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SEARCHING THE SCRIPTURES

Studies in Context and Intertextuality

EDITED BY
CRAIG A. EVANS AND
JEREMIAH J. JOHNSTON

B L O O M S B U R Y

STUDIES IN SCRIPTURE IN EARLY JUDAISM
AND CHRISTIANITY

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Craig A. Evans

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PREFACE

Most of the studies included in this volume were originally presented at the 2010–2012 Annual Meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. They have been revised and updated. The Editors thank the contributors for their willingness to allow them to be published in the Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity series. This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity program unit in the Society of Biblical Literature and the series, originally published by Sheffield Academic Press, later T&T Clark International, and now Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Searching the Scriptures: Studies in Context and Intertextuality makes up the nineteenth volume to appear in the series. The papers are grouped under three headings: (1) general studies, (2) studies in the Gospels, and (3) studies in the Letters. Appended to this volume is a selected bibliography. The Editors are grateful to the many participants and contributors through the years, whose work has made both the program unit and the published volumes a success.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible (Commentary)
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AEL	Miriam Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> (3 vols.; Berkeley, 1973–80)
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (ed. W. Haase and E. Temporini; Berlin, 1979–)
ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, Walter, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. <i>Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (3d ed.; Chicago, 1999)
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford, 1907)
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago, 1961
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNTC	Black’s New Testament Commentary
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EBR	<i>Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception</i> (ed. H.-J. Klauck; 4 vols.; Berlin, 2009–12)
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar (Vorarbeiten)
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> (ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik; 2d ed.; 22 vols.; Detroit, 2007)

<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>Forum</i>	<i>Forum: Foundations and Facets</i>
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentary
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> (ed. G. A. Buttrick et al.; 12 vols.; New York, 1951–57)
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religions</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
<i>LEH</i>	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> (compiled by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie with the collaboration of G. Chamberlain; 2nd ed.; Stuttgart, 2003)
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic text
NA ^{27/28}	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (ed. E. Nestle and K. Aland; Stuttgart, 27th ed., 1993; 28th ed., 2012)
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> (ed. W. A. VanGemeren; 5 vols.; Grand Rapids, 1997)
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
n.p.	no publisher (cited)

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NS	new series
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OG	Old Greek
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York, 1983)
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	revised
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLECL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Christianity and Its Literature
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SE	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTU	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>
SP	Sacra Pagina
SR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Str-B	Strack, H. L., and P. Billerbeck. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. 6 vols. Munich, 1922–61
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (trans. G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–76)
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UTB	Urban–Taschenbücher
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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INTRODUCTION

Craig A. Evans and Jeremiah J. Johnston

The present work begins with two studies that engage hermeneutics and method, thus setting the pace for the volume as a whole. Mark Gignilliat's "Singing Women and Promised Seed" considers the implications of viewing Old Testament Scripture as Christian Scripture, as did many of the early Church's major theologians and exegetes. Although his essay focuses on Isa 54:1-3, the results of Gignilliat's work may have great significance for Christian hermeneutics.

Jeremy Hultin's "*Genesis Rabbah* 48:1-6: Reflections on Thematic Unity and Exegetical Method" critically assesses the interpretation of Gen 18:1 ("And the Lord appeared to Abraham by the oaks of Mamre") in *Genesis Rabbah* 48. He hopes to cast light on how the rabbis employed their citations of Scripture when they commented on Scripture. He believes that in this case of the commentary on Gen 18:1, it is possible to discern considerable coherence between the several individual sections of the midrash. Hultin observes that this coherence depends upon *the contexts from which the petihta verses were chosen*—that is, from uncited biblical material. This is an important observation, given how scholars often assume that rabbinic midrash is atomistic.

The nine studies that follow treat passages and themes in the New Testament Gospels. In his creative essay, Jason Hood probes the significance of the number "forty-two" in Matthew's version of the genealogy. He believes that in early Jewish and Christian literature the number forty-two clarifies the nature of Israel's story. Hood points out that Matthew's whole text is notable for its allusive style, especially so in the case of the genealogy. The evangelist may have had several objectives for the numerical structure of his genealogy of Jesus, but in placing Jesus at or near the conclusion of a *forty-two*-stage "journey" through Israel's story, he may be evoking the wilderness identity of the people of God in their trials and struggles. This numerical metaphor, Hood contends, which derived from the book of Numbers, was commonly employed in early Jewish and Christian biblical interpretation by the use

of numbers associated with forty-two. The thematic use of the wilderness theme in other early Christian literature echoes the numerical use of the theme in Revelation.

Brian Dennert engages Jack Suggs's seminal study of wisdom in Matthew. He focuses on the evangelist's use of Prov 1:20-33 in the Parable of the Children in the Marketplace (Matt 11:16-19). The links may be subtle, Dennert acknowledges, but they do clarify the evangelist's use of the Q tradition, advancing the evangelist's portrayal of Jesus as God's Wisdom. Dennert argues plausibly that the allusions to Prov 1:20-33 have Christological and ecclesiological ramifications.

Jesse Rainbow challenges the conventional correspondence of Herod, Herodias, and John the Baptist in Matthew 14 with Ahab, Jezebel, and Elijah, observing that unlike John, Elijah was never arrested or killed by his royal adversaries. He argues instead that there are numerous similarities between John and Naboth (1 Kgs 21), and that the evangelist Matthew has actually improved the correspondence in several ways in comparison to the Markan parallel. Given that the Naboth story lies within the Elijah cycle in 1 Kings, his proposed realignment of the texts raises the question of how Elijah himself might fit into the comparison. Rainbow argues that the identification of John and Naboth in Matthew 14 implies a shifting of the mantle of Elijah from John to Jesus, a theme that will be developed in Matthew 14-17, culminating in the appearance of Jesus alongside Elijah on the mount of transfiguration (Matt 17:1-13).

Roger Aus treats readers to another engaging study in comparative midrash. Aus believes that Jesus' utterance, "Truly I tell you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God" (Mark 14:25) should be viewed in the light of Nazirite traditions (esp. Num 6:3, where the Nazirite vows to abstain from wine) and the story of the patriarch Joseph, who was betrayed by his brothers and later shared food and wine with them (Gen 37; 39-50). Aus suggests that the Palestinian Jewish Christian who first formulated Mark 14:25 in a Semitic language thought of Jesus as a Nazirite. Following the Aramaic versions of Num 6:3 in the Targums, Aus wonders if Jesus has vowed to refrain from wine—new and old alike—until he drinks it in the Kingdom of God, the wine that will be served at the messianic banquet table.

Steven Notley and Jeffrey Garcia reopen the question of what Hebrew material, if any, underlies the Gospel of Luke. They contend that Jesus' exegesis as reported in the Third Gospel suggests his knowledge and use of Hebrew. Jesus' creative treatment of sacred texts, they believe, betrays a high degree of intertextuality that is possible only through the use of

Hebrew versions of the Bible. To test this supposition they examine four passages (Luke 4:18-19; 7:27; 10:25-28; 22:69) in which Jesus is described to exegete the Hebrew Scriptures. They conclude that the exegetical style attested in these pericopes betrays a sophisticated knowledge of the Scriptures—on par with Israel’s Sages.

Matthew S. Rindge examines Luke’s parable of the “Rich Fool” (12:16-21), which contains a citation of Qoh 8:15 (LXX), a likely allusion to—or echo of—Sir 11:14-19, and several parallels with *I En.* 97:8-10. Although these parallels have not been ignored, Rindge believes only scant attention has been given to the multiple ways in which Luke’s text appropriates, reconfigures, and illustrates these Jewish intertexts. He proposes using “conversation” as a fruitful and generative model for understanding and construing the intertextual relationships between Luke and these three Jewish intertexts. Reading Luke’s parable in concert with sapiential discussions on death and possessions yields different insights than when the parable is read through the primary lens of prophetic texts, which is often what is done. Reading the parable as a sapiential narrative draws attention, for example, not only to avarice but also to issues such as the meaningful use of possessions given the uncontrollable aspects of death and the fragility of life.

Diane Hakala takes a new look at the story of the rich man (Matt 19:16-22; Mark 10:17-22; Luke 18:18-23). She addresses the difficulty in the story that despite the rich man’s claim to have observed these commands, he is still “lacking.” The cause of this deficiency is much debated. Was it the commands that were inadequate to obtain eternal life, or the rich man’s observance? To answer this question Hakala looks at early interpretation of the Decalogue and its two tables. She concludes that the deficiency on the part of the affluent man is in his desire to choose from one of the tables and not accept the entire set of commandments.

Ruth Sheridan treats John 19:37 (“They shall look upon the one they have pierced”), a most interesting datum in the Passion Narrative. Instead of having his legs broken to hasten his death, Jesus is pierced with a lance, the result of which is a flow of blood and water from his side. This event produces some comment from the implied author, to the effect that the event was “true” and the testimony of the figure who witnessed it was true (19:31-35). Sheridan wants to take another look at the scriptural proofs that the evangelist cites, usually understood as Exod 12:46 and Zech 12:10. She believes that John’s citation of Zech 12:10 in 19:37 is not thematically in accord with other New Testament texts that cite Zech 12:10.

The remaining five papers investigate the uses of Scripture in the letters of Paul and the letter to the Hebrews. Daniel Kirk explores the importance of what he calls “first context” in Paul’s citations of Scripture. He provides an example of the importance of both Old Testament and New Testament contexts by way of a reading of Rom 11:26, where Paul cites Isa 59:20. Kirk attempts to construct a theoretical model that provides a framework for explaining what he observes in Romans 11. In the last part of his paper he probes the utility of his model as a hermeneutical method by applying it to Paul’s citation of Ps 68:10 in Rom 15:3. Kirk concludes that Paul’s audience is drawn into the story and encouraged to understand the work of God in light of the Christ event through Paul’s transformation of his scriptural text.

In “Dominical Shame Tradition in Paul,” Yongbom Lee suggests that Paul’s declaration in Rom 1:16 that he is “not ashamed of the gospel” alludes to Jesus’ challenge to his followers to take up the cross and come after him, “Those who are *ashamed* of me and of *my words* in this adulterous and sinful generation, of them the Son of Man will also be *ashamed* when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels” (Mark 8:38, with emphasis added). Lee wonders if part of the backdrop is Dan 12:1-2 (“...many of those who sleep in a mound of earth will be awakened, these to everlasting life and those to shame and everlasting contempt”). Lee rightly believes that Paul has echoed dominical tradition, not that Mark has echoed Paul. Lee further shows that lying behind Mark 8:34-38 are allusions not only to Dan 7:13, but also allusions to Dan 12:1-12, in which it is envisioned that some will be resurrected in shame.

Alain Gignac believes that the Scriptures Paul cites in Rom 3:9-20 raise three important questions relating to intertextuality. These questions concern (1) the origin of the catena (Pauline or non-Pauline?); (2) the adaptations made by the creator of the catena to the Septuagint text; and (3) the relation between the original context and the Pauline discourse. Gignac wants to show how the pasting of these texts serves narrative purposes and how two different enunciative instances take charge of the text. He asks, How does intertextuality produce narrativity, and how is narrativity assumed by the discourse? How do intertextuality and narrativity merge in a specific discourse? To address these questions Gignac proposes that if we pay attention to the enunciative device of the catena (part of the narrative articulation of the text), we can understand the underlying hermeneutical process as it is inscribed *in the text*, in order to describe the connection between the new theological discourse and its scriptural referent. In other words, the intertextual assembly of

vv. 10-18 (Ps 13:1-3 = Ps 54:2-4; Ps 5:10; Ps 139:4; Ps 9:28; Isa 59:7-8; Ps 35:2) has a *narrative function* and develops its own theory of intertextuality via a *complex enunciative device*, suggesting that the Law is reinterpreted within the context of the experience of Christ.

Brian LePort finds in Rom 16:17-20a six statements that when read together indicate reliance upon the framework of Genesis 2–3: (1) “the teaching that you have learned” in v. 17; (2) the mention of appetites in v. 18; (3) “smooth talk and flattery” in v. 18; (4) the mention of obedience in v. 19; (5) the desire for the hearers of this epistle “to be wise in what is good and guileless in what is evil” in v. 19; and (6) the crushing of Satan “under your feet” in v. 20. In an epistle obsessed with the unity of the church in Rome we find one final appeal for the hearers to avoid those who would seek to be divisive. The authorial aim, LePort contends, is to associate “those who cause dissensions” with the Serpent figure who deceived Eve in Eden, causing her to rebel along with Adam against the divine command. If the audience heeds to the message of the epistle, theirs will be the reversal of “the Fall,” where this time good is chosen over evil, the divine command obeyed, and Satan defeated.

The volume concludes with a fascinating essay by Silviu N. Bunta, in which he reopens the question that asks if an early form of Merkabah mysticism comes to expression in the book of Hebrews. He notes that although a number of scholars proposed the possibility forty years ago, there has been little discussion since and at least one scholar has criticized the proposal. Bunta finds this criticism unpersuasive, contending that the expression of merkabah mysticism present in Hebrews is clarified by appeal to traditions about Adam (as in Gen 1:26), especially in the light of Ezek 1:26 (“...seated above the likeness of a throne was a likeness as it were of a human form”). Bunta argues that Hebrews 1–2 depicts Christ as the subject of both Ezek 1:26 and Gen 1:26. Christ is the glory of Ezekiel 1, which is the human image of God in which Adam is made. The combination of these Adamic features with enthronement imagery in the portrayal of the Son reflects the rapprochement between Ezekiel 1 and Gen 1:26 attested in earlier Jewish and Christian traditions.

Part 1

GENERAL STUDIES

1

SINGING WOMEN AND PROMISED SEED: ISAIAH 54:1-3 AS CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURE

Mark S. Gignilliat

Introduction

In the preface to his commentary on Isaiah, Jerome describes the prophet as an evangelist and an apostle (*non solum prophetam, sed euangelistam et apostolum doceam*). His predication of Isaiah, an Old Testament prophet, with post-resurrection language is indicative of an interpretive approach governed by Christian, theological commitments. Again, speaking of Isaiah, Jerome continues, “[I]gnoratio scripturarum, ingoratio Christi est.” For Jerome, and the larger Christian, hermeneutical family, our understanding of Jesus Christ is shaped by the canonical deposit of Israel’s Sacred Scriptures: κατὰ τὰς γραφάς. The present study is an endeavor to follow in the train of this Christian, hermeneutical tradition of reading Isaiah as Christian Scripture. I will begin with broader theological and interpretive matters: two vignettes from the early church will provide our point of entry. Then I will direct my attention to the theological exegesis of a particular text, Isa 54:1-3.

In a familiar narrative from his *Confessions*, Augustine recounts his catechetical preparation for baptism. When asked how best to ready himself, Ambrose pointed Augustine in the direction of Isaiah. Ambrose’s understanding of Isaiah’s gospel-toned voice was a shared conviction in the early church: as Jerome’s comments above indicate. Augustine received Ambrose’s instruction and took to the reading of Isaiah only to be met with difficulty and confusion. Augustine said, “He told me to read prophet Isaiah, I think because more clearly than others he foretold the gospel and the calling of the Gentiles. But I did not understand the first passage of the book, and thought the whole would be equally obscure. So I put it on one side to be resumed when I had more

practice in *the Lord's style of language*.”¹ Many first-time readers of the prophets would affirm Augustine's response.

The second vignette comes from Cyril of Alexandria's preface to his commentary on Jonah. The mystery of Christ, for Cyril, is foreshadowed in Jonah. It is the task of the Christian interpreter to explain this dynamic to the reader. Cyril explains,

When a text is developed at a spiritual level, and its central character is selected and adopted as a representation of Christ the Savior of us all, a person of wisdom and understanding should judge which details are irrelevant and applicable, and likely to be of particular benefit to the listeners... Not everything in texts and types, therefore, is relevant to spiritual interpretations—only if a character is introduced who in himself prefigures Christ for us; then we properly pass over human elements and focus only on relevant details, in every case highlighting what is conducive to supporting the purpose of the text... If we do not apply the whole story to the purpose of spiritual interpretation, then, let no one find fault: just as bees in traversing meadows and flowers always gather what is useful for making honey, so the skillful commentator studies the holy and inspired Scripture, ever gathering and compiling what contributes to the clarification of the mysteries of Christ and will produce a mature and irreproachable treatment.²

The hermeneutical point stressed here for Cyril is straightforward, even if difficult to execute. Not every detail of Jonah's story functions typologically or figurally in relation to Jesus Christ. For example, Jonah was sent to preach by the Father. So too was Jesus. But Jonah backed down from his calling. Jesus did not. It takes a wise interpreter to see where the Old Testament texts naturally extend within the divine economy and where the narrative or *historia* does not.³

Taken together, Augustine's narrative and Cyril's comments are a window into the difficulties and joys of theological interpretation in general, and more specifically, theological interpretation of Isaiah. With Augustine, theological exegesis demands an attention to the text itself as one wrestles to learn “the Lord's style of language” in the unified, canonical witness of Isaiah. The literary form of the canonical deposit is

1. Augustine, *Confessions* (trans. H. Chadwick; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), IX, v. 13 (emphasis added).

2. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* (trans. Robert C. Hill; Fathers of the Church 115; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 149–50.

