerns the rhetorical force of this story and the particulars of its more elliptical presentation within the letter.

The Narrative's Support of the Program: Deception and Hierarchy

Without attempting here to give an adequate introduction to narratology,[30] it is necessary to clarify two distinctions that are frequently made in narratological analyses and that organize my analysis—the distinctions between fabula and story and between an actor and a character. A fabula is the set of events, in chronological order, that make up a story, while a story is a set of events instantiated in telling,

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[29] See table 1.

[30] See, e.g., Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (trans. Christine van Boheemen; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," in idem, *Image–Music–Text* (ed. and trans. Stephen Heath; London: Fontana, 1977); Claude Bremond, "The Logic of Narrative Possibilities," *New Literary History* 11 (1980): 387–411; William O. Hendricks, "Methodology of Narrative Structural Analysis," *Semiotica* 7 (1973): 163–84; Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Janua Linguarum, series maior 108; The Hague: Mouton, 1982).

which is almost never directly chronological. Whereas a fabula has actors, a story has characters. The actor functions in the fabula playing out one—or a combination of several—of the possible roles, while a character is a named force or individual situated within a story and having a personality in the narrative world. Actors may be impersonal, like social forces, but characters are like people. Bal puts the distinction neatly: "an *actor* is a structural position, while a *character* is a semantic unit."[31] Fabula and story, actor and character: these are the basic units of narratological analysis that I employ in my reading of the letter to Titus.

Fabula

Bal suggests that the fabula is the level at which the ideology inhering in a narrative is inscribed.[32] Table 1 presents the actions that constitute the *fabula* of "Paul" and "Titus" as well as hinting at how those elements are sequenced in the *story* of "Paul" and "Titus. " Both the structure of events and the positioning of the actors reinforce the social and rhetorical goals of the Pastoral Epistles.

Referential Sequence (Fabula)	Poetic Sequence (Story)	Verse	Action *(parentheses indicate implied actions)*
TABLE 1. THE RECONSTRUCTED FABULA OF "PAUL" AND "TITUS"
1	6	1:2b	The providence of God
2	13	3:3b	The dissolute life of Paul and all
3	14	3:4–8	God's saving act
4	2	1:1a	Paul enters God's service
5	7	1:3	God's hope is manifest through Paul's preaching
6	8	1:4	Titus becomes the child of Paul in the faith
(7)	(10)	(1:5a)	(Paul travels to Crete)
8	11	1:5b	Paul directs Titus
9	9	1:5a	Paul leaves Titus in Crete
10	17	3:12c	Paul decides to winter in Nicopolis
(11)	(4)	(1:1b)	(Paul feels a need to write)
12	3	1:1b	Paul writes
13	19	3:15	Paul and companions send greetings
(14)	(20)		(Paul sends the letter)
(15)	(1)		(Titus receives the letter)
16	12	1:13–16	Titus amends what is defective on Crete
(17)	(18)	3:13	(Titus equips and sends Zenas and Apollos)
(18)	(15)	3:12a	(Paul sends Artemas or Tychicus)
(19)	(16)	3:12b	(Titus visits Paul at Nicopolis)
(20)	(5)	1:2a	(Paul and Titus attain eternal life)

[31] Bal, *Narratology,* 79.
[32] Ibid., 50.

Hierarchy of events. Looking at the events that constitute the fabula, one can see the entire fabula as made up of embedded and consecutive cycles of virtuality, action, and completion (see table 2, p. 791). These terms describe narrative actions in their potential, in their working out in the course of narrative, and in their closure. Claude Bremond's writing on "the logic of narrative possibilities"[33] articulates this view of narrative, which Bal incorporates into her *Narratology.* The letter to Titus does not produce a complexly embedded story. The broadest cycle of Virtuality/Action/Completion in the letter to Titus is the providence of God (alluded to in 1:2), which in its virtuality precedes, and its action contains, every other event in the chronology of the tale. The action of this cycle—God's action in the world, sketched in 3:4–7—contains almost all the other units of action implied by the letter. Viewed from the primary story time, the completion of this cycle lies in the future: Paul and Titus and the elect presumably attain eternal life. Titus 1:2 begins with an anticipation of this completion, but it is never concretely realized in the narrative (not surprisingly). Most of the rest of the fabula consists of narrative cycles in sequence set within the *action* of God's providence.[34] By setting the main sequence of narrative cycles within the overarching cycle of God's purpose for the world, Pseudo-Paul[35] borrows authority from the idea of God's purpose to help legitimize the false tale of "Paul" and "Titus" and to lend divine sanction to the ideology that "Paul" outlines for "Titus" to preach in 1:13–14.

Hierarchy of actors. Bal isolates six roles—that is, structural positions—that actors in a fabula might play.[36] Table 3 (p. 792) outlines the six actantial roles and how the characters of the story map onto these roles. "Paul" is the primary subject,[37] and "Titus" stands in several subordinate relations to "Paul": "Titus" is object to "Paul" as subject; "Titus" is also helper to "Paul" as subject; "Titus" is only a receiver of the power of God through the mediation of "Paul." Beneath "Titus," one step further removed from "Paul" and from the power of God, are the elect. The relationships of the actors are fundamentally hierarchical. The position of the narrative cycles in which these relationships are worked out as subcycles within the providence of God also legitimizes hierarchy as a principle of relation. Hierarchi-

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[33] Bremond, "Logic of Narrative Possibilities," 387–411.

[34] The $_{greet}$ and $_{message}$ cycles are embedded within the $_{letter}$ cycle and the main sequence of cycles is embedded within the $_{god}$ cycle.

[35] For the most part, narratology pays little attention to the author (Bal, *Narratology,* 119). Because I discuss the persuasive aspect of the text and employ the description afforded by narratology as a tool to talk about the construction of the text, I do discuss the author, though with care.

[36] Bal, *Narratology,* 26–37.

[37] Wolff notes, "It is always the writer of the epistolary narrative who defines the relationship of power between its two persons, reserving the option of assuming either subject or object status" ("Habsburg Letters," 66). Within Titus, "Paul" never cedes subject status to "Titus."

cal relationships are an element of the ideology of the text, inscribed in the fabula, which the relations between the actors communicate and which the structure of events legitimizes.

		Table 2. Narrative Cycles of the Fabula of "Paul" and "Titus"	
V_{god}		The providence of God	1
		The dissolute life of "Paul" and all	2
		(*Not narrative cycle, but a contrasting initial condition to God's providence*)	
A_{god}		God's saving act	3
	V_{preach}	Preaching necessary to spread news of salvation	•
	A_{preach}	"Paul" enters God's service	4
	A_{preach}	God's hope is manifest by the preaching of "Paul"	5
	C_{preach}	"Titus" becomes the child of "Paul" in the faith	6
	V_{crete}	Crete needs "Paul's" gospel	•
	A_{crete}	"Paul" and "Titus" travel to Crete	(7)
	C_{crete}	"Paul" directs "Titus"	8
	V_{other}	"Paul" perceives a need to be elsewhere	•
	A_{other}	"Paul" leaves "Titus" in Crete	9
	C_{other}	"Paul" arrives somewhere else	•
	V_{winter}	"Paul" decides to winter in Nicopolis	10
	A_{winter}	"Paul" travels to Nicopolis	•
	C_{winter}	"Paul" winters in Nicopolis	•
	V_{letter}	"Paul" feels a need to write	(11)
	A_{letter}	"Paul" writes	12
	V_{greet}	"Paul's" companions find that "Paul" is writing	•
	A_{greet}	"Paul's" companions send greetings	13
	$V_{message}$	"Paul" needs a messenger	•
	$A_{message}$	"Paul" sends the letter	(14)
	$C_{message\ \&\ greet}$	"Titus" receives the letter	(15)
	C_{letter}	"Titus" fixes up the elect on Crete	16
	C_{letter}	"Titus" equips and sends Zenas and Apollos	(17)
	$V_{reunion}$	Time is right for Artemas or Tychicus to travel	•
	$A_{reunion}$	"Paul" sends Artemas or Tychicus	(18)
	$C_{reunion}$	"Titus" visits "Paul" at Nicopolis	(19)
C_{god}		"Paul" and "Titus" attain eternal life	(20)

V = Virtuality
A = Action
C = Completion
subscript = narrative cycle

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Table 3. Actors and Characters in the Tale of "Paul" and "Titus"</td></tr>
</table>

Subject:	Paul
Objects:	Titus, the elect
Power:	God
Receiver(s):	Paul (and Titus through Paul)
Helpers:	Titus, Artemas, Tychicus, Zenas, and Apollos
Opponents:	Insubordinate, empty talkers, deceivers, heretics

Story

At the level of the story, the elements of the fabula are arranged in a poetic order. The significance of poetic sequencing lies in its deviations from the chronological order of the fabula and from the progress of the telling itself. These "anachronies," as Bal calls them, differentiate story from fabula.[38] Table 4 shows the elements of the fabula arranged in a poetic order.