3. On “natural extension” and figural reading as not “non-literal” reading, see John David Dawson, *Christian Figural Reading and the Fashioning of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

not a husk to be shred as one searches for the Christological dimension. As one teacher of mine used to say, the Old Testament is not the booster rockets of the space shuttle falling back into the ocean when finally arrived at a New Testament orbit. The Old Testament is an ongoing means of God's self-disclosure. A commitment to the inspiration of these texts recognizes the text itself as the means of God's self-communication to his people. This recognition demands a wrestling with the way the words go (ἀκολουθεία, as the Antiochenes were concerned to demonstrate).⁴

Bernard Duhm's tri-partite reading of Isaiah created hurdles for a unified reading of the book. But this has now given way to more attuned attention to Isaiah's unified voice in these sixty-six chapters.⁵ Still, the confession regarding Isaiah's unity and final form, along with a resistance to form-criticism's atomizing instincts, in no way attenuates the ongoing necessity of exegesis in the book. The Lord's style of language is embedded within the literary deposit of the canonical text, and the exegetical difficulties are numerous. Like Barth said of Calvin, one could spend the rest of their days in the Himalayas of Isaiah's canonical witness wrestling with the exegetical and text-critical difficulties, e.g., the difficult text-critical challenges in Isaiah 53. Nevertheless, the textual form is the inspired form both in the genesis of the material in its compositional history and in its continued role in the life of the church in its textual reception.⁶

Cyril's comments on Jonah show us that theological interpretation of Isaiah is not content with a mere exegetical engagement with the literary and historical contexts of the text itself in an act of description or as a particular species of historical excavation—whether by means of historical reconstruction or by appreciative attention to the religious-historical outlook of the time, both of which in isolation potentially sequester the text's function as Christian Scripture. It requires the text's *historia*, or its narrative dimension, to be extended figurally into a larger nexus of

4. See Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 172; Robert C. Hill, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch* (The Bible in Ancient Christianity; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 110–11.

5. A leading example in the midst of an expanding amount of secondary literature is H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

6. See Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*. Vol. 1, *Prolegomena* (trans. J. Vriend; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 384–85; John Webster, *Holy Scripture: A Dogmatic Sketch* (Current Issues in Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

meaning and potentiality provided by the redemptive dynamic of the divine economy.⁷ Various terms in the history of the church get at this dynamic: *historia* and *theoria*; allegory and typology; the medieval four-fold model; literal sense and spiritual sense; the figural reading of Luther and Calvin in their respective attending to the “plain sense” of the text. Despite their differing exegetical conclusions, all of these approaches resemble each other on the instinctual and theoretical level of Christian reading of the Old Testament.⁸

But Cyril also makes the point that it takes skill and wisdom to know where mimetic correspondences or allegorical extension work naturally within a two-testament canonical framework and where such readings are forced. Cyril’s language of skill and wisdom is important because it keeps at bay an attendance to a rigid method: if we can secure the proper method, then the exegetical results will naturally follow.⁹ It takes wisdom and skill, a Holy Spirit intuition, to help guide the reader in locating those places where extension occurs naturally, say even, ontologically, and where it does not. For pre-modern interpreters, the language of piety, humility, and virtue would be predicated on “successful” exegesis. Thomas Cranmer in his first Edwardian homily, entitled “A Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture,” claims,

And if you be afraid to fall into error by reading of holy Scripture, I shall shew you how you may read it without danger of error. Read it humbly with a meek and lowly heart, to the intent you may glorify God, and not yourself, with the knowledge of it: and read it not without daily praying to God, that he would direct your reading to good effect; and take upon you to expound it no further than you can plainly understand it.¹⁰

The appeal to piety and virtue does not diffuse tensions created over differing exegetical conclusion: a classic example of this tension is observed in Calvin and Luther’s different reading of Gen 3:15 or the Psalms in general. The appeal to piety, humility, and virtue does, however, reveal the proper posture for Christian reading of the Bible.

7. See the very helpful article by Murray Rae, “Texts in Context: Scripture in the Divine Economy,” *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 1 (2001): 23–46.

8. See the introductory chapter of Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

9. The zealous attention to method is a modern instinct whose roots are in the Cartesian turn to the subject. See Charles Taylor, *Hegel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), Chapter 1.

10. John H. Leith, ed., *Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine, from the Bible to the Present* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 236.

Sensitive to this “family resemblance,” Brevard Childs speaks of a multi-leveled approach to reading the Old Testament christianly.¹¹ In a dialectical relationship between the literary, historical and canonical contexts of the Old Testament and the claims of the New Testament and the apostolic era, one fits together text and subject matter around God’s revealing of himself in Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit. Key here, to my mind, is Childs’ insistence that this multi-layered reading of the Old Testament is a single act of reading or act of exegesis. In his commentary on Ezekiel, Robert Jenson, who is borrowing from Jason Byassee, calls this single act of reading an attendance to the Christological plain sense of the text.¹² If one allows the Chalcedonic formula to function as an analogue to our understanding of Scripture (and I actually find this dubious), the single reading would resist a Nestorian tendency to dichotomize the historical/literary matters of exegesis from the fuller figural readings of the self-same text. *Historia* and *theoria* come together to form *one* act of exegesis. Or, one does not have Christian exegesis of the Old Testament without attending to its broader location in a two-testament canon within the one divine economy.

Well, lest I fall prey to the temptation ever to discuss theological interpretation without actually turning toward exegesis itself, let me draw our attention to Isa 54:1-3 and seek to establish its *historia*. Then our attention will turn toward its *theoria* or figural potentiality all within the framework of a single act of reading.

Isaiah 54:1-3: The Servant’s Progeny and Zion’s Rejoicing

The seemingly stark shift of subject matter from Isaiah 53, the fourth of the so-called servant songs, to Isaiah 54 lent support to Bernard Duhm’s early insistence on the original independence of Isaiah’s servant songs. Duhm’s logic regarding the compositional history of this section was straightforward: if you lift Isaiah 53 (I will refer to Isa 53 with 52:13-15 in mind as well) out of its current location, then one does not have the contextual whiplash created in the transition between ch. 53 and ch. 54. The theme of Zion so prevalent in ch. 52 moves naturally into the context of Isaiah 54 with a strong level of thematic coherence. But

11. Brevard S. Childs, “Does the Old Testament Witness to Jesus Christ,” in *Evangelium Schriftauslegung Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Jostein Adna, Scott J. Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 57–64.

12. Robert Jenson, *Ezekiel* (Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible; Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2009).

Duhm's reading has not held up to critical scrutiny primarily because of the strong thematic coherence observed between ch. 54 and ch. 53 as well. The parallel themes are as follows: seed (53:10; 54:3), the many (52:14-15; 53:11-12; 54:1); righteousness (53:11; 54:14) and (peace (53:5; 54:10). Therefore, Isaiah 54's literary fixity between chs. 53 and 55 functions to coordinate the metaphors and themes of this chapter. It is not a redactional misfire.

Though there is thematic coherence between ch. 53 and ch. 54, a shift in imagery is present. The gender has moved away from the masculine servant of Isaiah 53 to the feminine barren woman and widowed woman of ch. 54. More significantly in the literary form of the book as we now have it, the singular servant of Isaiah 40–53 now shifts to the plural servants of 54–66. A trajectory within the imagery of the servant is now present such that the servant's (singular) work has been extended by his faithful and obedient followers who are now called the servants (plural). Childs states, "The suffering innocent one of ch. 53 is seen as having his life, in some way, extended and incorporated through his suffering by those who are now designated 'the servants of the Lord'."¹³ This larger and more textured reading of the literary form of Isaiah in its canonical shaping indicates the antecedent role Isaiah 53's subject matter plays for Isaiah 54.

The barren woman (whose nominal form is seen only here in the latter prophets) is called on to rejoice (54:1). The second colon in this line follows Kugel's "What is more B" understanding of poetic parallelism and heightens the imagery for poetic effectives—from rejoice (colon A) to break forth into singing and cry aloud (colon B).¹⁴ The use of metaphor here, as in much of Isaiah, increases the emotional content of the idea being discussed.¹⁵ Moreover, according to Lakoff and Johnson, "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."¹⁶ In Isa 54:1-3 the image is the barren woman. In our current cultural context, barrenness is typically a private malady

13. Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (The Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 430. See especially W. A. M. Beuken, "The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah: 'The Servants of YHWH,'" *JSOT* 47 (1990): 67–87.

14. James L. Kugel, *The Ideal of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), Chapter 1.

15. S. L. Stassen, "Marriage (and Related) Metaphors in Isaiah 54:1-17," *JSS* 6 (1994): 61.

16. Cited in Sarah J. Dille, *Mixing Metaphors: God as Mother and Father in Deutero-Isaiah* (JSOTSup 398; London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 18.

suffered in isolation and within the confines of one's family and friends. Within the world of the Old Testament, barrenness carried with it a public, social stigma that was enough to push Sarah to find a remedial route to her barrenness through Hagar. It drove Hannah to the temple to plead with the Lord in a manner that to the uninformed observer seemed like a drunken stupor. Klaus Baltzer claims, "Barrenness is a hard fate in a society where a woman's dignity is bound up with children."¹⁷ And here, the metaphor of barrenness marks Zion's desolation. If Paul Ricoeur is right—metaphors tell us something new about reality and are more than rhetorical ornaments—then the metaphor of the barren women in Isa 54:1-3 provides new understanding of Yhwh's fully orbed and complex self-determination to be God for his people.¹⁸

The cause of the barren woman's rejoicing is indicated with a comparative clause: "many more are the children of desolation than the children of the married, says the Lord" (54:1). The messenger or oracle formula, "says the Lord," ends the first verse and possibly identifies 54:1 as the thematic head of the entire chapter. The cause of the barren woman's rejoicing is the promise of children which beforehand were not possible. The children of desolation (the feminine participial form of שָׁמַם) will be more than the children of the husbanded. The intertextual link here to Isa 6:11, where the nominal form of the same root is used, should not be missed. Isaiah's prophetic commissioning of ch. 6 entails within it the negative promise that his word will function as the means of deafening and blinding the people of God. His words are the agents by which YHWH will make his judgment effective upon his people. Isaiah asks understandably, "How long oh Lord," after the prophetic bait and switch occurs. The answer is: until the cities have no inhabitants, there is no people and the land lays in desolate waste. The nominal form (שָׁמַם) is used here as an adverbial modifier of the verb "to lay in waste."

The laconic and adumbrated promise of Isa 6:13b, holy seed is its new growth, is now actualized in YHWH's redemptive economy. There is holy seed. There is new growth. Zion does have children. The promised destruction, God's "no" to use Karl Barth's language, has given way to God's "yes" as destruction and judgment are not allowed to have the final word. The barren woman, the children of desolation, those who have fallen under the mighty hand of God's judgment are now receiving

17. Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* (ed. Peter Machinist; trans. Margaret Kohl; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 435.

18. Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), 52–53.

the gracious promise that their barrenness is no more. Her single-person tent must give way to a larger tent able to house an abundance of children, which, once thought lost, are not promised to her in spades.

Immediately, the question of the identity of this woman comes is rightly asked. The answer seems straightforward. The ladies, along with all the mixed metaphors in this chapter, are Lady Zion or personified Jerusalem.¹⁹ This fits the thematic context of much of Isaiah 40–55, with its detailed attention to Zion and Jerusalem. But it would also seem incumbent upon the reader to press beyond this facile identification of Lady Zion as personified Jerusalem to a more concrete identity in light of Isaiah 54's literary context. This entails an engagement with the identity of Zion as now understood within the framework of the servant motif in Isaiah 40–55. Again, the rejoicing called for in v. 1 is antecedently related to the work of the servant in the previous chapter. To state the matter succinctly, the person and work of the servant makes Lady Zion's rejoicing possible.

The identification of “your seed” (זרעך) in Isa 54:3 is a crux in this matter. In Isa 53:10, a notoriously difficult verse to translate, the servant is promised that he will see his seed and prolong his days.²⁰ It is the vicarious nature of the servant's work on behalf of Israel that actualizes the forgiveness of God for his people. By the knowledge of him, he will make righteous “the many” (53:11). The term “many” (רבים) is also used in the comparison of 54:1: many more are the sons of destruction. The seed promised to the servant is literarily and ontologically related to the seed of the barren woman in Isa 54:1–3. She is given a seed; she is given offspring that were not naturally hers but have been provided for her on the basis of the person and work of another, a surrogate mother, if you will. Zion has children because the servant of the Lord has provided them for Zion by his offering of himself as an אשם.²¹ Zion asked the

19. Beuken states, “The sequence mother–wife may be illogical but is inspired by Israel's history and traditions, by the images that have come to typify the two earliest phases of her existence, the time of the wandering patriarchs and that of the life in the land.” W. A. M. Beuken, “Isaiah liv: The Multiple Identity of the Person Addressed,” in *Language and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Language and Biblical Exegesis* (ed. A. S. Van Der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 39.

20. On immortality as related to the extension of one's family or seed in the Old Testament, see Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 108–22.

21. Bernd Janowski, “He Bore Our Sins: Isaiah 53 and the Drama of Taking Another's Place,” in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher; trans. D. P. Bailey; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 48–74.

question in Isa 49:21, “Who has borne me these? I was bereaved and barren, exiled and put away, but who has brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; from where have these come?” The answer given in the literary association of 54:1-3 with ch. 53 is, “Your children have been given you by the servant.”

In Isa 54:3 the actualization of the promises to the Patriarchs is seen. In Gen 28:14, language very similar to 54:3 is observed. Jacob is promised that his seed will spread out to the north and south and to the east and west and by his seed the whole earth will be blessed. The same verb, עָרַף, is used to describe the centrifugal motion of God’s blessing to Abraham and then Jacob’s seed. In Isa 51:1-3 Israel’s election entails within it the purview of the nations and the need for election to move missionally to the nations.²² Election for mission is the means by which forfeited blessings caused by rebellion are overcome. And it is the servant in Isa 53:11-12 who is numbered among the rebellious, who bears their transgressions and actually makes intercession on their account. Israel as son of God is identified from the beginning of Isaiah’s corpus as a rebellious child who has forfeited her covenantal blessings and denied the vocation her election demanded of her: be a blessing to the nations. In the midst of this dynamic, the servant is identified both as Israel, unquestionably, and an entity other than empirical Israel who embodies for Israel and the nations what Israel could not, or would not, do or be.²³

In his act of faithfulness, even unto death, the servant makes the promise to Abraham’s and Jacob’s seed an actuality in the divine economy. Zion, who could not have legitimate children of her own because like Sarah she is barren, is now given children—the many, the seed—as a gift on the basis of the servant’s person and work. But key to this fulfillment in Isaiah of the promises to the patriarchs is the central role the servant plays in reorienting the identity of Lady Zion’s children. Lady Zion’s children, the servants of the Servant, are those who have identified themselves in obedience to the identity and vocation of him. These servant followers of the Servant have recognized in retrospect the significance of the Servant’s person and work and act as heralds of his work who live into the righteousness given to them as gift as they negotiate their existence in the eschatological tension. Lady Zion has

22. On the missional character of the prophets, see Christopher R. Seitz, *Figured Out: Typology and Providence in Christian Scripture* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 145–58.

23. See Peter Wilcox and David Paton-Williams, “The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah,” *JOT* 42 (1988): 79–102.

children now, a righteous offspring, the fulfillment of the patriarchal promises, and they have been provided for her because of the servant's person and work. Moreover, their identity is inextricably linked to the self-same servant.

Such is the *historia* or literary/canonical context of Isa 54:1-3. Much more could and should be said about this text, e.g., the specific issue of Israel's particular identity with or over against the nations. But we now seek to fit this text in a single yet multi-layered act of reading within the one divine economy of God's revelation of himself in Jesus Christ by the promised Spirit. Such a reading is warranted because the ecclesial culture in which this text is read affects our understanding of the ontology of Scripture. All interpretive moves—whether Isaiah is to read against the backdrop of its compositional history; whether Isaiah is to be read through the hermeneutical lens of the ancient Near Eastern comparative method; whether Isaiah is to be read in what Odil Steck call its “historically synchronic reading”—that is, the text in its compositional final stages as received by Jews and Christians—are affected by our particular location either in the academy and the church. Interpretive decisions have to be made. Roy Melugin frames the issue well:

As Hayden White teaches us, the totality of resources available to us for our historical research is often so large that we have to choose what is relevant for our historical inquiry and what is not. *We* do the choosing; and our choices are by no means unaffected by *our* particular worldviews, *our* views of human nature, and much else from our own culture and our culture's interpretive communities.²⁴

Admittedly, in the present study I am doing the choosing and this limits the interpretive potential.

A reading of Isaiah as Christian Scripture is an article of faith that can be demonstrated, but not necessarily in an analytically *bruta facta* way. It flows from confession. Karl Barth's pregnant line, “Revelation is not a predicate of history but history is a predicate of revelation,” has hermeneutical cash value when it comes to reading Isaiah as a Christian witness.²⁵ Yes, Isaiah's prophecy is born out of a historically particular situation or situations, and depending on the level of redactional confidence attached to various interpreters, a broad sketch of this historically

24. Roy F. Melugin, “Recent Form Criticism in an Age of Reader Response,” in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism in the Twenty-First Century* (ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 46–64 (62, original emphasis).

25. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, I.2 (ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance; trans. G. T. Thomson and Harold Knight; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), 58.

particular character can be had: from single authorship in the eighth century to a long compositional process whose terminus is the second century BCE. And, it should be mentioned, much can be learned and gained from insights gathered from the text's depth dimension. Notwithstanding these matters, however, it is the text in its final form that functions as canonical Scripture, not a recovered depth-dimension. Its potentiality for reading and re-reading in the divine economy is not exhausted by mining the historical particularity out of which the text arose. There is a fixity to its witness in the material form of the book as we have it. But its potentiality, its substance, its revelatory character, identifies the text as an ongoing word. In Herman Bavinck's helpful phrase, "The Scriptures are the eternally youthful word of the Lord."²⁶

As such, this eternally, youthful witness of Isa 54:1-3 is not locked in Israel's ancient past in the attempt at recovering: Who wrote it. Who heard it first? What's the human author's original intent? Rather, the text's literary fixity is naturally extended within the framework of the one divine economy. Its fixity is wed to a Christological plain sense whose substance is defined by God's self-disclosure in a two-testament canon. By way of conclusion, I will outline three ways in which the text of Isa 54:1-3 and its canonical context organically extends into Christian theological claims. These three readings are not exhaustive of the text's theological potential, nor are the readings examined as fully as they should be. Instead, they are offered as indicators of possible readings awaiting further exploration.