<table>
<tr><td align="center">Table 4. Referential and Poetic Sequencing</td></tr>
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Referential Sequence (Fabula):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

Poetic Squence (Story):

6 13 14 2 7 8 (10) 11 9 17 (4) 3 19 (20) (1) 12 (18) (15) (16) (5)

The most important anachrony commences in 15: "This is why I left you in Crete." Here, "Paul" alludes to a past interaction with "Titus." Within the letter, this creates a history of relation that provides the basis for the commands that which follow. Before this anachrony, the anachronies of vv. 1–4[39] (that is, the narrative cycles of the God's providence and of Paul's preaching) perform a similar function, though in less personal terms. These key anachronies, by virtue of their position in the poetic sequence, occurring before "Paul" has commanded or made requests of "Titus," establish the relationship of authority that "Paul" exercises in the subsequent text.

These two early anachronies (the narrative cycles of God's providence and of Paul's work on Crete) are notable for their lack of closure. In the case of the narra-

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[38] See Bal, *Narratology,* 53.

[39] "(1:1) Paul, a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to further the faith of God's elect and their knowledge of the truth which accords with godliness, (2) in hope of eternal life which God, who never lies, promised ages ago (3) and at the proper time manifested in his word through the preaching with which I have been entrusted by command of God our Savior; (4) To Titus, my true [genuine—γνήσιος] child in a common faith: Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Savior" (RSV).

tive cycle of God's providence, the anachrony opens "in hope of eternal life" but does not close; the hope stays operative throughout the story.[40] Similarly, the anachrony of 1:5a ("This is why I left you in Crete") opens plainly, but trails off quietly. It is unclear whether the anachrony ends at 1:6, 1:7, 1:10, or 1:13. Certainly by 1:13, we are back in the primary story time. Because the return to primary story time is unclear, the criteria for church officers are embedded in the past, in what has already come to be fixed by the primary story time. In making the closure of these anachronies ambiguous, Pseudo-Paul solidifies the ideology of the text. The ambiguities in the closure of these key anachronies provide a narrative fog that facilitates the secret crossing from fiction to history. By retrojecting the discourse on church structure into the previous time of "Paul" and "Titus" on Crete, Pseudo-Paul reifies the criteria for church office and the structure of social relations that he is arguing for in the forged letter.

In the case of the two principal characters of the letter to Titus, "Paul" and "Titus," their content is constituted both intertextually and intratextually. The "battle for Paul in story and canon" that Dennis MacDonald describes is a struggle to own the definition of "Paul."[41] In the letter to Titus, "Paul" is constituted both by the preexistence of a semantic unit "Paul" in the historical and literary memory of the audience and by the portrait created within the text of the letter to Titus.

Intertextually, the content of "Paul" is conditioned by the audience's previous experiences of "Paul" as a "semantic unit."[42] The sources available to the original audience were probably an early collection of Paul's letters,[43] perhaps Luke-Acts,

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[40] Two other anachronies (2:11–14 and 3:4–7) begin in the midst of the narrative cycle$_{god}$ and treat its actualization and conclusion, but these are not the closure of the anachrony opened in 1:2.

[41] MacDonald, *Legend and the Apostle.*

[42] Ellen van Wolde offers sensible cautions to those who would "use intertextuality as a modern literary theoretical coat of veneer over the old comparative approach" ("Trendy Intertextuality?" in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* [ed. Sipke Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989], 45). Put simply, an intertextual analysis differs from an old style "parallelomaniacal" comparative analysis in that it is centered on the reader rather than being a quest for the origin or oldest instance of the text. According to van Wolde, it looks at how "the genotext only becomes a text or achieves significance through what the phenotext makes of it" (van Wolde uses "genotext" to indicate the earlier text, and "phenotext" the latter). On the differences between intertextual and diachronic "influence"-based approaches, see also Thais E. Morgan, "Is There an Intertext in This Text? Literary and Interdisciplinary Approaches to Intertextuality," *American Journal of Semiotics* 3 (1985): 2–8.

The intertextual relation between the Pastoral Epistles and Paul's letters is obvious when one considers how much the Pastoral Epistles contribute to our image Paul even when we designate them pseudonymous (MacDonald, *Legend and the Apostle,* 15).

[43] See David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon: An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 133-39, on the "canon consciousness" of the Pastoral Epistles.

and almost certainly oral traditions about Paul.[44] In the letter to Titus, Pseudo-Paul modifies the audience's image of the historical Paul in a few key directions. To the image of "Paul" as a divinely empowered apostle, Pseudo-Paul adds and/or emphasizes anti-Judaism, rigidly stratified church relations, subjugation of women in both public and private life, and the submission of Christians to imperial authorities.

Judaism. The attitude toward Judaism of "Paul" in Titus is more uncompromisingly negative than anything derivable from Paul's genuine letters or the Acts of the Apostles.[45] While the attitude toward Judaism in letters like Romans or Galatians is a complex issue concerning which many carefully researched and contradictory positions may be held, it is not *simply* negative; some consider it very positive.[46] Philippians 3:3–6 portrays Paul's Jewish heritage as something of great worth (though it clearly portrays Christ as of even greater worth).[47] The differences in the portrayal of Paul's past and present in Philippians and in the letter to Titus are instructive for understanding the transformation of Paul in the Pastorals. While Philippians portrays a transformation from good to better—perhaps in Paul's view immeasurably better—the Pastorals portray a simple, if extreme, transformation from bad to good (see 1 Tim 1:13). The book of Acts is certainly a different matter than the genuine letters of Paul and by no means without anti-Jewish elements. Nevertheless, its portrait of Christian supersession strives to derive its value from

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[44] Though only the last of these sources is certain, the first is quite probable, and the second possible. By 120 C.E., Paul's letters would have been almost sixty years old, and Luke-Acts no more than thirty years old. If the destination of the Pastoral Epistles was indeed Ephesus, the previous pseudonymous letter to the congregation (NT Ephesians) makes the presence of a collection of Paul's letters almost certain.

Regarding oral traditions, among illiterate Christians any information about Paul, even that which they heard someone else read, had life as an oral tradition. MacDonald discusses oral traditions about Paul that are not included in the canonical sources (*Legend and the Apostle,* 17–33). In addition to Acts and the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline letters, there were also oral traditions circulating about Paul. MacDonald has argued that the Pastoral Epistles were written to combat the ideas in these oral traditions and to define the character of "Paul." The traditions informing the *Acts of Paul* seem to have portrayed the Apostle an itinerant, anti-imperial, anti-"family values" missionary. The letter to Titus (and the Pastoral Epistles) struggles against each of these characterizations of Paul.

[45] Even though Acts is notoriously unreliable in its portrayal of the relationship of Paul's mission to the devotees of Jesus in Jerusalem, it is valid to consider it part of the portrayal of Paul circulating in the early second century.

[46] Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56 (1963): 199–215; Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), James D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays* (WUNT 185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[47] It is unlikely that Pseudo-Paul could write "we are the true circumcision" (Phil 3:3).

the respect that many pagans held for Judaism's antiquity. In contrast to the complex, confusing, and perhaps confused attitude in the Pauline letters (from which people have drawn arguments both for and against anti-Judaism), and in contrast to the Acts, the letter to Titus displays a clearly and simply anti-Judaic attitude. It censures and censors the "circumcision party" and derides "Jewish myths" (1:10, 14). The charge to "avoid stupid controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels over the law" (3:9) is also probably in reference to the concerns of Jews or Judaizing. The "confession" of 3:3 also forms an implicit indictment of Judaism. The first person plural form of the "confession" of 3:3–7 implicates more than Paul in the debasement it describes. Here the ancient cliché of Jewish misanthropy[48] is put into the mouth of "Paul" and applied to an undefined collective "we" that implies, even if it does not name, Judaism. In contrast with the "robust conscience" Paul displays in his genuine letters (with debts here to Krister Stendahl),[49] in 3:3 "Paul" portrays his past in uncompromisingly negative terms.[50] Pseudo-Paul adds (or emphasizes) an element of anti-Judaism to the character "Paul."

Church structure.　In the letter to Titus, Pseudo-Paul adds new information to the semantic unit "Paul" as part of its persuasive program. Paul's genuine letters make no mention of Crete at all. Where Acts has Paul only pass by Crete on the way to Rome, the letter to Titus implies a stay in Crete at some time. Acts makes no mention of "Titus" at all. The point here is not to suggest that the Acts account is historical but only that, before the Pastorals, there is no extant tradition associating either Paul or Titus with Crete. More important, the letter to Titus has "Paul" advocate a community with a single authoritative bishop over the church and authority structures that subjugate women. The first teaching in the letter to Titus is on the qualifications necessary to be a bishop (1:7–9). The bishop is the guardian of "sound doctrine" in the church, whose job is to teach and refute and to silence those who have no right to teach. Only in Phil 1:1 does a genuine letter of Paul mention bishops, and there in the plural without any description of the word as designating a role in the church. "Paul" in the letter to Titus sets up a more rigidly hierarchical system of teaching than the genuine letters of Paul depict.[51]

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[48] For treatment, see John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983). It is important to note that, as Gager shows, this anti-Jewish cliché was not the dominant attitude to Judaism in Greco-Roman antiquity.

[49] Stendahl, "Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience," 200.

[50] The passage is set in the plural. Viewed strictly within the letter, the most plausible referents are "Paul" and "Titus." Whoever it may include beyond "Paul," it is written in his name and is part of his character as developed in the letter.

[51] In harmony with this advocacy of hierarchical church structures, "Paul" endorses the hierarchical social structure of the empire (3:1). The extent to which this is a modification of the character of Paul that preceded the Pastoral Epistles is debatable.

Women. The attitude toward women in the letter to Titus also goes beyond the portrayal of the genuine letters. While his letters portray Paul as having women co-workers and patrons and advocating *some* relative freedom for women to be religious leaders,[52] "Paul" in Titus does none of this. Though he mentions Zenas and Apollos (3:13), he mentions no women. In 2:2–5, "Paul" urges a one-way submission of wife to husband and implies that women should teach women and not men. Again, Pseudo-Paul transforms what may be an ambiguity in the image of Paul presented by his genuine letters into a clear-cut position of domination over women.[53]

In drawing these contrasts between the "Paul" of his letters, the "Paul" of Acts, and the "Paul" of Titus, I am not suggesting that the historical Paul was an advocate of nonhierarchical community structures, free from any sentiment that could be construed as anti-Jewish and supportive of women's complete equality in church and family life. He was none of these things. I only suggest in what directions Pseudo-Paul modified the portrayal of "Paul" to produce "Paul" in the letter to Titus.

These movements, though most or even all of them would have roots in the historical Paul, constitute Pseudo-Paul's *intra*textual modification of the semantic unit "Paul." The character "Titus" does not develop as much within the letter, but his "public image," as presented by the genuine letters of Paul, makes him an appropriate character with whom the new "Paul" can reveal himself in dialogue.[54] Titus appears only in 2 Corinthians and Galatians. In addition to the portrayal of Titus in 2 Corinthians as a trusted co-worker (7:6–8:23), Galatians adds more detail to the character of Titus, which fits him to the particular anti-Judaic concern of the letter to Titus. In the course of Paul's conflict with the Jerusalem church, Titus is the test case for the circumcision of Gentile converts (Gal 2:1–10). Although Gal 2:1–10 does not deride circumcision in itself (it merely asserts it is not necessary for Gentile converts), Titus's role as the Gentile who resisted circumcision makes him an apt recipient for a letter with the anti-Judaic attitudes of the Pastorals.[55] In the

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[52] For example, every genuine letter of Paul that includes greetings by name to associates and co-workers names women (Rom 16:1–2; 1 Cor 16:19: Phil 4:2).

[53] This development seems to have been under way even before the Pastoral Epistles in Eph 5:22–33 and Col 3:18–19. Pseudo-Paul's attitudes toward women occupy a more central place in 1 Timothy. The extent of the inequality he seeks to create (or maintain) is apparent in 1 Tim 2:8–15.

[54] Although Titus is more of a monologue, late antique epistolary theory saw letters as elements in a dialogue. Presumably, the audience of Titus, understanding it as a letter, envisioned another side to the correspondence.

[55] MacDonald asks "Why Titus?" but does not consider Galatians or the issue of circumcision (*Legend and the Apostle,* 116). In general, MacDonald does not treat the anti-Judaism of Titus, perhaps because it does not have a clear counterpart in the *Acts of Paul*.

letter to Titus there is no direct development of the character of "Titus" apart from reinforcing his association with "Paul" and with the fictitious Christian community on Crete.[56]

Other characters. Other characters in the letter to Titus are much less developed. The opponents are described in several ways (insubordinate, empty talkers, deceivers, the circumcision party [1:10], heretics [3:10]), but they are never dignified with a name. Never named, never portrayed as fully human, they never fully function as characters. This is, of course, part of Pseudo-Paul's campaign against the opponents. The denigration sought in the social world is enacted in the anonymity at the level of story and the contrast of that anonymity to the powerful names of Paul and Titus.

The systematic description afforded by narratology makes visible several key facets of the narrative. The fabula of "Paul" and "Titus" illustrates and legitimizes the rigid hierarchy that the character "Paul" endorses. The poetic sequencing of the story establishes the relation of authority before "Paul" exercises it and embeds the ideology of the text in the past that the narrative present of the letter entails. The characters are intertextual creations that smoothly combine the authority of figures from the past with transformations of these figures that advance the persuasive program of the author.

The Ethos of "Paul" and "Titus"

It is clear that the Pastoral Epistles were a rhetorical success; in contrast to other forged writings, the Pastoral Epistles practiced their deception with great success and influence for nearly two thousand years. The style of Christianity that they preached won out over that of competitors, such as the Apocryphal Acts.[57] The question here, then, is Why?

Classical rhetoric provides a means of understanding the persuasive appeal of the letter to Titus, one I hope to have augmented with our venture into narratology. Aristotle produced (and subsequent theorists followed) a division of the possible means of appeal into λόγος, ἦθος, and πάθος (*Rhet.* 1.2.3–4).[58] Drawn

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[56] Even if there was a historical Christian community on Crete at this time, the letter to Titus associates "Titus" with a fictitious one.

[57] For a description of "the victory of the Pastoral Epistles," see MacDonald, *Legend and the Apostle,* 78–89.

[58] "Now the proofs furnished by the speech are of three kinds. The first depends upon the moral character [ἦθος] of the speaker. The orator persuades by moral character when the speech is delivered in such a manner as to render them worthy of confidence; for we feel confidence in

from Aristotelian rhetoric, these means of appeal comprise persuasion through reasonable argument, authoritative character, and emotional engagement respectively. I see ἦθος, more than λόγος or πάθος, as the preeminent means of appeal in the letter to Titus.

The letter to Titus achieves most of its rhetorical success by appropriating and modifying the ethos of the audience's image of Paul (and I have just outlined the process of modification in some detail). In order for the discourse between the characters "Paul" and "Titus" to have an effect on the audience, the audience must somehow slip itself into the communication between the two great figures of the past. The instructions regarding various groups in the congregation in 2:1–10 are one place that invites the audience to insert itself into the letter. The main strategy of the letter to Titus, however, is more comprehensive. To use the narratological description of the actors, "Titus" (the helper) stands between "Paul" (the subject) and the elect (the object).[59] The reason that "Titus" is such a flat character in the letter is because he is the middleman. The appeal of the letter is the classic (and, as usual, deceptive) sales pitch: "cut out the middleman." Appropriating the ethos of the semantic unit "Paul," Pseudo-Paul cannot cut the distance between the semantic unit "Paul" and the audience by writing a letter directly from the apostle to the audience. The forty- to eighty-year gap between Paul's death and the writing of the letter to Titus is too large for a direct appeal to be convincing. Instead, Pseudo-Paul creates the character "Paul" and makes the ethos of the character "Paul" effective by getting the members of the audience themselves to bridge the (perceived) gap. The audience identifies itself with Titus and thus legitimates the fiction of overhearing that reading anyone else's correspondence entails and that pseudepigraphy doubles and demands. As soon as the gap is bridged, the character "Titus" flattens, and it turns out that the audience has been tricked into carrying Pseudo-Paul across the bridge from his work of fiction to their picture of history.

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a greater degree and more readily in persons of worth in regard to everything in general, but where there is no certainty and there is room for doubt, our confidence is absolute. But this confidence must be due to the speech itself, not to any preconceived idea of the speaker's character; for it is not the case, as some writers of rhetorical treatises lay down in their 'Art,' that the worth of the orator in no way contributes to the orator's powers of persuasion; on the contrary, moral character, so to say, constitutes the most effective means of proof." Key points of this text are that (1) ethical appeal is most relevant when there is the least certainty; (2) ethical appeal is created solely within the speech; and (3) ethical appeal is the most effective means of appeal. See John W. Marshall, "Paul's Ethical Appeal in Philippians," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht; JSOTSup 90; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 357–74.

The chronological gap hinders efforts to create comprehensive arguments based on the specific situation of the audience. Pseudo-Paul ignores *some* of this (as the Gospel writers do), but not totally. In contrast ethos becomes more effective as the figure of Paul becomes more venerable.

[59] See table 3 for these roles.

V. Conclusion: The Lying Liar and the Pure Pure

The questions this study asks—What's going on in the letter to Titus, and why does it work?—have simple intuitive answers: The author is lying, and it works because the audience thinks it's Paul. The purpose of undertaking the formalist reading of narratology is not to contradict these simple answers but to explore them and their implications, especially with regard to the relationship of the duplicity of the letter to the exercise of power it undertakes in support of the hierarchy it seeks to establish, or, in Mieke Bal's terms, the relationship of a specific form to the pursuit of ideological dominance.