First, the vicarious work of Christ makes his followers righteous and makes possible righteous acts on the far side of redemption. In Isaianic terms, the seed identified as righteous in 53:10-11 is now called on to enact her missional responsibilities that flow from her election and redemption (54:3). A similar dynamic is at play in 56:1, where righteousness as gift and righteousness as covenant obligations are comfortably situated next to each other. Calvin's understanding of the *duplex gratia* may illustrate this Isaianic theme. Todd Billings explains Calvin's *duplex gratia*: the first grace is justification and the second grace is sanctification or our partaking in righteousness.²⁷ Both aspects of the one salvation event are distinguishable yet insolubly bound together. Moreover, they both flow from the gracious character of the one who suffered in our place. Something of this dynamic is present in the work of the Servant as

26. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, 1:384.

27. J. Todd Billings, *Calvin, Participation, and the Gift: The Activity of Believers in Union with Christ* (Changing Paradigms in Historical and Systematic Theology; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 15.

one who makes righteous and makes righteous acts possible on the far side of the gracious gift of righteousness—both of which flow from the objective character of his reconciling work.

Second, an organic link exists between the Servant and his servant followers: to speak of one entails the necessity of the other. The Servant is promised on the far side of his crushing that he will see his seed. The Servant's identity is prolonged in his seed; it is extended in those who have been made righteous because he bore their iniquities. The Servant's identity is carried out and extended in this progeny. The Servant is primary; he is the cause and means by which the servants enact their missional obligations. Still, their mission is so interwoven with his that language applied to the servant can be applied to them as well—in the remainder of Isaiah's corpus the servants' identity are also caught up in the complex of humiliation and exaltation much like that of the Servant.

Augustine's *Totus Christus* ecclesiology is related in substance to the insoluble bond between Servant and servants in Isaiah. He says in *De Doctrina*,

We know that we are sometimes being given hints that head and body, that is Christ and Church, constitute one person... So according to this first rule (first rule of Tychonius' seven rules against the Donatists) we should not let it baffle us when a text passes from head to body and from body to head, and yet still refers to one and the same person" (III.44).

The language the risen Jesus uses when he speaks to Paul in Acts 9 is indicative of this dynamic: Why do you persecute me? Jesus and his body are ontologically bound to each other. *Totus Christus* is also why Paul can speak about himself and his apostolic ministry in such a way as to cause discomfort: I carry the death of Jesus in my body (2 Cor 4:10); I make up for that which is lacking in his suffering (Col 1:24). Again, the substance of Augustine's ecclesiology organically relates to the relationship between Servant and servants in Isaiah 40–66.

Finally, and related to my first observation, election demands mission. It is of little wonder that Isa 54:1-3 served as the catalyst for William Carey's famous sermon on missions.²⁸ Carey found biblical warrant in this text for the necessity of human agency in proclaiming the gospel around the world: "Lengthen thy chords and strengthen thy gates." Carey's reading of this text led to his famous phrase, "Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God." The Christian reception of Isa 54:1-3 propelled one of the greatest missionary movements of our

28. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Pelican History of the Church, 6; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964), 222–23.

time. And it should be stressed that Carey's engagement of this text is in accord with its missional impetus, fitted within the context of the one divine economy of grace. It is not merely a homiletical reading but a reading of the way these words go in light of God's triune action in Jesus Christ. Isaiah 54:1-3 reveals that a responsibility is placed on the shoulders of those who have reason to rejoice. The promises to the patriarchs, "lengthen thy cords," were actualized in Isa 54:1-3 and continue as an effective word of the Lord for generations of servant followers of the Servant. William Carey was, in fact, one of those followers and in a tight reading allowed the force of this text to be heard as a young, fresh and urgent word of the Lord.

In his illuminating work *Canon and Creed*, Robert Jenson puts the matter boldly, "If Christ interpreted the Old Scripture 'with authority,' as if he were the author, it was because, in the final ontological analysis, that is what he is."²⁹ If Christian readers of the Bible affirm Jenson's statement—a statement whose substance can be found in the writings of Irenaeus, Luther, and Calvin, just to name a few in the history of interpretation—then our approach to reading the textual witness of the Old Testament will have to accord with this fundamental, Christian confession. The *logos*, whose name in time is revealed as Jesus Christ, precedes the Old Testament. This theological claim fundamentally shapes our hermeneutical approach.

29. Robert W. Jenson, *Canon and Creed* (Interpretation: Resources for the Use of Scripture in the Church; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2010), 22.

2

GENESIS RABBAH 48:1-6: REFLECTIONS ON THEMATIC UNITY AND EXEGETICAL METHOD

Jeremy F. Hultin

At the heart of much of *Genesis Rabbah*'s commentary on the first phrase of Gen 18:1 ("And the LORD appeared to Abraham by the oaks of Mamre")¹ is the observation that Abraham, by circumcising himself and his people (Gen 17), had merited God's appearing to him. Four successive proems (§§2-5) open with biblical passages that seem to parallel the experience of Abraham—passages in which an act of obedience is followed by a theophany. But in the first proem, the *petihta* verse² (Ps 18:36) does not lend itself to this obedience/theophany pattern. Rather, the midrash treats the psalmists' words as though they were spoken by Abraham and then relates them to various episodes from Abraham's life. And in the sixth and final proem, the midrash opens with Isa 33:14 ("Sinners in Zion are afraid"); it then relates various phrases from Isa 33:14-17 to passages about Abraham before using Isa 33:17 ("Your eyes will see the king in his beauty") to return to the lectionary

1. Quotations of the Bible are from taken from the NRSV; quotations of *Genesis Rabbah* are taken from H. Freedman, *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (2 vols.; London: Soncino, 1939); in both cases I have made minor modifications.

2. I will call the verse with which each proem "opens" the "*petihta* verse" and Gen 18:1 the "*lectionary* verse" (cf. David Stern, "Midrash and the Language of Exegesis: A Study of Vayikra Rabbah, Chapter 1," in *Midrash and Literature* [ed. Geoffrey H. Hartman and Sanford Budick; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986], 105–24 [107]; and Norman J. Cohen, "Leviticus Rabbah, Parashah 3: An Example of a Classic Rabbinic Homily," *JQR* 72 [1981]: 18–31 [21]). The terminology varies: in his translation of *Genesis Rabbah*, Jacob Neusner calls the opening verse of each proem the "*intersecting* verse" and the lectionary or seder verse the "*base* verse" (*Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis: A New American Translation* [3 vols.; Brown Judaic Studies 104–106; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985]).

verse, “And the LORD appeared to Abraham” (Gen 18:1). Thus on an initial reading of *Gen. Rab.* 48:1-6, it is not easy to discern much thematic unity between these six proems.

There is, of course, no *a priori* reason to expect that these individual sections *should* cohere. The exegetical midrashim, such as *Genesis Rabbah*, consist largely of “compilation and quotation,” resulting in “catena-like collections” that often lack unity.³ Furthermore, each of the six proems does, in its own way, draw a connection between its petihta verse and Gen 18:1, and hence can be understood on its own terms,⁴ however obscure certain details remain.

But I believe that it can be shown that these six apparently independent sections can be read as a coherent whole; and, furthermore, it can be shown that this coherence emerges chiefly when we consider the

3. Hermann L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. Markus Bockmuehl; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 240; cf. David Stern, *Midrash and Theory: Ancient Jewish Exegesis and Contemporary Literary Studies* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1996), 56, noting that there is typically no “clearly discernible logic of organization” in the exegetical midrashim. Nevertheless, as Strack and Stemberger note, at times the “juxtaposed interpretations are not alternatives but parts of a consciously composed overall presentation” (*Talmud and Midrash*, 240). Stern likewise qualifies his statement by adding that “redactional organization can be discerned” in certain exegetical midrashim, including some sections of *Genesis Rabbah* (*Midrash and Theory*, 107 n. 3). Studies that have discerned unity among the collected expositions include Jacob Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue: A Study in the Cycles of the Readings from Torah and Prophets, as Well as from Psalms, and in the Structure of the Midrashic Homilies* (2 vols.; repr., The Library of Biblical Studies; New York: KTAV, 1966–71); Joseph Heinemann, e.g., “Profile of a Midrash: The Art of Composition in Leviticus Rabba,” *JAAR* 39 (1971): 141–50; Reuven Hammer, “Section 38 of Sifre Deuteronomy: An Example of the Use of Independent Sources to Create a Literary Unit,” *HUCA* 50 (1979): 165–78; Cohen, “Leviticus Rabbah,” with a helpful review of scholarship; O. Meir, “A Garden in Eden—On the Redaction of Genesis Rabba” (Hebrew), *Dappim* 5–6 (1989): 309–20 (summarized by Strack and Stemberger, *Talmud and Midrash*, 278); cf. the comments of Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah*, 180–81, on *Gen. Rab.* 48:6; see also the helpful survey by David Stern, *Midrash and Theory*, 107–108 n. 6. Steven D. Fraade, at the end of his detailed study of Sifre Deut 26, notes that neither alternative (carefully redacted unity or disparate collection) seems fully satisfactory (“Sifre Deuteronomy 26 [ad Deut. 3:23]: How Conscious the Composition?,” *HUCA* 54 [1983]: 245–301).

4. For the rhetoric of the proem, cf. Stern, *Midrash and Theory*, 57–58; Joseph Heinemann, “Preaching, In the Talmudic Period,” *EncJud*, 16:467–70 (especially 469).

play of certain words in the *contexts* of the petihta verses.⁵ The petihta verses are, in fact, taken from passages that have certain verbal and thematic similarities, suggesting that they contribute more to the overall reading of the midrash than the simplest explanation of each verse would at first suggest. As we note these verbal and thematic affinities of the pericopes from which the six petihta verses were taken, the significance of these affinities for the midrash as a whole will become apparent. If I can make this reading compelling, we would have evidence that *Gen. Rab.* 48:1–6 is not simply a collection of pre-formed homilies⁶ or unrelated scholarly comments. Instead, it might suggest that these six sections can be read not merely as an anthology, but also, in some sense, as a composition.⁷

* * *

5. It has long been taken to be virtually axiomatic that ancient Jewish (and Christian) exegesis tends to be “atomistic” in that it “interprets sentences, clauses, phrases and even single words independently of the context or the historical occasion” (George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* [3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927], 1:249; cf. James Kugel, “Two Introductions to Midrash,” in Hartman and Budick, eds., *Midrash and Literature*, 94–95). Scholars emphasizing the relevance of the context of cited material include David Instone Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (TSAJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992); Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul ‘In Concert’ in the Letter to the Romans* (NovTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

6. It remains an open question whether these collected midrashim were originally delivered as homilies in actual synagogues or were the literary products of the *beit midrash*. Heinemann favored the former position (“The Proem in the Aggadic Midrashim: A Form-Critical Study,” *ScrHier* 22 (1971): 100–22; “Profile of a Midrash,” 143–44), a stance that has been defended more recently by Irving Jacobs, *The Midrashic Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2. Arguments for the later position can be found in: Fraade, “Sifre Deuteronomy,” 252–53; Richard Sarason, “The Petihtot in Leviticus Rabbah: ‘Oral Homilies’ or Redactional Constructions?,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 557–67; A. Shinan, “Sermons, Targums, and the Reading from Scriptures in the Ancient Synagogue,” in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 97–110. On the whole question, cf. the judicious comments of Joshua Levinson, review of Irving Jacobs, *The Midrashic Process*, *AJSR* 22 (1997): 95–102 (especially 99–100).

7. This is not to deny the obvious fact that these sections did exist prior to the compiler’s work of bringing them together here (the first two sections are anonymous, but the next four are attributed to various sages). Rather, it is simply to emphasize the compiler’s thoughtful and deliberate use of existing commentary.

The first proem opens by citing Ps 18:36 and relating it to Abraham's life: "You have given me the shield of your salvation, and your right hand supported me, and your condescension⁸ made me great." This verse is then explained: "'You have given me the shield of your salvation,' this is Abraham; 'and your right hand supported me,' that is, sustained him in the fiery furnace, in hunger, and among the kings; 'and your condescension made me great,' what was the condescension the LORD showed for Abraham's sake? That while Abraham sat, the Shekinah was standing, as it is written, 'And the LORD appeared to him...as he sat...'"

Psalm 18 seems most directly relevant to Gen 18:1 because the phrase "your condescension has made me great" addresses the patriarch's troubling *faux pas*: Why was Abraham sitting while his distinguished guests stood? This quotation from Psalm 18 does not attempt to justify Abraham,⁹ but it shows that interpreters were aware that Abraham's behavior was unusual and that the interaction demonstrated an accommodation on God's part. What is perhaps a bit more surprising, though, is to find Abraham identified as the speaker of the psalm ("this is Abraham").

The midrash cites three conditions in which God "supported" Abraham: the fiery furnace, hunger, and among the kings. The "fiery furnace" (כבשן האש) refers to the time that Abraham was thrown into the "fiery furnace" of his father's idols. *Genesis Rabbah* 38:13 uses the same phrase in its comments on Gen 11:28, when telling this well-known story.¹⁰ Genesis 12:10–13:1 tells of the famine (רעב) in the Land that led Abraham to go to Egypt, and this must be the "hunger" (רעבון) in which the midrash says Abraham was saved. Finally, being saved while "among kings" recalls the warring kings of Genesis 14, and it is actually in that chapter that we find the verbal elements that enable the midrashist

8. It is necessary to change the NRSV's "help" to "condescension" or "humility" to bring out the logic of the midrash (for the sense of "condescension" here, cf. BDB s.v. ענוה, 2).

9. *Genesis Rabbah* 48:7 addresses at length this problem of Abraham's sitting while the Shekinah stood. It just so happens that Rabbi Issi, the authority cited in §3, is recorded as insisting that Lev 19:32 ("You shall rise before the aged, and defer to the old") required rising before *any* elder, not only for elderly Torah scholars (b. *Qidd.* 33a).

10. In *Genesis Rabbah*, it is Nimrod who lights the fire for Abraham, due to Abraham's outspoken denial of idols. For older versions of the story, see *Jub.* 12:12–14; *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8 (especially 8:4–6); further variations are gathered by Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (trans. Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin; 2d ed.; 2 vols.; JPS Classic Reissues; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 1:175–86.

to link Abraham with the speaker of Psalm 18. The psalmist declares that God has given him a shield (מגן, Ps 18:36). In Gen 14:20, Melchizedek blesses Abraham and God with the words: “blessed be God Most High, who has delivered (מָגַן) your enemies into your hand!”; and in Gen 15:1, God says that he is a shield (מָגַן) for Abraham.¹¹ These uses of מגן (Gen 14:20; 15:1; Ps 18:36) provide a verbal connection between Abraham and the psalmist.¹²

But even if this use of מגן helps account for the connection between Abraham and the psalmist, was there anything in Gen 18:1 that suggested looking to Genesis 14 in the first place? Perhaps the root of this is to be found in the mention of the “oaks of Mamre” (אֵלֵי מַמְרֵה, Gen 18:1). This phrase occurs elsewhere in the Bible only at the beginning and in the middle of Abraham’s encounters with the kings (Gen 13:18; 14:13). Hence, the lectionary verse itself has connections to Genesis 14. (And Genesis 14 is quoted twice in §6.) The “oaks of Mamre” connect Gen 18:1 to Genesis 14; then the consonants מגן, which occur in Genesis 14 and at the beginning of Genesis 15, make Ps 18:36, which describes God as a מגן for the psalmist, suitable words for Abraham. This connection having been made, the praises of the psalmist, “your condescension has made me great,” can speak to the ultimate concern of §1—to note that God condescended to stand while Abraham sat.

As stated above, the next four proems (§§2-5) cite biblical passages that seem to parallel the sequence of events in Genesis 17 and 18: an act of obedience (Abraham’s circumcision in Gen 17) followed by God’s appearing (Gen 18:1). The second proem opens with Job 19:26: “And after my skin has been thus destroyed, then in my flesh I shall see God.” The reader may expect the proem to argue that, just as Job said that he would see God after his skin was destroyed, so Abraham would see God after the destruction of his (fore)skin.¹³ But the midrash puts a surprising interjection on Abraham’s lips—“After I circumcise myself *many proselytes will come to seek this covenant*”—before reaching the expected conclusion: “had I not done so [i.e. circumcised myself], why should God have revealed himself to me?” The origin of this turn of thought in

11. Commentators since Rashi have noted this link between Gen 14:20 and 15:1.

12. It might be worth noting another verbal similarity between Ps 18:36 and Gen 18: “And your right hand supported (תַּסְעִדֵנִי) me” (cited in §1 from Ps 18:36) shares the root סַעַד with Abraham’s entreaty to his visitors: “that you may sustain yourselves” (וְסַעַדוּ לָבֶכֶם, Gen 18:5).

13. This connection between circumcision and the vision of God underwent fascinating developments in later mystical texts; see Elliot R. Wolfson, “Circumcision, Vision of God, and Textual Interpretation: From Midrashic Trope to Mystical Symbol,” *HR* 27 (1987): 189–215.

the midrash may be obscure,¹⁴ but the mention of “proselytes” (גרים) has paranomastic links not only with other parts of Job 19, but also with Isa 33:14, the petihta verse of §6. “Proselytes” (גרים, from גור, “to dwell”) resembles the verb in Job 19:29, גורו לכם מפני־חרב (from גור, “to dread” [here: “dread the sword”]); and the verb “to dwell” occurs in Isa 33:14, מי יגור לנו (“Who among us can *dwell*?” [§6, *bis*]).¹⁵ Furthermore, there have already been two oblique allusions to the relationship between “proselytes” and Abraham’s faithful obedience in the matter of circumcision. The first comes at the conclusion of the previous *parashah*, where Abraham, having just been circumcised, worries: “Before I became circumcised, travellers used to visit me; now that I am circumcised, perhaps they will no longer visit me?” (*Gen. Rab.* 47:10).¹⁶ This gestures toward the question of whether Abraham’s submission to the covenant—a question §2 here answers in the negative. The second way “proselytes” have been invoked is the reference to Abraham having been saved in the “fiery furnace” (§1), for in that episode he showed himself, by spurning idolatry, to be the first “proselyte” to monotheism;¹⁷ and his bold display of faith immediately won converts,¹⁸ who asked, in effect, “Who can dwell with this devouring fire?” (Isa 33:14).¹⁹

But without question, what emerges most clearly from §2 is that both in Job 19:26 and in the sequence from Genesis 17 to 18, the vision of God follows the destruction of flesh.