If we return to Bal's description of dominance understood as the product of univocal interpretation and illegitimately naturalized coherence, it is possible now to position the letter to Titus in relation to such an understanding. My reading of the letter has shown that it exercises dominance in two ways: first, by using and abusing the historical Paul to establish its own coherent foundation for ideological dominance, and, second, by advocating specific social manifestations of dominance (men over women, Gentiles over Jews, clergy over laity, imperial structures over Christians). The initial exercise of dominance—the first deception, not just in the use of Paul's name but equally in the elaborate content and structure of the story—makes the latter possible.

Bal describes her method as "systematic assignment of priority to 'meaningless' details" which "will invert the values of the representation, thus bringing them to the fore."[60] The title of this study is just such "meaningless detail." In some ways, the whole article has been a systematic examination of what goes on when the text says "I left you in Crete," but the author has *not* left the auditor in Crete. This "detail" is integral to the persuasive operation of the letter and is not just a side element in support of the name "Paul." The significance of the detail has been an inversion of the values of the letter: in its concern to defend the truth, the letter to Titus has intensified its lie. Two other very specific examples from the letter provide insight into the process of deception that the letter effects: the lying antinomy of 1:12 and the purity saying of 1:15.

The text of 1.12–13a runs:

> One of themselves, a prophet of their own, said "Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons." This testimony is true.

"They" in this case are certainly Cretans,[61] and the reference may be to Cretan

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[60] Bal, *Lethal Love,* 4.

[61] See Anthony C. Thiselton, "The Logical Role of the Liar Paradox in Titus 1:12,13: A Dissent from the Commentaries in the Light of Philosophical and Logical Analysis," *BibInt* 2 (1994): 214, on the derivation of this gnomon from Epimedes (in Clement, *Strom* 1.59.2) and from

Jews.[62] This "testimony," however, is deemed true by a liar—Pseudo-Paul. Titus 1:12 is, in itself, a *mise en abîme*, an infinitely recursive, self-referential, and self-negating statement. How can a Cretan say truthfully that all Cretans are liars? To have a liar pronounce it true brings one of the cycles of recursion into the letter. Paraphrased, a liar declares it no lie when a member of a class says that all members of that class are always liars. The statement never resolves into sense. In the same way, there is no sense in the representative of the "God who never lies" (1:2) claiming to further knowledge of truth and yet basing it all on a lie. In an analysis of the logical role of the liar paradox in the letter to Titus, Anthony Thiselton suggests that the writer "employs the liar paradox quite specifically to demonstrate the self-defeating ineffectiveness of making truth-claims which are given the lie by conduct which fails to match them."[63] This may very well be the *purpose* of the paradox when considered within the letter, but I would add one more frame to Thiselton's comment. The author of the letter to Titus demonstrates the enduring effectiveness of making truth claims through giving lies—that is, through writerly conduct that fails to match the moral exhortation of the document. Thiselton suggests that the writer of the letter to Titus quotes the liar paradox in order "to demonstrate a logical asymmetry between first-person and third-person utterances."[64] Perhaps, but from the point of view of the historical identity of the writer, I would suggest that the function of the liar paradox is to take advantage of that asymmetry.

It may be that the purity saying of 1:15 makes sense of the liar paradox, but it cuts both ways. "To the pure all things are pure" (1:15). Perhaps Pseudo-Paul's self-understanding is that he is one of the pure and all his actions are therefore pure; because he is true, even his lies are true. Like the statement that all Cretans are liars, this maxim enters a new problematic when considered in relation to the one who

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Callimachus's complaint that Cretans must be liars since they claim to have the tomb of immortal Zeus.

[62] For the possibility of Cretan Jews as the object of Pseudo-Paul's slander, see Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 135, and also Josephus, *Ant.* 17.327; *B.J.* 2.103; and *Vit.* 76; 1 Macc 15:23; Philo, *Legat.* 282; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.2. See John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 294 and passim, for the circumstances of Mediterranean diaspora Judaism. See Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, with Matthew Black; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 3:68–72, for a collection of the evidence for Judaism on Crete.

[63] Thiselton, "Logical Role of the Liar Paradox," 214.

[64] Thiselton writes, "the reason why the writer of this epistle appeals to this well-known paradox is not to assassinate the character of all Cretans in general, but to demonstrate a logical asymmetry between first person and third-person utterances. First-person utterances often presuppose *a personal backing in life* which third-person utterances may not presuppose" ("Logical Role of the Liar Paradox," 207).

utters it, namely, Pseudo-Paul. It can be considered true only if its author is one of the pure. Set within the *narrative* context of the story of "Paul" and "Titus" told by the letter, the purity maxim validates the use of the liar paradox. Set within the *historical* context of the pseudonymity of the letter to Titus, the purity maxim cuts against the author; from a liar come only lies.[65]

The lie is pure dominance inasmuch as it creates an alternate (and false) reality for the person who accepts it. The scope of the lie (and therefore of the alternate reality it creates) is the scope of the dominance. The letter to Titus creates two enduring alternate realities: the first in which Paul wrote the letter, the second (which sadly became quite influential), based on the first, in which clerics rule laity, Christians bow to the state, Jews are the enemy, and women are inferior. These values were not created by the letter to Titus or the Pastoral Epistles alone, nor were they created out of nothing; but in more cases than the letter to Titus, deception is essential to the creation and maintenance of such values and of dominance itself.

Pseudonymity can be much more than fudging the name at the beginning and the signature at the bottom of a letter, and it can be much less than an act of piety. In the letter to Titus, it involves the creation and falsification of a complex narrative world that in itself requires commitments from the audience—commitments that are the basis of the rhetorical success of the letter. The form of representation is in itself an exertion of power with social consequences, and in the fictitious letter to Titus it has become clear how the specific forms of representation and dominance are intertwined. The letter's implicit, and false, tale of interaction between Paul and Titus engages the audience in presupposing on a narrative level the social program that the letter advocates at an argumentative level. On the backs of the audience that accepts his fiction, Pseudo-Paul catches a free ride across the bridge into history.

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[65] The letter of Clement from which Morton Smith claims to have extracted elements of a secret Gospel of Mark echoes this statement, warning its reader, "For, even if they [the Carpocratians] should say something true, one who loves the truth should not, even so, agree with them." See Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973). The possibility that the letter itself is a forgery, ancient or modern, embeds the statement into a similar logical rats' nest to that of the letter to Titus. On the issue of a hoax, see Scott G. Brown, *Mark's Other Gospel: Rethinking Morton Smith's Controversial Discovery* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism; Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 2005); and Stephen C. Carlson, *The Gospel Hoax: Morton Smith's Invention of Secret Mark* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005).

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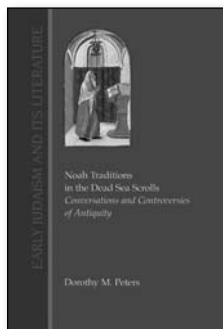
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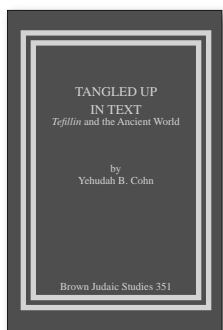
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Us or You? Persuasion and Identity in 1 John

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The dominant model for interpreting the Johannine Epistles over recent decades has been to locate them in a very specific context, to determine their *Sitz im Leben.* Of necessity this external world is reconstructed by reference to the texts themselves. Indeed, herein lies the irony; for many interpreters, 1 John, as much as if not more than any other NT letter, can be understood only with reference to a specific context, although it, more than any other NT letter, most lacks any explicit identifiers.[1] Author, audience, location, and any indication of date are systematically left anonymous. As often noted, this results in a circular argument—the setting is deduced from the letter and the letter is then interpreted with close reference to the hypothetical situation. More fundamentally, this approach is dependent on a set of prior assumptions about the strategy of the letter: first, that it is inherently polemical—even if polemic serves a primary pastoral purpose; further, that the key to the polemical occasion is the oblique reference in 2:18 to the antichrists who "went out from us but were not of us." These assumptions generate the basic plot: the audience has experienced some form of schism, whether passively or actively as its initiators; the author is seeking to reassure them in the face of the assault on their (deterministic) sense of assurance, but also to retain their loyalty. The problem that divides the two parties is understood as christological and behavioral, although the precise balance between these two aspects is open to debate inasmuch as it depends on interpreting other earlier nonspecific references (e.g., 1:6, 8, 10; 2:4) in the light of 2:18. Once described, it may be illuminated by reference to known christological debates in the early church even if it is not to be identified with any one of them.[2]

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[1] It might, therefore, serve as a prime target for some of John Barclay's criticisms in "Mirror-reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *JSNT* 30 (1987): 73–93.

[2] The bibliography at this point would be extensive, but many follow the basic pattern adopted by Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 30; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982).