14. Cf. the note in Freedman, *Midrash Rabbah*, 406 n. 4.

15. Thus both the Job and the Isaiah passages have גור + ל + a personal pronoun.

16. God’s reply to Abraham’s anxiety actually introduces Gen 18:1, thus linking the two parashyot, for God says, “Before you were circumcised, uncircumcised mortals visited you; now I in my glory will appear to you.”

17. For Abraham as model proselyte, see Philo, *Virt.* 219; *y. Bik.* 64a (references from Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* [Hellenistic Culture and Society 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999], 151 n. 34).

18. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:176

19. It is interesting to note at least two other possible verbal plays that might have brought גרים into the picture. First, Abraham had been promised (in Gen 15:13) that his descendants (זרע) would be sojourners (גר) in a land that not their own. Did the fact that his offspring would be גר suggest that גרים might constitute some of his offspring? Second, one cannot resist noting: (1) that Abraham circumcises עצם (§2: עצמי שמלתי, a word which literally means “bone,” but which is common in biblical Hebrew for “oneself” (BDB s.v. עצם, I. l. a, d); and (2) that another Hebrew word for “bone” is גרם, whose consonants—separated by only one word from עצם in this midrash—are found in the word for “proselytes” (§2: עצמי הרבה גרים).

The third proem opens with Job 31:13-14: “If I have rejected (מאס) the cause of my male or female slaves, when they brought a complaint against me; what then shall I do when God rises up? When he makes inquiry, what shall I answer him?” The midrash connects Job’s concern about proper treatment of slaves to the life of Abraham by means of Gen 17:23: “Then Abraham took Ishmael his son and all the *slaves* born in his house or bought with his money...and he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins that very day.” Hence, because Abraham did not withhold from his slaves the privilege of circumcision, God appeared to him.

Just as §2 and §3 cite scriptural precedents that account for why God appeared to Abraham (viz., his circumcision of himself and his fair treatment—in the form of circumcision—of his slaves), the petihta verses cited in sections 4 and 5 (§4: Exod 20:24; §5: Lev 9:4)²⁰ provide instances in which God’s instructions for the cult were given along with the promise that God would appear to his people. If God appeared for “an altar of earth” (so Exod 20:24) or for “peace offerings” (so Lev 9:4), surely he would appear to Abraham when he circumcised himself.

But in addition to this plain surface logic in §§2-5, there are intriguing verbal and thematic connections among the various petihta verses. For instance, in §3 מאס is used negatively of rejecting a slave, but it appears in the quotation from Isa 33:15 (§6) as one of Abraham’s good traits: מאס בבצא מעשקות (“who despises the gain of oppression”). Similarly, in the book of Exodus, following the petihta verse of §4 (Exod 20:24), there are ordinances concerning slaves, which recalls §3 and Abraham’s (and Job’s) proper treatment of slaves. In fact, there is even an ordinance in Exod 21:6 for a slave to receive a wound to a delicate piece of flesh as a sign of belonging.

But more striking than these minor examples is the fact that “devouring fires” (אכל with אש) are connected with the theophanies described in Exodus and Leviticus, and this language occurs in other passages cited in the midrash. In fact, *five of the six petihta verses come from passages that have the words אכל and אש*. We will briefly examine each of these.

In Psalm 18 (cited in §1), the supplicant’s prayers are met with physical manifestations of God’s power: “From his temple he heard my voice, and my cry to him reached his ears. Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations also of the mountains trembled and quaked, because he was

20. These are noteworthy for being among the relatively few petihta verses drawn from the Pentateuch. Of the 246 proems in *Genesis Rabbah*, most (199) open with passages taken from the Writings (mainly the Psalms and Proverbs); only ten petihta verses come from the Pentateuch (Moshe David Herr and Stephen G. Wald, “Genesis Rabbah,” *EncJud* 7:448).

angry. Smoke went up from his nostrils, and devouring fire from his mouth (ואש־מפיו תאכל); glowing coals flamed forth from him. He bowed the heavens, and came down; thick darkness (ערפל) was under his feet” (Ps 18:6-9). The pericope in Exodus immediately prior to the petihta verse of §4 describes God on the mountain with language similar to that of the Psalm 18: God descends upon Mount Sinai in fire (Exod 19:18) and “Moses drew near to the thick darkness (הערפל) where God was” (Exod 20:21). The petihta verse in §5 (Lev 9:4: “And an ox and a ram for peace offerings...for today the LORD will appear to you”) belongs to a pericope in Leviticus that continues with Aaron and his sons following Moses’s instructions and offering the sacrifice, whereupon God appears as promised: “And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting; and when they came out they blessed the people, and the glory of the LORD appeared to all the people. And fire (אש) came forth from before the LORD and consumed (ותאכל) the burnt offering and the fat upon the altar” (Lev 9:23-24). In fact, a similar phrase is used in the next episode of Leviticus. Nadab and Abihu put their “strange fire” upon the altar, and “fire (אש) came forth from the presence of the LORD and consumed (ותאכל) them” (Lev 10:2). Job 31:12 (§3 opens with Job 31:13) also mentions אש with אכל: “for that would be a fire consuming down to Abaddon (אש היא עד־אבדון תאכל).” The final proem opens with the first words of Isa 33:14 (“The sinners in Zion are afraid”); this verse goes on to ask, “Who among us can live with the devouring fire (אש אוכלה)?”²¹

The logic of how each proem employs its petihta verse does not rest solely on the verse’s larger biblical context, for, as we have seen, the verses are quite intelligible without reference to the occurrences of “fire” in their proximity. But it can hardly be coincidental that five of the six petihta verses do have these nearby references to fire.²² What, then, does the presence of these passages about fire, smoldering just outside the cited material, contribute to the overall reading of the midrash?

First we might ask whether the original reference to Abraham being sustained “in the fiery furnace” might point not only to Abraham and the conflagration of the idols (*Gen. Rab.* 38:13, etc.), but also to Abraham’s survival of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The precise phrase

21. These words lie outside the cited material—a fact all the more remarkable given how many phrases from Isa 33:14-17 are cited in §6, which is by far the lengthiest and most elaborate of these six proems.

22. To summarize: (§1) Ps 18:36 (cited) and 18:7-10 (reference to fire); (§3) Job 31:13 and 31:12; (§4) Exod 20:24 and 19:18; 20:21; (§5) Lev 9:4 and 9:23-24 and 10:2; (§6) Isa 33:14 (the reference to fire is in the very verse cited, but not in the cited material).

of the midrash (“fiery furnace,” כבשן האש) does not occur in the Bible, but כבשן *is* used of the ruined Sodom and Gomorrah: “[Abraham] looked down toward Sodom and Gomorrah...and saw the smoke of the land going up like the smoke of a furnace (הכבשן)” (Gen 19:28). Because כבשן occurs only three other times in the Bible,²³ if the use of this word were to echo any passage from Abraham’s life, it would be Gen 19:27-28.²⁴ If כבשן thus alludes to the fiery destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, then perhaps so does the presence of “fire” in the pericopes of the petihta verses.

What I am proposing is that the motif of “devouring fire” creates a *connection* between God’s appearance to Abraham in Gen 18:1 and God’s destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 19. It was an honor that God appeared to Abraham, and God blessed Abraham not only by his presence, but by announcing that Abraham would have a son by Sarah (Gen 18:10).²⁵ But following this announcement, the two men with God set out for Sodom, and Abraham begins to haggle with God over that city’s fate. God then destroys the city with fire (אש), and its smoke rises like the smoke of a “furnace” (Gen 19:24; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 48:1). Thus in Genesis, there is a direct narrative line between God’s merciful appearance to Abraham and God’s “devouring fire”; the promise of a son through which God’s people would continue comes just before those who were decidedly not God’s people were obliterated. For the obedient, God appears to bless; for the disobedient, he appears as a fire that consumes.

The use of Isa 33:14-17 in §6 is too involved to treat in detail here;²⁶ but the commentary on the first clause of Isa 33:14 supports my contention that even though Sodom and Gomorrah are never mentioned in *Gen. Rab.* 48:1-6, the motif of devouring fire draws attention to their destruction. Section 6 begins thus: “‘The sinners in Zion are afraid,’ Rabbi Jeremiah ben Eleazar said: This could be likened to two children who ran away from school: the one was punished and the other was scared.” The

23. Twice (Exod 9:8, 10) it is used of an actual “kiln.” The third instance occurs in Exod 19:18, which speaks of God descending upon Mount Sinai in fire, “the smoke of it [going] up like the smoke of a *kiln*.” This third instance of כבשן is thus intriguing for the present passage, as it is connected to a theophany and occurs close to Exodus 20, the petihta verse of §4.

24. Furthermore, when Abraham was saved “among kings” (§1 referring to Gen 14), these included the kings of *Sodom and Gomorrah*.

25. Recall the petihta verse from §4: “I will come to you *and bless you*” (Exod 20:24).

26. See Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah*, 2:181, for several interesting observations on this poem, by far the lengthiest and most complex of the six.

logic here would seem to be that “when God punishes the heathens, the sinners in Zion are afraid.”²⁷ The next phrase in Isa 33:14 reads: “‘Who among us can live with the *devouring fire*? Who among us can live with *everlasting flames*?’”²⁸ If the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah has been obliquely brought into this midrash through the *contexts* of the other *petihta* verses, this passage from Isaiah is a marvelous finale. The obedient see God, but tremble at the reminder that the God they see *is* a devouring fire (Deut 4:24; 9:3).²⁹

This reminder of the dark side of God’s appearing is in some ways reminiscent of the prophetic treatment of the Day of the LORD: God comes to save, but also to destroy.³⁰ Perhaps the moral of *Gen. Rab.* 38:13—the story of Abraham in the fiery furnace—is not altogether different. Haran waited to see how Abraham would fare in the conflagration before he declared his allegiance to Abraham’s faith; but when he was himself thrown into the fire, he was consumed.³¹

In this essay I have argued that in the case of the commentary on Gen 18:1, it is possible to discern considerable coherence between the six individual sections of the midrash. Furthermore, I have argued that this coherence depends upon *the contexts from which the petihta verses were chosen*—that is, from uncited biblical material. Theory about how the authors of midrash interpreted the Bible must be inductively developed from the data yielded by exegesis. If my reading of this passage from *Genesis Rabbah* is compelling, then a bit more data will have been culled that can cast light on how the rabbis employed their citations of Scripture when they commented on Scripture.

27. Freedman, *Midrash Rabbah*, 1:407 n. 3.

28. §6 actually cites only the words “everlasting flames”: “R. Judah b. R. Simon said: ‘Why are they called “everlasting flames”?’ Because if they were given free passage they would burn up the whole world.” For the power of the fire of Sodom and Gomorrah to penetrate the entire world, cf. Philo, *Abr.* 140.

29. See Howard Jacobson, “God as Consuming Fire,” *HTR* 98 (2005): 219–22.

30. When the prophet Joel makes this very point about the Day of the LORD (Joel 1:19–2:5), he mentions “devouring fire” (אֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת) five times in seven verses.

31. Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:177. The episode is told slightly differently in *Jubilees*, but Haran is still consumed by the fire and the reason is still a lack of a pure, monotheistic faith: “Abram arose in the night and burned the house of idols. And he burned everything in the house. And there was no man who knew. And they rose up in the night and they wanted to save their gods from the midst of the fire. And Haran rushed to save them, and the fire flared up over him. And he was burned in the fire and died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah, his father” (*Jub.* 12:12–14, trans. O. S. Wintermute in *OTP*, 2:80).

Part 2

STUDIES IN THE GOSPELS

3

METAPHORTY-TWO? THE WILDERNESS AND THE PEOPLE OF GOD IN MATTHEW 1:1-17

Jason B. Hood

Robert Gundry describes the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew 1 as a “large figure of speech” for Jesus’ Davidic Messiahship.¹ Matthew’s evocative style means that more than one metaphor might be put in play, and elsewhere I develop the insight of many others that the genealogy is at the same time a large figure of speech for the story of Israel.² In this essay I will explore the possibility that the numerical significance of “forty-two” in early Jewish and Christian literature clarifies the nature of Israel’s story. Matthew’s whole text is notable for its allusive style; this is particularly true of the genealogy. He avoids detailed explanations, and passages like the genealogy provide no clear access to his objectives. Accordingly, the modest goals of this research target plausible correspondence rather than ironclad evidence.

The Outline of this Study

After reviewing the *status quaestionis* for the numbers in Matthew’s genealogy, I will explore the implications of “forty-two” in Jewish tradition. This number and other related numbers function as something like a numerical wilderness metaphor. I will then briefly consider the use of the wilderness theme in early Christian self-conception.

1. Robert Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 15. See similarly M. Orsatti, *Un Saggio di Teologia Della Storia: Esegesi di Mt. 1, 1-17* (Studi Biblica 55; Brescia: Paideia, 1980), who sees the genealogy as the “first fulfillment citation in the gospel.”

2. Jason Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers, and the Nations (Matthew 1:1-17)* (LNTS 441; London: T&T Clark International, 2011).

Numbers and Numerical Structure in Matthew 1:1-17

The evocative nature of the numbers cited by Matthew in the conclusion of his genealogy—three groups of fourteen generations, for a total of forty-two (Matt 1:17)—has fascinated scholars to no end.³ The fact that Matthew features a multiple of seven and six provides room for near-endless speculation. Further speculation is created by the fact that Matthew does not quite have three groups of fourteen generations. Is Mary counted in addition to Joseph in the final group of “fourteen”?⁴ Is Matthew relying on a division of history similar to that found in *2 Baruch* 53–74?⁵ Did Matthew count names, not generations (as he explicitly says)?⁶

Possible intertexts abound, and they are pregnant with possible solutions. Multiples of seven were valuable for Jewish genealogical construction, which creates a host of other possibly relevant data. Enoch is famously the seventh from Adam (Judg 1:14), Luke’s genealogy of Jesus works on a seven-fold principle, and Gad is seventh in Genesis 46 (with seven sons; the numerical value of his name is seven).⁷ 1 Chronicles 2:17 modifies the tradition inherited from 1 Sam 16:10-11, 17:12 by placing David in the seventh (rather than eighth) position of Jesse’s sons.⁸ Ezra 7:1-5 has 17 generations from Aaron to Ezra; 1 Esd

3. For a full list of possibilities, consult D. C. Allison and W. D. Davies, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew: Matthew 1–7* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 163–65; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; trans. James Crouch; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2007), 85–86; Craig Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 76. For the possibility that nothing is meant by the number and that it is merely a fortuitous product of a Matthean source, see G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 38.

4. Gundry, *Matthew*, 19.

5. Herman Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key to the Gospel According to Matthew,” *JBL* 95 (1976): 205–30. Even less convincing than this dubious parallel is Waetjen’s attempt to associate the four epochs of history with the four divisions of history in Dan 2 and 7.

6. Hugo Schöllig, “Die Zählung der Generationen im matthäischen Stammbaum,” *ZNW* 59 (1968): 261–68.

7. Jack M. Sasson, “A Genealogical Convention in Biblical Chronography,” *ZAW* 90 (1978): 171–85 (181; *idem*, “Generation, Seventh,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible Supplement* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 355.

8. Syriac and Arabic texts changed the Chronicler’s account back to eighth. But the Chronicler was not shy about laying this stress on David; he might not have been the eldest, but the numbers did not lie.

8:1-2 changes this to fourteen. Matthew is employing a common tactic, “telescoping,” by omitting three kings to preserve a numerical scheme.⁹

Characters could also be highlighted by multiples of seven. Fourteen is genealogically significant in proto-rabbinic tradition, which adduced fourteen progenitors of the Law from Moses, “not a bloodlist of progenitors, but a succession of teachers through whom its tradition had been transmitted from the past” or a “professorial genealogy.”¹⁰ Davies and Johnson both cite Finkelstein, who uses literary analysis of the rabbis to make the following claim on *m. Aboth* and *ARN*:

The number, “fourteen,” is not accidental. It corresponds to the number of high priests from Aaron to the establishment of Solomon’s Temple; the number of high priests from the establishment of the Temple until Jaddua, the last High Priest mentioned in Scripture. It is clear that a mystic significance attached to this number, in both the Sadducean and Pharisaic traditions. Each group maintained that it was no accident that the number of links in the chain of what it considered the authoritative tradition, from Moses and Aaron until the time of Alexander the Great, was a multiple of the mystic number, “seven.”

Finkelstein claims that later editing preserved the fourteen-link chain even at the expense of earlier generations, who are edited out to get to that “magic” number.¹¹ Certainly, in light of fourteen generations in 1 Esdras, Ezra’s importance in rabbinic tradition provides evidence that one might wish to elevate him by stressing a Moses-like “fourteen generations” since “Hillel founded the Torah along with Moses and Ezra” (*Sukkah* 20a). It is possible that such an interest in “fourteen” could be tied to the New-and-Greater Moses theme running throughout

9. There may be more to the omission of these three kings. For the fullest defense of an argument seeing the omission of the three kings as an allusion to the curse on the house of Athaliah, see J. Masson, *Jésus Fils de David dans les Généalogies de Saint Matthieu et de Saint Luc* (Paris: Téqui, 1982), 116–24.

10. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Brown Judaica Studies 186; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989 [first published: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964]), 302–3. Note that many Matthean interpreters see in Matthew’s genealogy of Jesus a royal, vocational lineage (“legal throne succession”) rather than an actual lineage; so Grant Osborne, *Matthew* (Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 59.

11. Louis Finkelstein, *Mabo le Massekot Abot Ve Abot d’Rabbi Nathan* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), x–xii, cited by Marshall Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (2d ed.; SNTSMS 8; London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 206.

Matthew, although there is no clear Matthean effort to highlight Moses or the Mosaic era in the genealogy proper.¹²

Mayordomo is representative of a significant number of scholars as he offers a pessimistic view of efforts to interpret the genealogy's numbers: "Hilflosigkeit bei der Suche nach einem geeigneten Rahmen, in dem die Zahl den Verdacht purer Zufälligkeit verlieren und zur Chiffre für tiefgründige theologische Aussagen werden könnte..." Thanks to a notable lack of clear, incisive intertexts (though Mayordomo overlooks a number of the options presented here), "dann ist doch stark anzuzweifeln, ob 1,17 wirklich seine Leser/innen in die dürre Wüste der Zahlenspekulation schicken will."¹³

Yet there are possibilities for interpretation along the lines of the messianic and Israel-story thrusts of the genealogy found in the annotations and in 1:1 and 1:17. The numbers could be reinforcing the purpose of the genealogy as a whole. The best one can hope to accomplish seems to be proposals based on what we know of Matthew's narrative and christological intentions and related genealogical and numerical practices. There are two solid options taken by many commentators:

1. An interest in fourteen as the number associated with the letters of David's name seems quite likely, perhaps augmented by an interest in three as there were three letters in David's (Hebrew) name in the most widely used spelling.¹⁴ That gematria was possible (even in Greek-speaking documents) seems clear enough from Rev 13:18 and interpretations of the number of the

12. So Richard B. Hays, "The Gospel of Matthew: Reconfigured Torah," *HTS* 61 (2001): 165–90 (171). For the significance of fourteen in the Hebrew Bible and for other interpretive options, see Moisés Mayordomo-Marín, *Den Anfang hören: leserorientierte Evangelienexegese am Beispiel von Matthäus 1–2* (FRLANT 180; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 240–42; Johnson, *Biblical Genealogies*, 189–208. On Matthew's Mosaic theme, see Dale Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

13. Mayordomo-Marín, *Den Anfang hören*, 242.

14. For a similar conclusion, see Allison and Davies, *Matthew 1–7*, 26, 165; R. T. France, *The Gospel According to Matthew: An Introduction and Commentary* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 87; Osborne, *Matthew*. On the gematria and three letters: "[T]he genealogy was invested with the character of a sort of numerical acrostic on the name David," according to G. H. Box, "The Gospel Narratives of the Nativity and the Alleged Influence of Heathen Ideas," *Interpreter* 5 (1906): 199; so also Reji Mathew, "Die Genealogie Matthäus 1,1–17 im Rahmen der Christologie des Matthäusevangeliums" (Ph.D. diss., University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1997), 98–99, after a lengthy review of the issue; *contra* Mauro Orsatti, *Un Saggio*, who holds that David would have taken a *yod* in the post-Maccabean period (1980).

beast (both 666 and 616), as well as from *Barn.* 9:8 and *Sib. Or.* 5:12-42. Mayordomo and France doubt that this is the case on the basis of a lack of textual signals. But Matthew's allusive genealogy hardly owes its readers explicit signals.¹⁵ On this reading, the message of the numbers would be a means of underscoring Jesus' status as Davidic Messiah.¹⁶ And an emphasis on vocation comports with Jewish and other ancient genealogical practices.¹⁷

2. The general Jewish interest in the numerical structuring of history for stylistic and/or theological reasons should be considered very likely. An author could use numerical structures to reinforce the notion that God is in charge of history (not least in summaries of Israel's story) and has brought it to completion in an appropriate way at the time of his choosing.¹⁸ Matthew shows "daß sich das Handeln Gottes nach einem numerisch periodisierbaren Zeitplan vollzieht."¹⁹ Despite the lack of a reference to divine action before 1:16 (hardly required in this allusive genealogy), readers predisposed to see God in charge of history throughout the whole of 1:1-17 will certainly do so here, not least in its 3×14 shape.²⁰

These two interpretations are not exclusive of one another. They fit comfortably enough with a messianic, restorationist interpretation of the genealogy and the gospel as a whole, making this combination preferable, as Reji Mathew argues.²¹

15. So France, *Matthew*, 31. Mayordomo-Marín, *Den Anfang hören*, 241 and n. 219, for extended bibliography on gematria.

16. Less convincing fun with letters and numbers is had by Jacques Chopineau, "Un Notarikon en Matthieu 1:1: Note sur la Genealogie de l'Evangile de Matthieu," *Études théologiques et religieuses* 53 (1978): 269–70.

17. See Hood, *Messiah*, 9–34 (Chapter 2).

18. More moderately, France points to a simple interest in "symmetrical structure"; France, *Matthew*, 32. Compare *Mid. Ps.* 105:3; 1 Chr 6:1-15; *Num. Rab.* 7:15, all cited by Johnson, *Biblical Genealogies*, 190–91.

19. H. Hempelmann, "'Das Dürre Blatt Im Heiligen Buch.' Mt 1, 1-17 und der Kampf Wider die Erniedrigung Gottes," *Theologische Beiträge* 21 (1990): 9. Luz comments similarly on the "idea of the divine plan that lies over the history of Israel that leads to Jesus." Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 85–86.

20. Mayordomo-Marín, *Den Anfang hören*, 325.

21. Mathew shows that the "fullness of time" argument relates well to an interest in Davidic messianism; Mathew, "Die Genealogie Matthäus 1,1-17," 98–99.

One numerical aspect of the genealogy remains to be explored. What of the fuller length of the genealogy? The *unmentioned* total length of Luke's genealogy is almost certainly significant.²² Is the same true for Matthew?

A Grand Total?

As an example of the temptation to creativity begotten by Matthew's silence regarding the significance of his numbers, Stendahl provided a unique interpretation by splitting Jesus from Messiah, making the former forty-first and the latter forty-second. Although accepted by no one, this argument at least creates room for an important Matthean distinction: while Jesus is king, shepherd and Christ during his life, and indeed he is "born king of the Jews" (Matt 2:2), his reign as Messiah does not fully happen ("all authority") until after his death and resurrection, a distinction that validates the temptation in Matthew 4. However, a final generation would have to be categorized as a *regeneration*, a distinction that is at best unlikely. Ostmeyer recently stressed the salvation-historically significant number forty as a number of testing or trial and preparation, which is the number of generations inclusive of Abraham and Joseph.²³ Despite the significance of the number, some even suggest that Matthew has not drawn attention to this number, but to three units of fourteen, although one could argue that his errant (intentionally so?) arithmetic invites speculation. Augustine anticipated later authors when he reckoned the avoidance of a total tally intentional, since "Jechoniah is counted twice" (would David not be counted twice as well?).

Some interpreters are hermeneutically inspired by the fact that only forty-one generations appear (despite Matthew's triad of fourteens). Is Matthew accommodating a generation between Jesus' life and the destruction of the Temple? Is he leaving his genealogy (and thus Israel's history) open-ended, much like his gospel is open-ended, with a mission and an ever-present Messiah? Is the open-endedness intended to wrap the disciples into life of Israel's story? After all, John the Baptizer and Jesus identify his followers with Abraham and the prophets of Israel (3:7-14; 8:5-13; 21:33-46; 23:29-36).

22. For Luke's genealogy, see especially Richard Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1990), 316-25.

23. Karl-Heinrich Ostmeyer, "Der Stammbaum des Verheissenen: Theologische Implikationen der Namen und Zahlen in Mt. 1.1-17," *NTS* 46 (2000): 175-92. A. M. Farrer, "Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (Studies in the Gospels; Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 87, also sees forty as significant.

We are never told the answers to such questions, nor do we know if Matthew knew of the shortcoming (but surely he could count), nor what his goals might be if he did. It is arguably best to take 1:17 at face value, and to focus the interpretation on what this verse says rather than what one can adduce from Matthew's unusual arithmetic. Stephen Carlson's conclusion is wise: "Matthew tolerated a slight deviation from symmetric perfection, and so should his interpreters." And if that is the case, then perhaps Matthew also tolerated or fostered the creation of a text that deviates from precision.²⁴

Four suggestions have not appeared in the literature previously. The first ties the number in the genealogy to the total number of the kings ruling over Judah and Israel, excluding perhaps the unauthorized Queen Athaliah.²⁵ The *Testament of Moses* adduces a combined total of forty-two kings (3 kings for the unified nation; 19 Northern Kingdom and 20 Southern Kingdom).²⁶ That forty-two is a number with royal significance might also be deduced from the forty-two *Odes of Solomon*. If so, then one is tempted to take the number as 6×7 , which numbers could reflect Jesus' divine-human identity in tandem with Jesus' dual paternity (literal for Matthew) and the metaphorical divine-human paternity of Israel's kings and those of other nations.

Secondly, perhaps the uneven nature of the numbers in the genealogy can be tied not so much to (say) inclusive and exclusive counting (relied on by Blomberg²⁷) but the habit of overlapping or chain-link outlines

24. See Carlson's unpublished paper, "Making Matthew's Generations Count," given at SESCOR 13 March 2009. For discussion, see the aforementioned paper by Carlson, as well as Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 81–84. For one possibility not often cited in the literature, see the suggestion of alternating inclusive/exclusive counting in Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew* (NAC 22; Nashville: Broadman, 1993), 53. Carlson, then a Ph.D. student in New Testament at Duke University, reminded me in private conversation that a double-counting of David has warrant if one focuses on verse seventeen and not on the genealogical line, so that the Exile, not Jechoniah, is the actual hinge on which a numerical scheme turns; thus Matthew's arithmetic, if not perfect, improves.

25. On her exclusion, see Peter Leithart, *1 and 2 Kings* (BTCB; Waco: Brazos, 2006), 238, 274. He notes a seven-king pattern in Kings from which she is excluded; her story lacks the formulaic opening and closing lines.

26. This interpretation is not uncontested, as it requires taking *anni* ("years") as a metaphor for rule, and as (some argue) there are twenty regents over the Northern Kingdom; Johannes Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 10; Leiden: Brill), 154.

27. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 53; he cites *m. 'Abot*. 5:1–6. Cf. J. Dupont, "La genealogia di Gesù secondo Matteo 1, 1–17," *BibOr* 4 (1962): 3–6, on the approximate nature of the genealogy as reflective of a generic writing practice in the biblical era.

implicit in ancient literature. This method of creating literature is foreign to contemporary approaches that provide airtight divisions between discrete sections.²⁸

Third, a recent unrelated study which does not mention Matthew's genealogy calls attention to the function of the number forty-two as something of a structuring principle in Judaism and, more widely, in the ancient Near East. Joel Burnett proposes that forty-two symbolizes concepts such as "cursing," and that the Elohist Psalter (Pss 42–83) relies on such a structuring principle.²⁹

Fourth, if fourteen times three is significant, another possibility arises, which I have not seen brought into conversation with the genealogy. Does Matthew's crafting in the genealogy relate to a possible "fourteen times three" (= forty-two) structure for the Sermon on the Mount?³⁰

None of these interpretations are particularly persuasive, and they are in any event impossible to prove. But one more option, only briefly suggested in the history of interpretation, deserves consideration.

28. See especially Bruce W. Longenecker, *Rhetoric at the Boundaries: The Art and Theology of the New Testament Chain-Link Transitions* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2005); and with respect to Matthew, see Wim Weren, "The Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel: A New Proposal," *Biblica* 87 (2006): 171–200, and Charles Talbert, *Matthew* (Paideia; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 153–54. Elsewhere in New Testament studies Joanna Dewey speaks of "multiple overlapping structures" and "overlapping outlines" and "overlapping progression rather than discrete outlineable structure" ("Mark as Interwoven Tapestry: Forecasts and Echoes for a Listening Audience," *CBQ* 53 [1991]: 221–36). See Ray Van Neste, *Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles* (JSNTSup 280; London: T&T Clark International, 2004); cf. George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-Linguistic Analysis* (NovTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1994); G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 112–14; Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 15–18; Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 2–29. For a possible chain link in the genealogy and Matt 1:18–25, see Hood, *Messiah*, 132–33.

29. Joel S. Burnett, "Forty-Two Songs for Elohim: An Ancient Near Eastern Organizing Principle in the Shaping of the Elohist Psalter," *JSOT* 31 (2006): 81–101. For other (adventuresome!) options for "forty-two," see O. H. Lehmann, "Number Symbolism as a Vehicle of Religious Experience in the Gospels, Contemporary Rabbinic Literature and in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Studia Patristica, IV* (ed. Frank Moore Cross; TU 79; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 125–35 (127 n. 1).

30. Glen Stassen, "The Fourteen Triads of the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:21–7:12)," *JBL* 122 (2003): 267–308.

Origen: History Is a Wilderness

One could perhaps create a modified version of Augustine and Ostmeyer's argument that the number reflects Israel's history by searching for salvation-historical significance for forty-two. And in fact one finds such a comment in Origen, who compares the forty-two stations on Israel's journey in Numbers 33 with the forty-two stages of the genealogy of Jesus (*Homily on Numbers XXVII.3*).³¹ Much more recently, M. J. Moreton registered an oft-ignored comment along the same lines. Without mentioning Origen, he suggests that the number forty-two bequeathed to Jewish and Christian tradition by the book of Numbers "was adaptable" to many different life settings and could have been adapted in a variety of ways to indicate that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand."³²

Origen is sometimes in touch with imagination more than tradition, but not in this case. Origen knew that the forty-two stages in Numbers had something of a reception history in early Judaism and Christianity. The sum from Numbers almost certainly informs Dan 7:25, 12:7 (time, times and half a time as three and one-half years, or *forty-two* months; and Dan 9:27, half of seven), as well as various passages in Revelation.³³ In the latter book that same amount of time elapses before the birth of Messiah in Israel (12:6). If a "theology of history" exists in the genealogy, perhaps Matthew intends the reader to see Israel's story as a period of difficulty, harassment, and failure, in much the same way Daniel associates Israel's experience with apostasy, trial, and suffering with the number and its correlates. In at least some instances, this number was regarded as so "adaptable" (Moreton's word) that it could be employed not only to evoke Israel's story, but to evoke the histories of Messiah and the church as well. The numerical scheme is applied to the Messiah-as-Israel (probably evoking both the suffering of Israel in the wilderness and the church) in Revelation 12 and the witnesses and apostates in Revelation 10–11.

The possibility that Matthew would be willing to employ a numerological schema capable of multiple referents justifies consideration of Origen's thesis, even if one is convinced (say) that a reference to Davidic kingship is in play with the use of fourteen and gematria.

31. Christopher Hall and Thomas Scheck, *Homilies on Numbers* (Ancient Christian Texts; Leicester: IVP), 170–71.

32. M. J. Moreton, "The Genealogy of Jesus," in *Studia Evangelica, II* (ed. F. L. Cross; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964), 224.

33. See especially Beale, *Revelation*, 565–68.

Forty-Two as a Metaphor in Jewish and Christian Tradition

Jewish tradition quantified literary-theological constructs, so that numbers could embody literary and theological freight. There is considerable evidence that early Jews and Christians could use forty-two to evoke the *Sitz im Leben* of the people of God, who always live in the wilderness, suffering trial and testing in transit.

The canonical inception of the theme is found in Numbers 33, where the author recaps the Israelite experience “in the wilderness” (the title of the book in Hebrew) as a journey with forty-two stages. Later rabbinic tradition explored the possible significance of forty-two sacrifices by Balak and Balaam, associating it variously with Ruth’s descent from Balak or the forty-two children of Israel killed after harassing Elisha (*Sot.* 47a; *b. Naz.* 23b; *b. Hor.* 10b). Elsewhere the number is associated with periods of trial; *Gen. Rab* 89.9 cites forty-two years of famine, amplifying the fourteen in Joseph’s dream, perhaps to reach that significant number.

By the time Joshua was translated into Greek the theme appears to have been strong enough to displace the forty-year journey of the MT, for Israel is said to have wandered for forty-two years in the wilderness (*Josh* 5:6 LXX; cf. *Exod. Rab.* 25.5). Jewish eschatological tradition evokes the number for symbolic purposes. Daniel illustrates the use of a variety of units for this purpose, but all derive from the original “forty-two.” Daniel 12:7 features forty-two months of trial and expectation (cf. 12:11), or three and one-half years. One half-week (three-and-a-half days, *Dan* 9:27) carries the same significance, and “time, times, and half-a-time” also appears (*Dan* 7:25). In the New Testament, *Luke* 4:25 and *Jas* 5:17 refer to the famine of the days of Elijah—a figure ripe with eschatological freight—as three-and-a-half years in length.³⁴ Josephus (*J.W.* 1.32) states that the temple was defiled for three-and-a-half years.³⁵

34. P. H. Davids, *James* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 197. A connection to Babylonian conceptions of time and trial is adduced by Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895), 309–13. Jeremy Northcote cites Gunkel’s observation and others discussed in the present study in his “The Lifespans of the Patriarchs: Schematic Orderings in the Chrono-genealogy,” *VT* 57 (2007): 243–57. J. Jeremias, “*ēlias*,” *TDNT* 2:934 n. 52, suggests a “round number” effect via 3.5, but that is not clearly the case, and if it was, it would not obviously deprive the number of all other significance. For an unduly adventuresome approach, see Barbara Thiering, “The Three and a Half Years of Elijah,” *NovT* 23 (1981): 41–55.

35. A number of other instances of the word “forty-two” operate in a minor key: forty-two youths are cursed by Elisha curses forty-two young people who are then killed by a bear (2 Kgs 2:23–24); the wicked king Ahaziah ascends to the throne at

In later rabbinic literature the tendency to use this number—even in the face of other evidence—is considerably amplified.³⁶

Revelation

I have already mentioned the link between Revelation's numbers and forty-two in the book of Numbers.³⁷ The author of Revelation repeatedly draws links between Jesus and his people. They are witnesses as he is. They are faithful, victorious, and enthroned to rule just as he is, despite the fact that they are currently suffering (just as he did). They are stars and priests just as he is. Just as Jesus was harassed and opposed yet affirmed by God and vindicated, the readers in Asia Minor are meant to see themselves as sharing his trials and tribulations, walking in the same path toward the same glorious destination.