Although attacked at a number of key points, this reading has shown remarkable resilience.[3] Thus, subsequent interpreters have rejected the apostolic authorship of the letters, have questioned the common authorship of Gospel and epistles, have redefined the theological position held by Cerinthus, and have doubted whether anything quite so precise can possibly be read into or out of the enigmatic christological statements in 1 and 2 John. Yet commentators have only tinkered with the underlying approach to reading the letters as polemical documents.[4]

There have been a number of challenges to this model, most notably from more text-centered readings of NT texts.[5] These have begun to focus on the argument of the letter, not in relation to some external "opponents" but in terms of how it works persuasively for the readers of the letter; to that extent they have sought to understand the rhetoric of 1 John. However, where the model has been the type of rhetorical analysis shaped by the recognized categories and structures of Greco-Roman discourse, results have been meager, at least for an understanding of the letter as a whole as opposed to specific subunits (e.g., 2:12–14). Similarly, discourse analysis cannot be said to have resulted in any substantial advance.[6] In large meas-

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[3] Reasons for its persistence may be traced to the long-lived authority of the patristic traditions building on the legendary encounter between the apostle John and the heretic Cerinthus, although Irenaeus himself only indirectly associates 1 John (as opposed to the "proclamation of the Gospel") with the latter (*Haer.* 3.3.4; 11.1; 16.5). This vividly imagined clash still shaped the classic English-language commentaries such as those by B. F. Westcott (1883) and A. E. Brooke (1912), and indeed is still affirmed by some while it remains a starting point for others, even if it is then dismissed. See the detailed account by Brown, *Epistles,* 65–68. Again the bibliography would be extensive, but for the persistence of the debate, see, e.g., Georg Strecker, *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 69–76; Hans-Josef Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief* (EKK 23/1; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 34–42. It is not my intention in this article to give an account or a critique of the various proposals.

[4] Arguably this is because to challenge it would further undermine the "history-of-the-community" reading of the Johannine corpus as a whole. Yet that reading, pioneered by J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (1968; 3rd ed.; NTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003) and Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple: The Life, Loves and Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times* (New York: Paulist, 1979), has already been weakened by the demonstrated irrelevance for John 9:22 of the *birkat-haminim.*

[5] Readings that locate the problem in a more Jewish setting challenge the specific "history of the community" but not the underlying principle of interpretation.

[6] For rhetorical analyses, see Duane F. Watson, "1 John 2.12–14 as Distributio, Conduplicatio, and Expolitio: A Rhetorical Understanding," *JSNT* 11 (1989): 97–110; idem, "Amplification Techniques in 1 John: The Interaction of Rhetorical Style and Invention," *JSNT* 16 (1993): 99–123; also idem, "A Rhetorical Analysis of 2 John according to Greco-Roman Convention," *NTS* 35 (1989): 104–30. Although Dietmar Neufeld makes a number of valid criticisms of classic approaches to 1 John (*Reconceiving Texts as Speech Acts: An Analysis of 1 John* [Biblical Interpretation Series 7; Leiden: Brill, 1994]), the constructive achievement is limited because of what remains a relatively superficial and linear reading.

ure the weakness of such approaches is that they attempt to impose on 1 John a type of structural analysis that relies on a linear or mathematical pattern of logic and argument that the letter notoriously fails to exhibit. The old but apt description of 1 John as a spiral or as a musical piece repeatedly returning to the same theme with subtle variation invites more attention to precisely those movements and returns.

I. A "Rhetorical" Reading of 1 John

It has long been recognized that the Fourth Gospel builds and reinforces a thought world or symbolic universe, and that 1 John, not least in its maintenance of an uncompromising dualism, makes its own contribution to this process— regardless of the precise relationship between the two writings. Apart from the probably insoluble question of genre,[7] the challenge for the interpreter must be to analyze how what will here be called the "rhetorical strategy" of 1 John helps to make that thought world effective and compelling for those who read the letter.[8] "Rhetorical" should be understood in terms of the "New Rhetoric" of Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, whose book so-titled brought to the forefront the study of argumentation as it impacts a defined audience.[9] Any specific appeal to the New Rhetoric, however, chiefly serves heuristically to help clarify and analyze the strategies that 1 John adopts, as they emerge from a close reading, and so cannot be accused of anachronism.[10]

Upon a close reading, 1 John can be "heard" to adopt a complex strategy of persuasion that includes a range of techniques: an appeal to earlier, what may be identified as Johannine, tradition, although there is good reason to doubt whether the letter demonstrates specific knowledge of the Fourth Gospel in any form;[11] there are scriptural echoes, some more evident than others but certainly more than often assumed; there are what appear to be formulations familiar to the audience

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[7] Most attempts to determine a "genre" for 1 John tend to be re-descriptions rather than sustained analyses of its relationship with and even manipulation of established generic categories.

[8] Or those who heard it, but 1 John is self-consciously *written* (1:4; 2:1, 12–14; etc.). For a valuable contribution, however, that still takes as its starting point the presentation of "opponents," see Hansjörg Schmid, *Gegner im 1. Johannesbrief? Zu Konstruktion und Selbstreferenz im johanneischen Sinnsystem* (BWANT 8/19; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002).

[9] Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).

[10] Contrast the caution by Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 7 and n. 19.

[11] This is not essential to the present discussion, but see Judith M. Lieu, *I, II, and III John: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 17–18.

and introduced by recognition formulae (e.g., οἴδαμεν); there are also intratextual links, where the author picks up a phrase or idea explored earlier in the letter. This range of techniques is not surprising, for it is precisely the combination and intersection of shared presuppositions that most effectively persuade an audience.[12]

The strategy that will be explored here, however, is the interplay in 1 John between the different grammatical persons and specifically between the personal pronouns. One of the peculiarities of the letter is that despite, or perhaps alongside, the studied anonymity of author and audience, the dominant verb forms are in the first and second person plural, with a complementary significant use of the appropriate pronouns: the letter is articulated in terms of "we" and "you."[13] However, these are not stable categories, either inherently or in relation to each other, and the dynamics involved in their use are fundamental to the strategy of the letter. This is not in itself unusual—as will be seen, the same phenomenon appears elsewhere and is a recognized rhetorical technique. Wilhelm Wuellner has commented on its use in Paul, [14] and the manipulation of "we and you" might be said to play a key role particularly in the argumentation of Galatians 2. However, the interplay of first and second person plural fulfills a distinctive role in 1 John because—in contrast to the Pauline letters—of the studied anonymity of their referents. There are three key passages where this interplay emerges, 1:1–4; 2:18–26; and 4:1–6.

1 John 1:1–4

The so-called prologue of the letter, 1:1–4, presents its intention as the creation of a relationship. Here "we" are positioned over against "you"; ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς are placed antithetically to each other. The position of the audience, "you," is an ambiguous one. They are outsiders, effectively made such by the torrent of first person claims that opens the letter, ἀκηκόαμεν, ἑωράκαμεν, and so on, as well as by their climactic finale in v. 2, ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, or even more emphatically in the following verse, ἀπαγγέλλομεν κ̲α̲ὶ̲ ὑμῖν. As outsiders, the audience, "you," are entirely passive, only able to receive; even hearing (vv. 1, 3) belongs to us, not to you. The relationship between "we" and "you" is, therefore, an unequal

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[12] See Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *New Rhetoric,* 176–79, on the various techniques of maintaining presence.

[13] This has been noted, of course, particularly in relation to 1:1–4 (see below), but is most frequently discussed in terms of "the 'we' of the Johannine school"; see Brown, *Epistles,* 94–96; Klauck, *Erste Johannesbrief,* 74–75.

[14] Wilhelm Wuellner, "Paul as Pastor: The Function of Rhetorical Questions in First Corinthians," in *L'Apôtre Paul: Personalité, style et conception du ministère* (ed. Albert Vanhoye; BETL 73; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1986), 49–77, esp. 56–58.

one, that of subject versus indirect object, and hence one of dependence in one direction only, with no evident reciprocity. There is, however, just the possibility of change: the purpose of this annunciation is, in v. 3, that "you also" (καὶ ὑμεῖς) may have fellowship with us—you may become subject. Yet, as soon as this possibility is voiced, the emphatic first person plural returns: "our fellowship," "we write," "our joy." The textual variants on each occasion suggest some readerly discomfort with this unnecessary repetition, but NA[27] is fully persuasive here in retaining them. Clearly, "we" exclude "you," and "we" hold all the advantages. "You" are on the receiving end, but whether those so addressed can or should *do* anything remains unstated: no active response is demanded. Further, what makes "you" *you* is also left unexplained, for no prior relationship with the annunciatory "we" is intimated, neither are "you" given any qualification for being addressed. Regardless of whether there was an initial actual audience within a specific setting, at this point the implied or narrative audience has no limitations.[15] This already raises a question: Within the epistolary or narrative world are there only two possible identities, a binary relationship and structuring of experience between we and you?[16] Or does being recipients of this message already distinguish "you" from an invisible "they," a third possibility that has itself been excluded by the creation of this incipient relationship between "we" and "you": "we" and "you" against "they"?