While this connection is straightforward, the details of Revelation are of course notoriously challenging for contemporary readers. I only have space for a presupposition, that the hermeneutical key that unlocks revelation is in whole or in part recapitulation, as many interpreters suggest. The book as a whole is a panorama of different perspectives on the same or similar events.³⁸ According to Caird, the various sections of Revelation function “like...a musical theme with variations, each variation adding something new to the significance of the whole composition.”³⁹ The upshot is that each section of the book has content that is similar to, yet differentiable from, other sections.

In Rev 11:2, three-and-a-half (again, derivative of forty-two) is a time for the Gentiles to run rampant in the city of God, defiling what is holy. Yet in Rev 11:3-13 the same length of time is a period of time for a pair

forty-two years of age, while Jehu kills forty-two of his relatives (2 Kgs 10:14; 2 Chr 22:2). For other references, see Laura Joffe, “The Answer to the Meaning of Life, the Universe and the Elohistic Psalter,” *JSOT* 27 (2002): 223–35.

36. See James Darlack, “Pray for Reign: the Eschatological Elijah in James 5:17-18” (M.A. diss., Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2007), 71–73, to whom I also owe the Joffe reference mentioned in the previous footnote.

37. Again, see Beale, *Revelation*, 565–68; he cites Austin Farrer, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 132; and Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John* (TNTC; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 147.

38. In canonical literature, compare Ezek 16, 20, 23; Gen 1 and 2; Joseph's dreams repeat the same concept (Gen 37:1-11), with the second dream providing a slight amplification; see also Mark 4 and Luke 15, where multiple parables provide an overlapping perspective on the same concept.

39. G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (BNTC; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), 106.

of remarkable witnesses, who are eventually killed by the beast, their bodies abused before being raised to life. As witnesses they embody the abilities, tasks, and “warfare” of Moses and Elijah; they employ capacities elsewhere applied to disciples in less apocalyptic texts that also feature three-and-a-half (Jas 5:16-18).

In Revelation 12 this period of time is for the sheltering of a woman with a crown of twelve stars. She is pursued by the beast “*into the wilderness*” while the child she has produced reigns with God (12:5-6). Despite the fact that the people associated with the Messiah are harried and harassed, they will be protected for this length of time (12:14).

In the next chapter, three-and-a-half/forty-two is a period of time for the blasphemy, pride, and authority of the beast from the sea, during which time he fights the saints in response to their witness (Rev 13:5).

The entire section colorfully depicts the suffering and the victory of the people of God in witness-warfare, which ultimately leads to their vindication and the judgment of the nations.⁴⁰ In sum, as Bruce Metzger describes the scene, we have “a personification of the ideal community of God’s people, first in its Jewish form, in which Mary gave birth to Jesus to the Messiah, and then in its Christian [but not thereby non-Jewish] form, in which it was persecuted by a political power as evil as the dragon (12:6).”⁴¹

On this reading, Revelation puts the numerical wilderness metaphor to work in three ways: (1) as a recapitulation of Israel’s own story, (2) as a summary of Jesus’ story, and (3) as a depiction of the church’s life. Multidimensional imagery is also employed in the “two witnesses” of ch. 10: there is no reason fully and finally to screen out the work of John and Jesus, and the work of the church-as-witnesses, depicted in light of the work of Elijah and Moses.

Granted much depends on the interpretive program adopted, it seems fair to take forty-two (or three-and-a-half) as evoking the trials of Israel in Daniel and Revelation, the travails of Jesus, and the tribulation of his followers. The upshot of such a use is that the church is encouraged to see herself and her Messiah in terms of Israel’s story.

These events are not purely used to imply “the end,” but rather are characteristic of the time of trial, which the authors of Daniel and Revelation (and not a few other early Jewish and Christian texts) believed themselves to inhabit. Early rabbinic literature retrojected this time

40. Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 82–95.

41. Bruce Metzger, *Breaking the Code: Understanding the Book of Revelation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 74.

period into the past to endow those events with theological meaning, without thereby implying that [say] the reign of Nebuchadnezzar was the end of history. For instance, Darlack perceptively notes the rabbinic association of “the cataclysmic time of Antiochus’ desecration of the temple with other similar catastrophes in Israel’s history” by means of this number.⁴²

Hebrews

Matthew Thiessen recently attempted “to determine in which period of Israel’s history the author believed himself and his readers to be living.”⁴³ Thiessen convincingly argues that the author encodes a liminal identity for his audience by tying them to a particular era of Israel’s story. The author intends to inform Christian readers of their “continuity” with the wilderness generation of Israel in order to yield pastoral fruit from those Old Testament stories.⁴⁴

Hebrews 2:18 places the audience in the context of temptation or testing, i.e., in the wilderness. In Hebrews 3–4 the author explicitly associates the audience with the wilderness generation by the application of Psalm 95; they are faced with the same option (belief or unbelief; obedience or disobedience) as those on the cusp of entering the land. The ancients received good news just as the new covenant community has received good news, but did not respond in faith and obedience (4:2, 6). The author wants his audience to respond with belief and obedience so that they might gain what Joshua could not provide, namely, the eschatological inheritance (“rest”) at the end of sojourning and trial (4:6-9).

The author engages in comparative association of Jesus with Moses, Aaron, and his namesake, Joshua. The passage is complex, with a host of points made at every turn as exegetical artillery is fired at various rhetorical targets. But the main point is clear enough: Jesus is greater than these figures, and has brought his people to the cusp of the inheritance Moses and Joshua did not secure and the holy access Aaron and company could not attain.

The association is so intense that in the litany of Israel’s story in ch. 11, the writer stops short after Rahab accepts the spies, suggesting a fine line that is walked between entrance into the Land (or the heavenly

42. Darlack, “Pray for Reign,” 72 n. 16.

43. Matthew Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” *NovT* 49 (2007): 353–69 (354).

44. Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” 369.

inheritance to which it points, 11:8-10, 13-16; 12:18-24) so that Israel's exemplars and the early church are both "aliens and strangers in the earth" (11:13).

While Thiessen regards his insight as relatively unique to Hebrews, the theme we are exploring casts doubt on its uniqueness. The availability of Psalm 95 shows that the theme was already in use and reuse in the Psalter. The author is drawing on a prior hermeneutical framework *via* Psalm 95, rather than creating an original interpretation.⁴⁵

Paul

Several instances of the wilderness theme appear, and the general schema is clear enough: Messiah is a *paschal* lamb (1 Cor 5:7); Christians have been baptized into Jesus (rather than Moses, 1 Cor 10:2); they are to keep a "spiritual" festival (1 Cor 5:8); they are on their way to inheritance and have already been given the Spirit on the way to guide them (Rom 8).⁴⁶ They have become the holy people in transit who must labor to guard their holiness created by God's redemptive presence, maintaining a distinction from the world even as they are passing through the world's terrain on the way to "inherit" all things as heirs (1 Cor 3:21-23; 5:9-13; 6:9-11). Paul underscores this association with the citation, "Expel the wicked man from among you" (6:13), a phrase repeatedly used in Deuteronomy.

Other finer details bring clarity to the general concept. When Paul urges the Corinthians to fulfill their prior commitment to contribute for the poor in Judea (2 Cor 8-9), he seems to pluck a passage out of its narrative context in the wilderness (8:13-15):

Ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἡλαττόνησεν.

With this citation from Exod 16:18, Paul employs the paradigm of supply in the wilderness to the New Covenant community not only in Corinth, but for the Christian family throughout the Mediterranean.

45. Pamela Eisenbaum, *The Jewish Heroes of Christian History: Hebrews 11 in Literary Context* (SBLDS 176; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), misreads this approach as supersessionist; it would be accurate to call it adoptionistic, for the characters are not de-nuded of their Jewish existence and their Jewishness, but are used precisely because they possessed a relationship to the God of Israel with implications for the present community of faith.

46. The present use of the theme is broader than that found in Sylvia Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition* (JSNTSup 181; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), or many of those charted by Longenecker in "The Narrative Approach to Paul: An Early Retrospective," *CBR* 1 (2002): 88-111.

Paul more fully presents the wilderness as a *typos* or model for the church in 1 Cor 10:1-11, drawing from Exod 32:4-6 and the rebellion in the wilderness in Numbers. Paul appears to think that the church is (uniquely?) capable of seeing herself in the shoes of a generation between initial rescue and full redemption (cf. the anticipation of full inheritance, *via* resurrection and new creation, in Rom 8:17-23; 1 Cor 15).⁴⁷ The upshot of all these uses is that the church is encouraged to see herself in Israel's story, applying lessons based on links between redemption old and new, and the New Creation inheritance and the inheritance of the promised land (Rom 4:13; 8:17-23).

Matthew

The hermeneutical dimension of "forty-two" meant that its value could be employed in various ways. Several Matthean concepts could support this theme, particularly the corporate solidarity between Jesus and his people in Matthew. That Matthew also believed that the story of the Messiah and the history of Israel could be profitably linked to the contemporary people of God is already apparent in Matthew 2, where Matthew employs the "Jesus as Israel" theme when Jesus is called from Egypt just as Israel had been.⁴⁸ Moreover, Matthew sees Jesus' followers as inheritors of the promises of Israel (Matt 5:3, 5, 10). Jesus draws lines between the old covenant community and the new covenant community

47. A wilderness framework need not be the exclusive framework laid out by Paul or other writers. This approach fits comfortably within the framework laid out by Richard Hays for Corinthians, that Paul is not dealing with "overrealized" eschatology but with a failure to grasp adequately that eschatological life as God's people is now a reality, with new creation life a very real possibility; *1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 252-54. Also pertinent is Hays's emphasis on the ultimately ecclesiological focus of Christological interpretation (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 152). With respect to 2 Cor 3-4, the shift from Moses to Christ indicates that the former supplies the framework and worldview within which the latter covenant makes sense, so that one is not dealing solely with replacement, but a sort of recapitulation as well.

48. That Matthew wants readers to see a connection between Jesus and the corporate people of God is abundantly clear; see now my *Imitating God in Christ: Recapturing a Biblical Pattern* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic), 77-81. The point is unpacked in R. Joel Kennedy, *The Recapitulation of Israel: Use of Israel's History in Matthew 1:1-4:11* (WUNT 2/257; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). The New Exodus or New Moses themes could also serve to link Jesus to Israel's story, on which see Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*; Allison, *The New Moses*.

in a variety of ways: through association with Abraham (8:3-11) and by linking himself and his followers to the prophets who were persecuted and killed throughout Israel's history (21:33-46; 23:29-36).

The details of the genealogy apply not merely to Jesus, but carry ongoing significance; note the surprising inclusion of the Gentiles in the genealogy of Jesus (Israel's story), the ministry of Jesus, and the ongoing life of the church as depicted in the conclusion of the gospel. Jesus' royal status functions in the same way. The era of preparation and expectation continues, for Matthew presents the coming of Messiah not as an abrupt conclusion but as the beginning of the fulfillment of expectations. A new era is launched that stands in continuity with the past. But according to Jesus' own words, the present era is not yet fully the New Creation era of peace and blessing. Matthew sees the church waiting in a metaphorical wilderness for the return of the Son of Man, even to the point of sharing in the trials and tests in Israel's story and the life of her Messiah.

Conclusion

Matthew probably has several objectives for the numerical structure of his genealogy of Jesus. But in placing Jesus at or near the conclusion of a *forty-two* stage "journey" through Israel's story, he may be evoking the wilderness identity of the people of God in their trials and struggles. This numerical metaphor, derived from the book of Numbers, was commonly employed in early Jewish and Christian biblical interpretation by the use of numbers associated with forty-two. The thematic use of the wilderness theme in other early Christian literature echoes the numerical use of the theme in Revelation.

This study does not provide evidence of the courtroom sort so much as reflections on the possible presence of this theme. But Olson's summary of the value of Numbers for the community of faith can probably be applied to Matthew's genealogical summary of Israel's story. It is a fitting way to conclude the present study:

Israel never achieved the ideal of a promised land without any temptations, any other nations, or any other gods... Even after Israel's conquest and entry into Canaan, Israel remained in a sense on the edge of the promised land. The goal of a pure and undefiled Canaan remained an elusive goal, a future hope, an end not yet fully realized. That future hope remained unfulfilled throughout the time of Israel's judges, the monarchy, the exile to Babylon, and the return in the postexilic period. Israel constantly struggled with the worship of foreign gods and the benefits as well as the dangers of relationship with people of other nations and

religions. Thus, every succeeding generation of God's people could continue to return to the story of the wilderness in the book of Numbers and claim it as a tradition of continuing relevance for a people who had not yet entered fully into the land of promise. God's people will always find themselves at some stage of the wilderness journey, straining forward in hope but never fully at home in the promised land.⁴⁹

49. Dennis T. Olson, *Numbers* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1996), 185–86.

“THE REJECTION OF WISDOM’S CALL”:
MATTHEW’S USE OF PROVERBS 1:20-33
IN THE PARABLE OF CHILDREN IN THE MARKETPLACE
(MATTHEW 11:16-19//LUKE 7:31-35)

Brian C. Dennert

Introduction

The watershed work of M. Jack Suggs caused the existence and extent of Wisdom Christology to become a point of interest in Matthean studies.¹ In it, Suggs argues that the changes Matthew made to the conclusion of the parable of the children in the marketplace from Q (Matt 11:16-19// Luke [Q] 7:31-35) render it a “clear instance of the personification of Wisdom.”² What seems clear to Suggs seems contrived to others, requiring a redactional analysis beyond the reach of the original reader.³

1. M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew’s Gospel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), a work that has proved more influential than the contemporaneously released Felix Christ, *Jesus-Sophia: die Sophia-Christologie bei den Synoptiken* (ATANT 57; Zurich: Zwingli, 1970). On Wisdom Christology in Matthew, see James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 198–204; Fred W. Burnett, *The Testament of Jesus-Sophia: A Redaction-Critical Study of the Eschatological Discourse in Matthew* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981); Celia Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah, and Discipleship in Matt 11, 25-30* (JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987); *eadem*, “Wisdom in Matthew: Transformation of a Symbol,” *NovT* 32 (1990): 13–47. For critiques of Matthean Wisdom Christology, see Marshall D. Johnson, “Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew’s Christology,” *CBQ* 36 (1974): 44–64; Russell Pregeant, “The Wisdom Passages in Matthew’s Story,” in *Treasures Old and New* (ed. David Bauer and Mark Allan Powell; SBLSymS 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 197–232; Frances Taylor Gench, *Wisdom in the Christology of Matthew* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1997). W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison adopt a mediating position, stating that Wisdom Christology “is at the periphery of Matthew’s major concerns” (*Matthew 8–18* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991], 295).

2. Suggs, *Wisdom*, 33.

3. See Daniel Harrington, *Matthew* (SP 1; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1991), 158; D. A. Carson, “Matthew 11:19b/Luke 7:35: A Test Case for the Bearing of Q

While employing a redactional approach, this examination of the parable in Q and Matthew defends Matthew's identification of Jesus as Wisdom by arguing that the changes to the parable and its context creates an intertextual link to Prov 1:20-33, presenting Jesus as Wisdom whose call is rejected.

The Parable in Q

Although reconstructing Q is not without its share of dangers,⁴ its proponents have shown it to be a justified activity when done with appropriate safeguards.⁵ Moreover, even if one cannot reconstruct the full document and all reconstructions remain by definition hypothetical, knowledge of the redactional tendencies of Matthew and Luke allow for reasonable confidence in reconstructing certain passages in Q, though the possibility remains that neither Matthew nor Luke preserves the original reading of Q.⁶ The present study adopts the text of *The Critical Edition of Q* for the Q form of the parable with one exception,⁷ as it seems preferable to read the Lukan ἀγορεύει in v. 32 rather than the Matthean ταῖς

Christology on the Synoptic Problem," in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ, Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* (ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 128–46; Simon Gathercole, "The Justification of Wisdom (Matt 11.19b/Luke 7.35)," *NTS* 49 (2003): 488; John Nolland, *Matthew* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 464; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 434–35; Thomas E. Phillips, "'Will the Wise Person Get Drunk?' The Background of the Human Wisdom in Luke 7:35 and Matthew 11:19," *JBL* 127 (2008): 385–96 (385–87, 395). Writing before Suggs, Ragnar Leivestrand argues against a reference to divine Wisdom in Matt 11:19 in "An Interpretation of Matt 11,19," *JBL* 71 (1952): 179–81.

4. For critiques of reconstructing Q, see, e.g., C. S. Rodd, "The End of the Theology of Q?," *ExpTim* 113 (2001–2002): 5–12; Michael Wolter, "Reconstructing Q?," *ExpTim* 115 (2003–2004): 115–19; Mark Goodacre and Nicholas Perrin, eds., *Questioning Q: A Multidimensional Critique* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2004), 71–126.

5. See John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 55–111; Christopher Tuckett, "The Search for a Theology of Q: A Dead End?," *ExpTim* 113 (2001–2002): 291–94; and Paul Foster, "In Defence of the Study of Q," *ExpTim* 113 (2001–2002): 295–300.

6. A point recognized by the International Q Project (IQP) (Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating*, 101).

7. James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 140–49. The IQP reconstruction of this passage seems superior to that appearing in Harry T. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 363–68.

ἀγοραῖς because of the presence of “cities” in Matt 11:1 and Matthew’s inclination for plural forms.⁸ Thus the reconstructed Q text reads:

³¹ τίνι ὁμοιώσω τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην, καὶ τίνι ἐστὶν ὁμοία;

³² ὁμοία ἐστὶν παιδίῳ καθήμενῳ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἃ προσφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἑτέροις⁹ λέγουσιν· ἠυλόησαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε· ἐβρηγήσαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκλαύσατε·

³³ ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης μὴ ἐσθίῳν μήτε πίνων, καὶ λέγετε· δαιμόνιον ἔχει·

³⁴ ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίῳν καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγετε· ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν.

³⁵ καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.

³¹ To what shall I compare this generation and what is it like?

³² It is like children sitting in a marketplace, who summoning the others, say: “We fluted for you, but you did not dance; we wailed, but you did not weep.”

³³ For John came neither eating nor drinking, and you say, “He has a demon!”

³⁴ The son of humanity came eating and drinking, and you say, “Behold! A glutton and drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners!”

³⁵ Yet Wisdom is vindicated by her children.¹⁰

The parable unit consists of four parts: the introduction (v. 31), the parable proper (v. 32), the commentary (vv. 33-34), and the proverbial conclusion (v. 35). The introduction is similar to the beginning of the parables in Q 13:18-21 and locates the comparison between the children and “this generation.”¹¹ The negative connotations associated with the

8. See Robert Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 211; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 261. This reading is favored by Olof Linton, “The Parable of the Children’s Game,” *NTS* 22 (1976): 159–77 (161); Wendy J. Cotter, “The Parable of the Children in the Marketplace, Q (Lk) 7:31-35: An Examination of Its Significance,” *NovT* 29 (1987): 289–304 (290–91). Among the IQP team, Kloppenborg prefers this reading (Robinson et al., *Critical Edition*, 146).

9. This is one of the most difficult reconstructions. Since the Lukan ἀλλήλων is a stylistic improvement over the more ambiguous τοῖς ἑτέροις, the latter seems the more likely reading for Q (Cotter, “Parable,” 291; Fleddermann, *Q*, 366). The possibility remains that Q featured a word neither Gospel retains, such as ἄλλοις (Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 261).

10. Author’s translation.

11. With Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20* (trans. James E. Crouch; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 147. Pace Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (trans. S. H. Hooke; rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1963), 101; Christopher M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies in Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 175–79, that the introduction makes a general comparison to what follows.

term "this generation" in the Old Testament (e.g. Deut 1:35; 32:5; Pss 78:8; 95:10; Jer 7:29) and Q (11:29-32, 49-51) indicate a polemical aim for the parable.¹² Regardless of whether vv. 33-34 originated with the parable or were attached by the early church,¹³ this commentary appears as an application of the image rather than an explicit allegorization of the parable due to the different subjects ("this generation" in vv. 31-32; Jesus and John in vv. 33-34), loose correspondence of actions (fasting/playing the dirge; eating/playing the flute), and reversal of order of the potentially corresponding actions.¹⁴ Therefore, one should seek to discover the parable's image first and then how vv. 33-35 apply the image to "this generation."

The widely accepted proposal of Joachim Jeremias that the parable rebukes "this generation" as children who like to give orders to others through an ordinary picture of children playing games of imaginary wedding and funerals stands on weak evidence.¹⁵ The passing remark

12. A pejorative use of the term also appears in the rabbis (*m. Sanh.* 10.3; *Mek.* on Exod 15.1; *b. Nid.* 61) and Josephus (*J.W.* 5.442) (Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 260-61).

13. Those who argue for an original connection between vv. 33-34 and vv. 31-32 include C. H. Dodd, *Parables of the Kingdom* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), 15-16; Norman Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 120-21; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 259-60; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 147. Among those who view it as an addition of the early church are Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. John Marsh; rev. ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), 172; Cotter, "Parable," 293-94; François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (trans. Christine E. Thomas; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 280. For the view that vv. 33-34 circulated independently of vv. 31-32, see Leif E. Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1993), 108-11. For a proposal that considers the original parable as vv. 31-32, 35, see Christl Maier and Jens Herzer, "Die spielenden Kinder der Weisheit (Lk 7,31-35 par. Mat 11,16-19): Beobachtungen zu einem Gleichnis Jesu und seiner Reception," in *Exegese vor Ort: Festschrift für Peter Welten zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Christl Maier, Klaus-Peter Jörns, and Rüdiger Liwak; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 284-85.

14. Dodd, *Parables*, 15-16; Cotter, "Parable," 293-94; John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 110.

15. Jeremias, *Parables*, 161. Commentators who use elements of Jeremias' analysis include I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 300; Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke 1-9: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; New York: Doubleday, 1982), 680; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 262; Harrington, *Matthew*, 157; Gundry, *Matthew*, 212; Arland Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 205; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 286; France, *Matthew*, 433.

about children burying an insect from the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Yeb.* 121b)¹⁶ does not establish this as a familiar game of the era, as even those adopting Jeremias' proposal admit that the game is unattested in contemporary sources.¹⁷ The appearance of αὐλέω ("I play the flute") and ὀρχέομαι ("I dance") in the context of a victory celebration in Polybius, *Hist.* 30.22.3 shows that these actions do not exclusively occur at a wedding.¹⁸ Although BDAG states that an ἀγορά was a place for children to play when translated "marketplace," this passage is its only example.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Pseudo-Diogenes discusses a school of children learning in the ἀγορά.²⁰ Since the change in the children's request occurs after the rejection of their initial offer, their behavior is not arbitrary or impulsive,²¹ so the parable does not illustrate the capricious nature of children described in Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.15.5-7 as proposed by some scholars.²²

A more plausible image for this parable is offered by Wendy Cotter, who draws attention to the shocking description of children sitting (κάθηναι) in the ἀγορά and formally calling out (προσφωνέω) by noting

16. "Is it not possible that a mere ant had died and that the children gave it the man's name?" (*The Babylonian Talmud* [trans. I. Epstein; 7 vols.; quinqucentury ed.; London: Soncino, 1978], 3.1:860).

17. E.g. Bovon, *Luke* 1, 286.

18. The references to ὀρχέομαι in Eccl 3:4 and αὐλέω in 1 Cor 14:7 also do not have wedding imagery. Other texts use ὀρχέομαι with birthday celebrations (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.10; Matt 14:6) and triumphs in battle (2 Sam 6:16, 20, 21; 1 Chr 15:29; Isa 13:21).

19. BDAG, 14. Neither LSJ, 13 nor MM, 5-6 note children playing in the ἀγορά.

20. See Pseudo-Diogenes, *Epistles* 8.2, where he encounters children in a school in the ἀγορά (in Abraham J. Malherbe, ed., *The Cynic Epistles* [SBLSPS 12; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1977], 100) and 35.2, when he sees students who are not reciting correctly in the ἀγορά (*ibid.*, 144).

21. Linton, "Parable," 174.

22. "After you have counted up these points, go on into games, if you still wish to; otherwise, I would have you observe that you will be turning back like children. Sometimes they play athletes, again gladiators, again they blow trumpets, and then act a play about anything that they have seen and admired. So you too are now as an athlete, now a gladiator, then a philosopher, after that a rhetorician; yet with your whole soul you are nothing but like an ape, you imitate whatever you see and one thing after another is always striking your fancy, but what you are accustomed bores you" (Epictetus, *Discourses* [trans. W. A. Oldfather; 2 vols.; LCL; London: Heinemann, 1926], 101-103). Scholars who note this connection include Dodd, *Parables*, 15-16; Ivor Jones, *The Matthean Parables: A Literary and Historical Commentary* (NovTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 267-68 (citing David Flusser); Luz, *Matthew* 8-20, 147-48; Melanie Johnson-Debaufre, *Jesus Among Her Children: Q, Eschatology, and the Construction of Christian Origins* (HTS 55; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 45-62.

numerous parallels depicting sitting in the ἀγορά as taking a position as judge.²³ The concluding statement on Wisdom being justified (ἐδικαιώθη) points to legal imagery in the parable.²⁴ Therefore, the parable pictures "this generation" as children who "adopt dignified behaviors" as judges but who are really "shallow children" in their superficial judgments.²⁵ Although παιδίον lost its force as the diminutive of παῖς to signify a child under the age of 7, coming to mean a child from birth until puberty in the Koine period,²⁶ it still commonly denoted younger children (e.g. Matt 2:8-9, 11, 13, 20; Luke 1:59, 66, 76, 80; 2:17; Heb 11:23) and childish behavior (1 Cor 14:20), as the παιδίον needs to learn wisdom (Isa 7:16; 8:4; 10:19; Ps-Diogenes, *Epistles* 8.2, 35.2). Thus, this parable describes children assuming the position of judges in the ἀγορά rather than their proper role as students. The appearance of παιδίον in this parable after the use of παῖς in Q 7:2 may further heighten the childishness of the behavior of "this generation."

The call of the children echoes Aesop's fable of the fluting fisherman, which reads ὦ κάκιστα ζῶα ὑμεῖς, ὅτε μὲν ἡϋλουν, οὐκ ὠρχεῖσθε, νῦν δέ, ὅτε πέπαυμαι, τοῦτο πράττετε ("O most wicked creatures! When I was playing the flute, you would not dance but now, when I have ceased, you do this action").²⁷ The allusion to this fable by Herodotus to describe the refusal of the Ionians and Aiolians to cooperate with Cyrus (*Hist.* 1.141) shows that the phrase ἡϋλήσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε ("We played the flute for you and you did not dance") was a way of condemning those who do not comply with the requests of a superior. By pairing it with an opposing expression (ἐθρηγήσαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκλάυσατε, "we wailed and you did not weep"), it illustrates non-compliance to the full range of choices.²⁸ Therefore, the image of the parable depicts "this generation" considering itself as superiors and judging "the others" for their lack of conformity to the desires of "this generation."

23. Cotter, "Parable," 289–304; *eadem*, "Children Sitting in the Agora," *Forum* 5 (1989): 63–82. Nolland uses this image but with a different application (*Matthew*, 462–63).

24. This could explain the early connection of v. 35 with the parable (see Maier and Herzer, "Die spielenden Kinder," 284–85).

25. Cotter, "Parable," 302.

26. BDAG, 749; BDF §111 (3). Quoting Hippocrates, Philo states that one is a παιδίον until the age of 7 and a παῖς from the ages of 7 to 14 (*Opif.* 105). Herodotus' use of παιδίον to refer to a girl age of 8 or 9 indicates that this distinction was not absolute in earlier eras (*Hist.* 5.51.1–3).

27. Text from B. E. Perry, *Aesopica* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1952), 326; author's translation.

28. Nolland, *Matthew*, 463.

The comments of vv. 33-34 apply this image to the rejection of John and Jesus, the latter of whom is called the son of humanity here. The children in the parable speak (v. 32: λέγουσιν) in an accusatory manner against the “others” like “this generation” speaks (vv. 33, 34: λέγετε) against John and Jesus.²⁹ While this rejection discusses the respective behaviors of John and Jesus rather than their messages, Q presents John and Jesus preaching on the harmony between one’s actions and one’s beliefs (Q 3:7; 6:43-49), so their contrasting lifestyles serve as signs of their divergent apocalyptic and sapiential messages.³⁰ The dialogue concerning the eating habits of John and Jesus found in the Triple Tradition (Mark 2:18; cf. Mark 1:6) is not present elsewhere in Q, but the meaning of “eating and drinking” as a term for carefree living (e.g., Isa 22:13; 1 Cor 15:32)³¹ does appear in Q to describe those who do not consider final judgment (Q 12:45; 17:27).³² Therefore, one who does not eat or drink prepares for the coming judgment. This distinction matches the apocalyptic message of John and the sapiential message of Jesus and may also echo the rejection of Solomon the sage and Jonah the prophet in Q 11:31-32.³³

These accusations show an unreasonable rejection of John and Jesus because they challenge the way of life of “this generation.” The charge that John has a demon could be a mark of insanity (John 8:48, 52; 10:20; cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 6.54), but the discussion of Jesus’ control of the demons in Q 11:14-15, 17-20 points to it describing an opposing spiritual force.³⁴ “This generation” associates his prophetic call for right behavior as a threat to the religious order. Although the accusations against Jesus do not use the same words as the obstinate son in LXX

29. Those who view the calling children as “this generation” include Jeremias, *Parables*, 161–62; Linton, “Parable,” 173–77; Marshall, *Luke*, 300–301; Cotter, “Parable,” 302–304; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 262; Gundry, *Matthew*, 212. Pace Dieter Zeller, “Die Bildlogik des Gleichnisses Mt 11 16f./Lk 7 31f.,” *ZNW* 68 (1977): 255–57; Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–9*, 679–80; Harrington, *Matthew*, 157; Tuckett, *Studies in Q*, 176–79; France, *Matthew*, 433–34; Nolland, *Matthew*, 461–63, who hold to John and Jesus as the calling children.

30. Cf. Franz Mussner, “Der nicht erkannte Kairos (Mt 11,16-19 = Lk 7,31-35),” *Bib* 40 (1959): 599–612 (604).

31. Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 262.

32. The IQP committee adopts the Matthean τρώγω rather than the Lukan ἐσθίω in 17:27.

33. Cf. Burton Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q & Christian Origins* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1993), 154–55.

34. Cotter, “Children,” 71–74; Craig Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 342.

Deut 21:20,³⁵ the context of Deut 21:20 presents gluttony and drunkenness as threats to the social order (cf. Prov 23:30-31; 28:7).³⁶ Jesus' acceptance of outsiders (Q 7:1-10) and love for one's enemies (Q 6:27) poses a social threat.³⁷ That "this generation" rejects John, a figure who was popular (Mark 1:5; 11:32; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116-19; cf. Q 7:29) and behaved according to traditional expectations for prophets, demonstrates how unreasonable this group is.³⁸ Furthermore, the evidence marshaled does not prove the accusations.³⁹

This rejection is unreasonable but intense. Although unlikely to occur in the first century CE,⁴⁰ the Old Testament commands the stoning of sorcerers (Exod 22:18; Lev 20:27), prophets who advocate other gods (Deut 12:29-13:18), and obstinate sons (Deut 21:20), showing the severity of the charges leveled against John and Jesus.⁴¹ The use of ἰδοῦ and the double accusation leveled at Jesus shows a greater emphasis falls upon his rejection. The title "son of humanity," which in Q usually occurs in the context of apocalyptic judgment with an ambiguous identity,⁴² refers to Jesus here, showing that "this generation" has rejected the one who brings eschatological judgment.⁴³

35. While the parable reads *φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης* and the LXX uses *συμβολοκοπῶν οἶνοφλῷγει*, the LXX features rare neologisms (Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003], 431, 580), so the lack of an exact correspondence to the LXX might not be as problematic as argued in, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Luke* 1-9, 681; Luz, *Matthew* 8-20, 149. Marshall notes that the MT could be used instead of the LXX (*Luke*, 302). Those who favor a reference to Deut 21:20 include Jeremias, *Parables*, 160; Gundry, *Matthew*, 213.

36. Howard C. Kee, "Jesus: A Glutton and a Drunkard," *NTS* 42 (1996): 390-91. Cf. Ron Cameron, "'What Have You Come Out to See?': Characterizations of John and Jesus in the Gospels," *Semeia* 49 (1990): 35-69 (60).

37. See Cotter, "Children," 75-76.

38. Cf. Wendy J. Cotter, "Yes, I Tell You, and More than a Prophet: The Function of John in Q," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 145-46.

39. For a discussion of the logic of these accusations, see Cotter, "Children," 70-79.

40. CD 12.2b-3 indicates that some groups wished to enforce the death penalty for similar charges.

41. Cf. Keener, *Matthew*, 342.

42. See Leif E. Vaage, "The Son of Man Sayings in Q: Stratigraphical Location and Significance," *Semeia* 55 (1991): 103-29.

43. On the salvation-historical use of "son of humanity" here, see Mussner, "Der nicht erkannte Kairos," 603.

The adversative καί (“yet”) introduces the concluding aphorism.⁴⁴ This aphorism reveals that in spite of the rejection of “this generation,” divine Wisdom (σοφία), who sent John and Jesus as her messengers, is vindicated (the gnomic aorist ἐδικαιώθη)⁴⁵ by her children (ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς),⁴⁶ who are those who listen to her (Prov 8:32). This statement is a reversal of the proverbial idea of Wisdom protecting her children (Sir 4:11), as her children now vindicate her.⁴⁷ Since Wisdom indwells and sends the prophets (Wis 7:27; 9:1–10:14),⁴⁸ this comment points to John and Jesus as the prophets that Wisdom has sent. Those who receive John and Jesus, which includes the centurion (Q 7:1–10), sinners (7:29), and the Q community, are the children of Wisdom and the “true children of Abraham” (3:7).⁴⁹

This parable is the conclusion and climax of Q 7:18–35, a passage that unites sapiential and apocalyptic elements in Q and exhibits three major themes.⁵⁰ First, it clarifies that John and Jesus are both messengers of

44. See BDF § 442 (1). While Gathercole (“Justification,” 482) and Phillips (“Will the Wise Person Get Drunk?,” 395) argue that the καί is a simple connective, the context suggests an adversative connective formation, as in Q 12:6–7 (cf. 7:32, 33), signifying a dramatic conclusion to the saying (Carson, “Matthew 11:19b/Luke 7:35,” 142).

45. Pace Gathercole, “Justification,” 484–85. For a defense of this passage as a gnomic aorist using verbal aspect theory, see Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 79, 236.

46. BDAG, 107 (5, e); BDF § 210 (2). Gathercole (“Justification,” 483–84) argues that δικαιῶσθαι ἀπό denotes “a release from” something based upon parallels in Acts 13:38–39; Rom 6:7; Sir 26:29 (cf. Maier and Herzer, “Die spielenden Kinder,” 293–94). These three references, however, all discuss being set free from sin. A better parallel is Isa 45:25: ἀπὸ κυρίου δικαιοῦνται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐνδοξασθήσονται πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ (“through the Lord they will be justified and in God all the seed of the sons of Israel will rejoice”).

47. The connection of the statement to these Jewish proverbs counters the proposals of Leivestad (“An Interpretation of Matt 11,19,” 179–81) and Phillips (“Will the Wise Person Get Drunk?”) that the statement speaks of wise people. One would expect a term like σοφός (e.g. Q 10:21) if the referent here is to a “wise one.”