On closer examination, however, an unexpressed problem emerges. What is the true basis for this unequal balance of power? What is it that makes "us" *us,* and what enables this assumption of dominance in the relationship with "you"? The emphatic first person plural verbs and their self-conscious repetition construct an insistent authority, but it is an authority that can appeal to no other source of legitimation outside that which effectively constitutes the relationship.[17] Although often so interpreted, the argument of these verses is not that "we" have seen one event or set of events and are therefore able to address "you" about something else, but that the content of the seeing (etc.) is also the content of the announcement: acceptance of the one is contingent on acceptance of the other. There is an obvious contrast with Paul's letter openings, where he has the authority of his own name and of the designation "apostle," prior to and independent of his relationship with those

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[15] This is not the same as Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca's "universal audience," one of the most contentious aspects of their proposal, not least because it is not consistently presented (*New Rhetoric,* 33–34). In any case, 1 John does imply that there is a defined audience of those whom the writer wishes to influence.

[16] In speaking of a narrative world, I recognize that the letter implies a story with past, present, and future, and with different participants, including the anonymous "we," "you," and "they." However, an analysis of this world is only a step toward an appreciation of the letter as epistolary communication; see p. 817 below.

[17] This was recognized by Ernst Lohmeyer, who described it as a prophetic authority ("Über Aufbau und Gliederung des ersten Johannesbriefes," *ZNW* 27 [1928]: 225–63).

to whom he writes. Indeed, to this end he can acknowledge his own dependence beyond himself: "Paul, *called* as apostle of Christ Jesus, through the will of God" (1 Cor. 1:1).[18] The prescript of 1 John is determined by active verbs, and even the two passives maintain the subject status that "we" hold: "and the life was manifested . . . *to us*"; "our joy may be made complete." Consequently, the striking anonymity and the absence of specific details—not only of name or place, but also of any content of ὃ ἦν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, or of what was seen—mean that the authority constructed by this series of first person plurals is to a considerable extent dependent on its being acknowledged by "you," by the recipients. This is, of course, precisely what subsequent interpreters have done when they have explained these opening verses by reference to the Gospel of John, or to eyewitness circles, or to Johannine tradents.[19] Such interpretations are compliant with the implicit rhetoric of the letter; they are allowing "we" their claim to be "we," even though there are no independent internal or external grounds for so doing. The audience, by accepting themselves as addressed as "you," are therefore already entering into a process that will be determined by that "we."[20]

The constructed nature of this binary and unequal relationship is reinforced by the author's subsequent acknowledgment that he (a male author appears most probable) is alone, that is, by the singular γράφω/ἔγραψα that follows throughout the letter (2:1, 7, 12–14, 21, 26; 5:13), and which on its first occurrence (only) is reinforced by the singular personal pronoun τεκνία μου (2:1). The reader is left perplexed by this—What is the relationship between the "we" of 1:1–4 and the implied "I" of γράφω? Strikingly, the author never uses the singular first person pronoun ἐγώ to match the confident ἡμεῖς (beyond that μου in 2:1), and this is reinforced by the fact that the only first person singular verb in the letter is γράφω/ἔγραψα (beyond the solitary explanatory λέγω in 5:16). There are no exhortations, warnings, or expressions of thanks in the first person singular such as are common in Paul's letters as means of shaping and determining the relationship. Instead, any encouragement is expressed through second person plural or third person singular imperatives. The author himself has no identity beyond this textual one, as one who writes. This means that to some extent he stands outside, or speaks from outside, the binary opposition between "we" and "you," especially the "we" who hear, see, and bear witness—although this is true only to some extent, since he also writes, only and always, "to you" (γράφω ὑμῖν/ἔγραψα ὑμῖν).[21]

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[18] See Samuel Byrskog, "Epistolography, Rhetoric, and Letter Prescript: Romans 1.1–7 as a Test Case," *JSNT* 65 (1997): 27–46.

[19] See n. 13 above.

[20] This might be seen as "constitutive rhetoric"; see Maurice Charland, "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *Peuple Québécois*," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (1987): 133–50.

[21] In contrast to the absolute γράφομεν of 1:4, where the *v.l.* ὑμῖν is undoubtedly secondary (see above).

Consequently, the discontinuity between 1:1–4 and the rest of the letter under-mines any attempt to read these opening verses as establishing the *ethos* of the author.[22]

1 John 2:18–26

The pattern established by the prologue is resumed and developed further, in 2:18, where a third person plural subject and verb first appear in the letter, ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν.[23] The following verse (v. 19), however, has no fewer than six third person plural verbs even though this makes for some transla-tion difficulties: φανερωθῶσιν is particularly clumsy, although the verb itself is an important one and will shortly be applied to a radically different appearance that is laden with hope for "us" (2:28; 3:2).[24] Although these six verbs emphatically make "they" their subjects, the overall effect is one of separation and exclusion, reinforced by two significant negatives; one might say that within the world of the letter this is largely all that these antichrists effectively do achieve. Moreover, despite the sec-ond person address and verb in verse 18, "children . . . you heard" (παιδία . . . ἠκούσατε), the real contrast in these verses is between "they," the antichrists, and "we." Not all reconstructions that are based on these verses take sufficiently seri-ously the four occurrences of ἐξ ἡμῶν ("from us") in v. 19, each of which is tightly connected to one of the third person plural verbs; their rhetorical importance is reinforced by the position of the first at the beginning of the verse and the last at its end. This repetition compensates for the absence of a nominative first person plural (ἡμεῖς), although that absence is itself significant: "we" have been rendered passive. "They" are therefore defined in opposition to "we," although this also has the reverse effect—"we" are defined through the separation effected by "them": ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῶσιν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν πάντες ἐξ ἡμῶν.[25]

There is a fifth genitive plural ἡμῶν ("us") in this verse, in the unfulfilled apo-dosis μεμενήκεισαν ἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν; this recalls the previous use of the same prepositional phrase, in the anticipation that *you* may have fellowship "with us" (μεθ' ἡμῶν [1:3]). This intratextual echo of the first passage will prompt the ques-tion, What is the relationship between "you" and "they"—the former who, it is hoped, may be "with us," the latter who have proven not to be so? Strictly speak-ing, there is no relationship between them at this point. Although it is possible

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[22] In contrast to the function of the Pauline prescript according to Byrskog ("Epistolography"). For the consequences of this for the function of the author, see below, pp. 817–18.

[23] Apart from 2:12 ("sins are forgiven").

[24] Hence anticipating an exercise in dissociation; see below n. 29 and p. 815 with n. 32.

[25] The full effect of this in part depends on how οὐκ . . . πάντες is translated.

to—and commentators frequently do—invent a narrative that brings "you" and "them" together, the text studiously avoids doing so. Indeed, the emphatic καὶ ὑμεῖς that introduces v. 20 seems to emphasize the lack of interaction between "you" and "they" (καὶ is best read as adversative). This contrast is further reinforced by that between the οὐκ . . . πάντες in v. 19—especially if it refers to "they" but even if it casts its shadow over "we"—and the πάντες that, according to the most persuasive textual reading, emphatically concludes v. 20, agreeing with the intial ὑμεῖς.

Resuming in v. 24, after an indefinite third person singular interlude (vv. 22–23), the rest of the paragraph to v. 27 is dominated by second person plural verbs and pronouns. The first person plural is dropped, except perhaps for the intrusive "he promised *us*," (ἐπηγγείλατο ἡμῖν) in v. 25. The text is less straightforward here: reading ὑμῖν with Vaticanus (and against NA[27]) would maintain the second person pattern. Conversely, for that same reason it might be argued that ἡμῖν is the more difficult and therefore the original reading, although it could equally be seen as a scribal assimilation to the pattern established in the prologue whereby it is "we" who were the recipients of the fundamental revelation (1:1–4).

The author's own hand appears twice in this section, in v. 21 and v. 26, ἔγραψα ὑμῖν; again there is no explicit relationship between this epistolary "I" and the preceding "we." In both cases the writer's interjection serves to reinforce the superior position occupied by "you." For a moment in v. 26, "they"—presumably to be discerned behind the genitive participle "those deceiving" (τῶν πλανώντων)—are brought into direct relationship with "you," the accusative ὑμᾶς, although the significance of the present tense of the participle is notoriously difficult. This (potential) relationship, however, is again immediately countered by another adversative καὶ ὑμεῖς; thereafter third persons (plural) disappear from the text, and the shadow fades.

In marked contrast to the prologue of the letter, in this section there is no explicit relationship between "we" and "you." Moreover, "you" appear to be in a superior position to "we." It is "we" who have suffered disruption and loss; it is "you" who know the truth. This does not mean that "you" are invulnerable; besides the shadow thrown by v. 26, there is the third person command in v. 24 introduced by a hanging emphatic ὑμεῖς: "As for you, let what you heard from the beginning remain in you." This is balanced, however, by the affirmative parallel in v. 27: "As for you ([καὶ] ὑμεῖς), the anointing . . . *does* remain in you." Yet even these moments of pause indicate that the solution to any cause for anxiety lies within themselves (i.e., "yourselves") and not in any external relationship.

1 John 4:1–6

Third person plurals reemerge in 4:1–6, after which they disappear from the letter.[26] Here, in 4:1, the initial reference to "them" is the "many false prophets (who) have gone out" (πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐξεληλύθασιν). As is generally recognized, the subject recalls the "many antichrists" (ἀντίχριστοι πολλοί) of 2:18, while the verb combines the perfect tense at that point (γεγόνασιν) with the verb stem ἐξῆλθαν of 2:19. The internal echo invites the expectation that this going out is here, as it was there, "from us" (ἐξ ἡμῶν). This is not stated, however, and the going out is said to be only "*into* the world" (εἰς τὸν κόσμον). Thus, questions are raised but are not answered about the boundary between ἐκ/"us" and εἰς/"the world."

It is in vv. 4–6 that the triangular pattern of personal relationships is finally set out explicitly; here occur the first and the only uses of the plural pronoun αὐτοί, "they." Verse 4 begins with an emphatic "you": ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστε; the following verse opens with a contrasting "they": αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου εἰσίν. Within the letter's dualistic structure *tertium non datur,* there is no third possibility. The incompatibility between the two is an incompatibility of origin and of identity (the distinctive Johannine ἐκ),[27] grounded in the incompatibility between God and "the world"; there can be no passage between them (cf. 2:16).

The absolute character of this binary opposition has, however, been disrupted. The "they" (nom.: αὐτοί) of v. 5 is anticipated by a "them" (acc.: αὐτούς) in v. 4, even though in the immediate context it is not yet evident to whom this "them" refers: καὶ νενικήκατε αὐτούς.[28] "They" appear as object before they are subject; they have been defeated by "you"—or, rather, "you" (are told that you) have defeated them—even before readers encounter them and know how to recognize them.

At this juncture v. 6 comes as something of a surprise: "we are of God" (ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν). "We" are also brought into contrast with "them," although this is achieved only by implication. Whereas, as just seen, v. 4 brought "you" and "they"/"the world" into an explicit relationship with each other, neither "they" nor the world intrudes into v. 6. There is an empty space between the world listening

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[26] Except for 5:7–8 (the three witnesses) and the commands in 5:3.

[27] See Leander E. Keck, "Derivation as Destiny: 'Of-ness' in Johannine Christology," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 274–88.

[28] The last masculine plural noun, the false prophets of v. 1, has been superseded by the spirit(s) (neuter) (vv. 2–3). Because of the way they echo 2:18, the false prophets also carry a mythic quality that sets them outside the characters of the letter narrative.

to *them* (v. 5) and the one who knows God listening to *us* (v. 6). (Strikingly, Alexandrinus reinforces the sharp opposition by its omission—although probably through homoioteleuton—of the grammatically and structurally intrusive "the one who is not of God does not hear us"—we might have expected "the one of the world does not hear us.") The effect is to create an unmistakable divide between those two forms of listening—by the world and by the one who knows God—which might otherwise be perceived as of the same nature and as equally valid.[29] Nonetheless, for the first time "you," "they," and "we" are brought into explicit relationship with one another. Yet what is the relationship between "you" and "us"? Is the structure of vv. 4, 5, and 6 tripartite, ABC, or chiastic and hence binary, ABA? Both "you" and "we" are ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ; both are effectively contrasted with αὐτοί. Have "you" become "we"?

From this point in the letter, the second person plural pronoun is not used again, except in 5:13 in the dative in the standard formula ἔγραψα ὑμῖν. Similarly, after 4:6, second person plural verbs occur only in the same verse, 5:13, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ζωὴν ἔχετε, and in 5:21, φυλάξατε ἑαυτά, the parting shot of the letter. The implications of this invite further discussion. Instead, what remains of the letter from 4:7 to 5:20 uses only the first person plural pronoun, and the occurrences are particularly dense in the rest of chap. 4. "We" is now clearly inclusive of you. When in 4:9 the love of God was "manifest among (to?) us" (ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἡμῖν), this no longer identifies "us" as superior to "you," in contrast to the "manifest to us" (ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν) of 1:2. The emphatic "we" (καὶ ἡμεῖς), who in vv. 14 and 16 have seen, borne witness, known, and believed, again must be inclusive, for this is demanded by the exhortation that begins in 4:7 and is repeated in 4:12 (καὶ ἡμεῖς), that *we* are to love one another. In these verses the claims to sight and to witness made in the prologue that differentiated "we" from "you" are now employed to construct a new "we" formed out of both. The persuasiveness of that construction presumably rests on all that has come between.

Thus far, the strategy of the letter can be viewed as a linguistic and therefore a rhetorical relocation of "you" from the position of opposition in the prologue to the inclusiveness of its final chapters. To some extent the third party, "they," who emerge in a key role in the central part of the letter, serve to facilitate this relocation by making patent a new or alternative oppositional possibility. The conceptual dualistic world that the letter takes for granted, light against darkness, love against hatred, allows for only a two-way split. This means that "we" and "you," when confronted only with each other, might be in opposition, but once placed in the presence of "them" are bound to make common cause. It follows that what binds "we" and "you" together is not a mutual interdependence in Christ (as it is perhaps in

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[29] This technique is known as dissociation, that is, the distancing of what might otherwise seem allied. See Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *New Rhetoric,* 411–59.

Paul) but existence in this dualistically structured world. Once this common voice has been achieved, in 4:6, "they" disappear from the scene, although this is not the end of the letter.[30]

It has become apparent, however, that the process of relocation was by no means straightforward or without challenge. The second or middle of the three key passages, 2:18–20, suggests that the integrity of "us" might be uncertain; the specter of an alternative alliance between "we" and "they" has had to be exorcised. Despite this, rhetorically, the integrity of "you" was not in danger.

II. Plotting Transformations

Closer attention to the movement from the second passage, 2:18–26, to the third, 4:1–6, complicates the picture further. The disappearance of ὑμεῖς in any form after 4:4 (except in 5:13) has already been noted, but the pronoun is already on the wane after 2:28. There are only two (3:7, 13), or possibly three (3:1), occurrences in ch. 3, compared to twenty-four in ch. 2. In contrast, excluding 2:19 with five, forms of ἡμεῖς appear only twice (with ἡμέτερος once) in ch. 2, but twelve times in ch. 3.[31] These twelve are all inclusive—the inclusion of "you" in "we" is already taking place before 4:1–6.

Two passages are particularly revealing: the first begins at 2:28 (immediately after the passage discussed above): "Remain [2nd pl.] in him, so that . . . *we* may possess boldness and not be ashamed [1st pl.]. If *you* know, recognize . . . [2nd pl.]" (2:28–29). This is followed by, "See [2nd pl.] the nature of the love the father has given *us* that *we* may be called children of God, as indeed *we* are. This is why the world does not recognize *us,* because it did not recognize him" (3:1). Here there is no doubt that "we" includes "you"; it might be suggested that the second person plurals, all arguably imperatives, indicate that "you" need to make some effort to claim your place: Remain! Recognize! See![32] The alternation of pronouns would be even more marked if the reading of Vaticanus in 3:1 were to be accepted, "See the nature of the love the father has given *you* (ὑμῖν), that *we* should be called children of God, as indeed we are."[33] It is notable that Sinaiticus (followed by C, P, and the Majority text), which reads "given us" at this point, continues, "this is why the world does not recognize *you* (ὑμᾶς)." This means that there is considerable textual

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[30] Although often interpreted alongside 2:18 and 4:1–3, the obscure affirmation in 5:6–8 contains no reference to any third party.

[31] 1 John 2:2, 25; 3:1(2x), 14, 16(2x), 19, 20(2x), 21(?), 23, 24(2x).

[32] Note the recurrence of the theme of "manifesting," and see p. 811 above; a very different "manifesting" will confirm "our" true status, thus exposing the true consequences of "their" earlier manifestation.

[33] There is also considerable variation in word order as well as in the tense of the verb "gave."

support for a switch of personal pronouns here, even though all the standard Greek editions and English translations opt for consistency in the first person plural. While the scribal confusion of ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς is common because of their near-identical pronunciation, there is a strong case that an alternation between persons was present in the earliest textual tradition of this verse.

This is certainly the case in the second passage—3:13: "Do not be afraid if the world hates *you* [2nd pl. ὑμᾶς]; *we* [emphatic ἡμεῖς] know that we have passed from death to life." Not noted by NA[27] (but in the Editio Maior), a few manuscripts do try to tidy this up by reading "the world hates *us,*" while others replace "you know" (οἴδατε) in v. 15 with a first person plural οἴδαμεν (although perhaps by assimilation to 3:14). But here NA[27] is clearly correct to retain the alternation. There is, of course, no suggestion that the world does not hate *us* also; rather, the uncomfortable experience felt by those addressed as "you" is being integrated into the more confident one held by "us." By being so integrated, the former is also being legitimated, but that legitimation will be persuasive only if those addressed ("you") assent to their inclusion among "us." They ("you") can come to terms with being hated only if they include themselves among the "we" who know themselves to have passed from death to life. This pattern continues: v. 18, at the end of the paragraph, balances v. 13. The second plural, "Do not be amazed, brethren"[34] (v. 13), is resolved in the first plural "Children, let us not love" (v. 18). However, this is not yet the end: conversely, 3:24, the first plural, "We know that he indwells us by the spirit which he gave to us," is immediately set at risk by 4:1, "Beloved, do not believe [2nd pl.] every spirit." "We" are still not always in the superior position, even when that is inclusive, and this prepares for the final attempt at relocation in 4:1–6.

This continuing instability does not, however, undermine the ultimate effectiveness of the letter. As has already been seen, 4:14, "we have seen and bear witness," which comes after the decisive passage in 4:4–6, gives clear expression to the construction of this inclusive "we." Yet, at the same time, it also serves to authenticate retrospectively the authoritative synonymous claims that opened the letter. By allowing themselves to be part of the "we" of 4:14, 16, those who were initially identified as "you" necessarily affirm the validity of the similar declarations "we have heard, we have seen, we bear witness," which were addressed to them in 1:1–4. In addition, in so doing they also affirm both the authority that was thereby being constructed in the prologue and their own dependence on it. This in turn reinstitutes the process of relocation through reading that is put into effect by the letter and further reinforces the readers' participation in it.

It would be satisfying if this were the sum total of the tale. Unsurprisingly, it is not, for, as has already been observed, 1 John does not adhere to a simple linear

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[34] In the framework of the argument from Cain's hatred of his *brother* Abel, this is best translated exclusively.

structure. Thus the use of "we" in order to debate and negotiate starts already in 1:6, "if we say we do not have sin, the truth is not in us (ἡμῖν)."[35] "We" is also consistently used for expressions of confidence, generating the switch of persons noted already; so 2:1: "I write to *you* that *you* may not sin, and if anyone does sin, *we* have an advocate . . . and he is the means of forgiveness for our (ἡμῶν) sins." The emphatic first person plural nominative is not used in these cases, and this means that the style invites readers to view it somewhat objectively, as a mode of debate. Yet it is at least implicitly inclusive: the text is not neutral.

III. Constructing Readers

The analysis undertaken here is a textual reading, focusing on the interplay of pronouns and verbal forms. Hence its concern is with "you" as constructed by the text, that is, with the implied audience. The change of person and number as a technique by which an orator creates a sense of identification or communication with an audience has long been recognized (see already Longinus, *Subl.* 26),[36] but more than this is at play here. The evident effect is that readers, as "you," are given no opportunity to disagree; in contrast to Paul's letters, there are no serious hints that they might do so and that they need to be dissuaded from doing so. To this extent the addressees are constructed as compliant; the only form of resistance open to them is to reject the letter together with the authority that it claims. Yet if they were to do this they would effectively align themselves outside its world and alongside the "they." Instead, once they recognize themselves as addressed by the letter, that is, as "you," they enter the rhetorical situation that it has established and are constituted with an identity and ideology that demand a response and action.[37] If the letter is understood within this framework it becomes possible to look beyond the implied readers, who in narrative-critical terms remain entirely within the world of the text, to the way in which 1 John is effective as an act of persuasive communication.

This reading is concerned also with "we" only as constructed by the text; however, in this case the "we" are not to be identified as the implied author, since for the latter only the "I" forms are pertinent.[38] That there is a relationship between author and "we" is both intimated (1:4–5) and resisted (2:19–21; see above). The effec-

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[35] On this as a technique of internal debate, see Judith M. Lieu, "'Authority to Become Children of God': A Study of 1 John," *NovT* 23 (1981): 210–28.

[36] It is discussed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca under the rubric of an "enallage of person" (*New Rhetoric,* 178).

[37] An account drawn from Charland's model of constitutive rhetoric (see n. 20 above).

[38] This is very different from the Pauline inclusion of co-senders; see Samuel Byrskog, "Co-Senders, Co-Authors and Paul's Use of the First Person Plural," *ZNW* 87 (1996): 230–50.

tiveness of 1 John is contingent not on the personal authority of its author, about whom nothing is said, but on the impulse inherent in the desire to become part of that "we," an impulse that is both retrospective (1:1–4) and prospective (4:13–16). This device is so distinctive in 1 John that to understand fully its persuasive force it might be necessary to go outside the framework of a narrative-style reading limited to this particular writing alone; it is evident that such evocations of "our" experience, particularly articulated in frequently anonymous confessional or testimonial formulae, were a familiar strategy within the broader Johannine tradition (John 1:14, 16; 3:11; 6:69; 21:24; 3 John 12). In 1 John at least this form has become, as it were, a personification of the Johannine tradition, however and wherever that might be identified.[39]

Finally, it has become evident that "they" function chiefly in order to enable the coming together of "you" and "we." In their own right there is little to characterize the third person "them" apart from their being "other," with no possibility of transfer and inclusion. This is not to underestimate their significance: that 2:18 and 4:1–6 have emerged as pivotal passages just as they do in more traditional approaches is no surprise. They are the anti-model,[40] but, more than this, they "give *performative* force to the dualist ideology" of the letter.[41] Other techniques are used to the same end, for example, the labels ἀντίχριστοι and ψευδοπροφῆται, although these probably demand going outside the immediate world of the text to broader intertextual or cultural resonances. On the other hand, the christological confessions, which are always expressed in the third person singular in 1 John (2:22–23; 4:2, 15; 5:1, 5; in contrast to 2 John 7), have been relegated to the periphery in this reading of the letter's persuasive strategy. They are not embedded in the "we-you-they" dynamic; instead, it may be better to understand them as being most effective as an appeal to a "universal audience," to truths that should be self-evident to those even beyond this particular situation.[42] Again, recognizing the rhetorical function of the third person plural "they" does not mean that "they" did not exist: it does suggest that there is neither the evidence to discover them nor any benefit in attempting to do so. The strenuous efforts of much recent and older analysis to identify "the opponents" fail to appreciate the intentionality of the letter's refusal to do so.

[39] This is very different from presupposing the existence of a Johannine school, although, in keeping with the style of reading adopted here, no judgment about the actual personalities involved can be made.

[40] Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *New Rhetoric,* 366–68.

[41] This is Steven D. Fraade's assessment of the function of the blessings and curses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: "Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah (4QMMT): The Case of the Blessings and Curses," *DSD* 10 (2003): 150–61, esp. 159.

[42] See n. 15 above.

At the beginning of this article, I indicated that 1 John employs a number of strategies, and this is only one of them. It does not provide a comprehensive template for reading 1 John nor the definitive solution to what the letter is about, but merely one piece in the jigsaw. Each of the other features indicated earlier, however, could also be shown to serve persuasively to relocate the readers. They share a common strategy in that they do not appeal to deduction or to externally grounded proof, such as through direct appeals to Scripture. Instead, they demand assent because dissent is itself an act of self-exclusion. Perhaps that helps explain why 1 John has resisted being restricted to a single definitive situation and has proved such a rich resource within the liturgical and theological language of the church (e.g., 1:8–10; 4:8, 10, 20). This is not to dismiss the evocation of the distinctive characteristics of the Johannine tradition; indeed, these undoubtedly already enabled the audience's response, establishing the framework within which the letter would be most effective, and which it also reinforced. It does mean that subsequent readers are no less able to locate themselves imaginatively as addressed by the letter and as offered the same radical alternatives.

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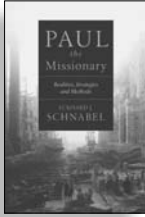
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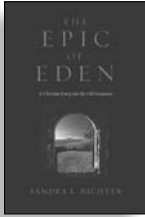
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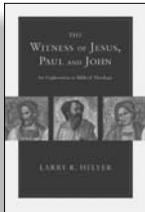
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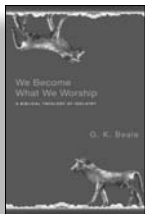
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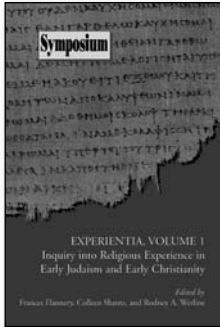
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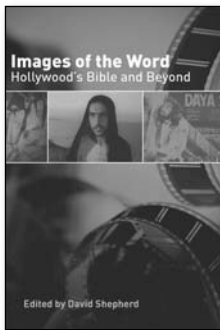
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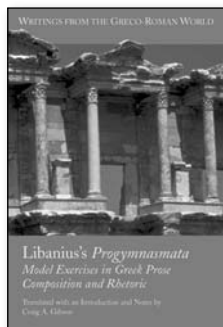
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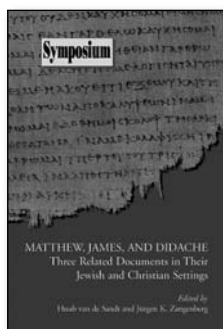
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