48. Suggs, *Wisdom*, 40; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 111–12.

49. Traditionally the children of Wisdom are those who obey Wisdom, so that those who obey John and Jesus, the envoys of Wisdom, would be the children of Wisdom. With Cotter, “Parable,” 303; Patrick J. Hartin, “‘Yet Wisdom is Justified by Her Children’ (Q 7:35),” in Kloppenborg, ed., *Conflict and Invention*, 151–64 (155); Tuckett, *Studies in Q*, 178. Pace Suggs, *Wisdom*, 35, who argues that only John and Jesus are Wisdom’s children.

50. See Arland Jacobson, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Sonoma, Ca.: Polebridge, 1992), 77–79, 128; Cotter, “Yes I Tell You,” 148. On the apocalyptic and sapiential themes as strata in Q, see Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 102–244.

Wisdom, with Jesus as the final prophet promised by John.⁵¹ Second, in describing the guilt of those who reject John and Jesus, it appears that this parable introduces the theme of the rejection of the prophets of Wisdom (cf. Q 11:47-51; 13:34-35)⁵² and serves as the first of numerous parables featuring the theme of judgment.⁵³ Finally, the concluding statement in 7:35 uses the existence of the Q community to bring vindication to Wisdom in spite of the rejection of her messenger (Jesus). While "this generation" faces punishment because it "sat in the marketplace" and lodged complaints against the messengers of Wisdom, these outsiders will *sit* on the twelve thrones (22:30).⁵⁴

Matthean Redaction

The changes Matthew makes to this parable unit are minimal. The introduction (Q 7:31//Matt 11:16a) exhibits two slight changes, as the elimination of *καὶ τίνι ἐστὶν ὁμοία* ("and to what is it like") is an example of the Matthean tendency to reduce a double comparison,⁵⁵ and the introduction of the adversative conjunction *δέ* connects the parable to Matt 11:14-15.⁵⁶ Two modifications exist in the parable itself (Q 7:32-33//Matt 11:16b-17). Matthew's use of the plural *ἀγοραῖς* likely brings correspondence to "cities" in 11:1, 20.⁵⁷ The substitution of *ἐκόψασθε* ("you mourned") for *ἐκλαύσατε* ("you wept") would better reflect customs in Matthew's audience as the response to *ἐθρηνήσαμεν* ("we wailed") and contrast to *ὠρχήσασθε* ("you did not dance"), akin to Eccl 3:4.⁵⁸

51. Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 111; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 115–17.

52. For the wisdom theology of Q, see Suggs, *Wisdom*, 5–29; James M. Robinson, "Jesus as Sophos and Sophia," in *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. R. L. Wilken; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 1–16; John S. Kloppenborg, "Wisdom Christology in Q," *LTP* 34 (1978): 129–47.

53. The theme of judgment appears in the parables attributed to the second stratum of Q (12:42-45; 14:16-24; 19:12-26); see John S. Kloppenborg, "Jesus and the Parables of Jesus in Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 275–319 (300).

54. The only appearance of *κάθημαι* in reconstructed Q is 22:30.

55. As argued in, e.g., Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 260; Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 145.

56. Luke uses *οὖν* to join the parable to his context.

57. On the plural form likely coming from the hand of Matthew rather than the Q form of the parable, see sources cited in n. 8.

58. While some scholars note that *κόπτω* seems "more Palestinian" and could be the reading in Q that Luke changed (e.g. Hultgren, *Parables*, 207), its appearance

The application of the parable (Q 7:33-34//Matt 11:18-19a) features two differences in wording, and the inclusion of traditions from Mark alters the force and significance of these accusations. The change from $\mu\acute{\eta}$ to $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ in v. 18 is a stylistic improvement to bring parallelism. The alteration of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ to $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ in vv. 18-19a separates the ones making the accusations (“this generation”) about John and Jesus from Jesus’ audience (the crowd). The contrast between the eating habits of John and Jesus recalls the discussion of fasting (Matt 9:14-17), while Jesus’ friendship with tax collectors and sinners alludes to his meal with them (9:9-13). In addition, the accusation of John having a demon is similar to the charge that Jesus works through the “ruler of demons” (9:34; cf. 10:25), a charge that comes from the Pharisees, a group with which John clashed (3:7-10). Therefore, these accusations recall the opposition of the preceding narrative section in Matthew and continue the Matthean assimilation of John and Jesus.⁵⁹

The most significant change occurs in the concluding proverb (Q 7:35//Matt 11:19b). While some important witnesses (B² C D L Θ f¹ 33) feature $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\nu$ in Matt 11:19, the reading of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ has strong external and internal support, appearing in the original hands of $\aleph$ and B as well as some versions (Peshitta, Harklensis, Bohairic) and being a Matthean term;⁶⁰ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\nu$ likely is an assimilation to the Lukan parallel.⁶¹ Therefore, instead of Wisdom being justified by “her children,” she is justified by “her works.” This change links the passage to what precedes and follows. In Matt 11:2, John hears Jesus doing $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (11:2), which summarizes Jesus’ ministry in Matthew 5–10, and 11:4-6 indicates that Jesus’ ministry confirms him to be the Messiah promised in Isaiah. The miracles of Matthew 8–9 also provide the grounds for judgment, as Jesus

elsewhere in Luke (8:52; 23:27) indicates that it is not “too Palestinian” for Luke, pointing to $\chi\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$ as the reading in Q (see Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 145 n. 8), particularly due to the redactional use of $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\tau\omega$ in Matt 24:30. With Cotter, “Children,” 64–65; Gundry, *Matthew*, 212; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 263; Keener, *Commentary*, 341.

59. See Wolfgang Trilling, “Die Täufertradition bei Matthäus,” *BZ* 3 (1959): 271–89; Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (SNTSMS 7; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 27–41; John P. Meier, “John the Baptist in Matthew’s Gospel,” *JBL* 99 (1980): 383–405.

60. Six of the ten appearances of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ in the Synoptics are in Matthew, five of which are unique to his Gospel (5:16; 11:2, 19; 23:3, 5) with 26:10 following Mark 14:6.

61. In agreement with Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994), 24.

denounces the Galilean cities that refuse to repent after witnessing his miracles in 11:20-24.⁶²

A final variation is the Matthean placement of this parable. Although Matthew essentially retains the entire unit of Q 7:18-35,⁶³ this section follows, rather than precedes, the mission of the disciples (Matt 10:5-12//Q 10:2-12) and words of encouragement (Matt 10:19, 26-33//Q 12:2-12).⁶⁴ Furthermore, the woes on the Galilean towns (Matt 11:20-24//Q 10:13-15) and the discussion of the revelation to the "babes" (Matt 11:25-27//Q 10:21-24) immediately follows the parable in Matthew, whereas the mission discourse separates these units in Q.

In contrast to the Matthean redaction of other Wisdom passages from Q,⁶⁵ proponents of Matthean Wisdom Christology have not argued that Jesus echoes a statement of Wisdom here. Rather, they rest the equation of Jesus as Wisdom rather than as the final envoy of Wisdom as in Q on the correlation of the "works of the Christ" (11:2) and the "works of Wisdom" (11:19).⁶⁶ Such a rationale makes this reference to Wisdom unique and perhaps more precarious than the other Matthean passages, as opponents argue that the inclusion of the works of the disciples and John the Baptist in these works shows that Matthew does not identify Jesus as Wisdom.⁶⁷ An underexplored background for the connection of this parable to Wisdom is Prov 1:20-33, where Wisdom speaks of her rejection.⁶⁸ The changes made to the parable and its surrounding context

62. The use of *δύναμις* in 11:20-24 rather than *ἔργον* may show Matthew retaining Q's language or a recognition that the "works" of the Messiah include Jesus' miracles and teaching.

63. Matthew places Q 16:16 in 11:12, adds 11:14-15, and potentially moves Q 7:29 to Matt 21:31-32.

64. The Matthean mission discourse is a conflation of passages from the Markan mission passage (Mark 6:7-12), Mark's Little Apocalypse (Mark 13:9-13), and other Q traditions; see F. W. Beare, "The Mission of the Disciples and the Mission Charge: Matthew 10 and Parallels," *JBL* 89 (1970): 1-13.

65. Q 11:49-51//Matt 23:34-35; Q 13:34-35//Matt 23:37-39.

66. E.g. Suggs, *Wisdom*, 55-58; Burnett, *Testament*, 81-92; Deutsch, "Wisdom," 33-36.

67. E.g. Johnson, "Reflections," 53-61; Carson, "Matthew 11:19b/Luke 7:35," 131-34; Gench, *Wisdom*, 181.

68. Zeller notes that Prov 1:20 might be part of the background of the hypostasis of Wisdom in Q 7:35 but bases his connection on the singing (*ὑμνέω*) of Wisdom in Prov 1:20, an idea present only in the LXX ("Die Bildlogik," 257). Deutsch mentions this connection between Matt 11:16-24 and Prov 1:20-33 but focuses on the role of Wisdom in Prov 1 as a prophet who announces judgment and not on the structural similarities resulting from Matthew's placement of this parable ("Wisdom in Matthew," 36).

expand already existing connections between the parable and Prov 1:20-33, causing Jesus' words in Matt 11:16-30 to recall the words of Wisdom describing her rejection in Prov 1:20-33 and thus making the parable a statement of Wisdom by Jesus that allegorizes his rejection as the rejection of Wisdom's call.

The call of Wisdom, events of the parable, and ministry of Jesus in Matthew all occur in similar locations. In calling out at the city gate (Prov 1:20-21; cf. 8:3-4), Wisdom's cry is at the busiest place in ancient Israel and the natural place for prophets and philosophers to present their messages.⁶⁹ The city gate of Israel had a similar function to the *ἀγορά* and the Roman *forum*, as it was the center of commerce, judicial proceedings, and instruction.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the call in Proverbs does not just happen in one city but in every city,⁷¹ which corresponds to Matthew's editing of *ἀγορᾶ* to *ἀγοραῖς* to make the parable describe a more general occurrence as opposed to a specific situation (cf. Matt 20:3; 23:7). This parable follows the description of Jesus ministering in the cities (4:23-25; 9:35; 11:1) and performing miracles among great crowds (8:1-2, 16, 18, 28-34; 9:1-2, 8, 32-33).⁷² Jesus would therefore appear to teach and minister where people gathered, just as Wisdom calls out and the parable takes place at the gathering places of the people.

The audience that rejects Wisdom is also analogous to the description of the parable. Like *παῖδια*, the *בְּנֵי חַיִל* that reject the call of Wisdom in

69. E.g. Jer 5:1; 7:2; 11:6; 17:19; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.10, as noted in William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 273; Crawford H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1970), 22. Also see Pseudo-Diogenes, *Epistles* 6.24; 38.2-7 (Malherbe, *Cynic*, 96, 160).

70. See Bernhard Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs: A Goddess Redefined* (New York: Pilgrim, 1986), 23-33; Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 96-97, 266-67.

71. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 267.

72. Although some miracles occur in houses (e.g., 8:14-15; 9:23-25, 28), Matthew eliminates certain references to miracles in homes (Mark 1:32-34//Matt 8:16-17; Mark 2:1-4//Matt 9:1-3), perhaps seeking to highlight Jesus' ministry at the gathering places of the people. While Matthew mentions Jesus teaching in the synagogues (4:23; 9:35; cf. Mark 1:39), the miracles presented in Matt 8-9 occur outside of the synagogues and his teaching in Matt 5-7 happens on a mountain rather than in the synagogue. The unparalleled summary in Matt 11:1 omits the synagogues, and examples of teaching and healing in the synagogues only appear later (12:9; 13:54), so it is unclear if Matthew intends to describe Jesus' ministry as occurring in the synagogue in the previous section. Even if Matthew portrays Jesus as ministering in the synagogue, this would be a Jewish gathering place.

Prov 1:20-33 are naïve and need to learn wisdom as the intended audience of Proverbs (1:4) and recipients of the call of Wisdom (8:5; 9:4, 16).⁷³ Instead of heeding Wisdom's call, they behave like the scoffers and the fools who reject Wisdom.⁷⁴ In shifting the second-person plural verb ("you say") of Q 7:33-34 to third-person plural verb ("they say") in Matt 11:18-19a, it is not the crowd to whom Jesus speaks that are the children of the parable but those in the cities in which Jesus ministered. The accusations leveled at John and Jesus in 11:18-19a reflect the opposition to Jesus that primarily comes from the scribes and the Pharisees (9:3, 11, 34).⁷⁵ Elsewhere, Matthew links the sayings against "this evil generation" in Q to the scribes and the Pharisees (Matt 12:39-45//Q 11:29-30, 31-32; Matt 24:34-36//Q 11:49-51).⁷⁶ Thus, the scribes and the Pharisees behave like the חֲכָמִים of Proverbs and the παῖδια of the parable in their rejection of Jesus.

The parallelism of the rejection of Wisdom in Prov 1:20-33 continues in the material immediately following this parable. Instead of including judgment on the cities after the rejection of the messengers as in Q 10:12-15, Matthew places it immediately after the discussion of the rejection of John and Jesus.⁷⁷ Likewise, after a description of rejection,

73. The חֲכָמִים lack wisdom but can become wise (Prov 19:25; 21:11; cf. Pss 19:8; 119:18), with their naïvety leading to danger (Prov 14:15; 22:3; 27:12). See Chou-Wee Pan, "פֶּתִי," *NIDOTTE*, 3:714-16; Trevor Donald, "The Semantic Field of Folly in Job, Proverbs, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes," *VT* 13 (1963): 285-92 (287-88).

74. See R. N. Whybray, *Proverbs* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 45; Leo G. Perdue, *Proverbs* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 2000), 82. The shift from the second person in 1:22a to third person in 1:22bc may indicate that 1:22bc is a later addition (see discussions in J. A. Emerton, "A Note on the Hebrew Text of Proverbs 1:22-23," *JTS* NS 19 [1968]: 609-14; Richard J. Clifford, *Proverbs: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999], 40). Even if 1:22bc is not an insertion, the shift in person makes the reference to scoffers and fools parenthetical, with the "simple" as the direct audience (Roland E. Murphy, "Wisdom's Song: Proverbs 1:20-33," *CBQ* 48 [1986]: 456-57; Phyllis Tribble, "Wisdom Builds a Poem: The Architecture of Proverbs 1:20-33," *JBL* 94 [1975]: 509-18 [512]).

75. While the crowds are amazed at Jesus and his teaching (7:28; 9:33) and follow him around (8:1, 34), the scribes and Pharisees oppose Jesus.

76. Matthew furthers the link between the Pharisees and "this generation" featured in Mark 8:11-13 (see Matt 16:1-4) by utilizing language from Q 11:16, 29-30, 31-32 to label the Pharisees as "evil and adulterous" in Matt 12:39-45.

77. Q appears to have joined Q 10:13-15 to 10:21-22, with these verses reflecting the ideas of acceptance and rejection (Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 199-201). Matthew places them here. For discussion on how Matthew uses Q in ch. 11, see Richard A. Edwards, "Matthew's Use of Q in Chapter Eleven," in *Logia: les paroles de Jesus—the sayings of Jesus* (ed. Joël Delobel; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982), 257-75.

Prov 1:22-32 discusses judgment.⁷⁸ Both passages also indicate that rejection is not complete, as Wisdom promises security to those who respond to her call in Prov 1:33, and Jesus thanks God for the “babes” to whom the Father has revealed “these things” in Matt 11:25-27, referring to their belief at the miracles.⁷⁹ The use of *νήπιος* in Matt 11:25 may also allude back to Proverbs, as this term is one of three Greek words (*νήπιος*; *ἄκακος*; *ἄφρων*) used in the LXX to translate *יְתֵדִי* (LXX Pss 18:8; 114:6; 118:130; Prov 1:32), indicating that these “simple ones” respond as they should. The invitation of Wisdom in Matt 11:28-30 then parallels the continuing call of Wisdom in Proverbs 8–9.⁸⁰

A further link between to Prov 1:20-33 is the “godlike” manner of speech of Jesus and Wisdom. Prophets speak of judgment for rejection of God and them as messengers of God, but Wisdom states that rejection of *her* leads to judgment in Prov 1:26-32.⁸¹ Similarly, Matthew describes Jesus forgiving sins, teaching with unprecedented authority, and possessing power over demons, diseases, and death, all of which are actions only proper for God.⁸² The announcement of judgment on the unrepentant cities locates their guilt in their refusal to respond to Jesus’ miracles (Matt 11:20-24), showing the standard of judgment to be the people’s reception to Jesus, who behaves as God rather than as a prophet.

Matthew’s insertion of this material from Q after his mission discourse and the addition of Matt 11:12-15 to the discussion of John explain the roles of the community and John in light of Matthew’s identification of Jesus as Wisdom. Because Matt 11:1 mentions the ministry of Jesus and not the disciples, there is no report of the disciples’ return from their mission (cf. Mark 6:12-13). Furthermore, Jesus speaks about the trials the present community faces in Matt 10:17-42. Chapter 10 therefore alludes to the ongoing mission of the community. This mission has

78. On Prov 1:22-32 as an announcement of the consequences of disobedience, see Clifford, *Proverbs*, 41; Murphy, “Wisdom’s Song,” 456–60.

79. Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8–18*, 277; Pregeant, “Wisdom Passages,” 215.

80. On the continuing invitation of Wisdom in Proverbs, see Clifford, *Proverbs*, 93–94. The call of Matt 11:28-30 has affinities to the call of Sir 51, which those who reject Wisdom Christology (e.g. Nolland, *Matthew*, 475) or its presence in 11:19 (e.g. Harrington, *Matthew*, 170) admit. Those who argue against the overtones of Wisdom here include Davies and Allison, who claim that Moses is the primary background for 11:25-30 (*Matthew 8–18*, 271–73), and Warren Carter, who argues that the statement is against the “yoke” of Rome (*Matthew and Empire* [Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001], 108–29).

81. Burton L. Mack, “Wisdom Myth and Mythology: An Essay in Understanding a Theological Tradition,” *Int* 24 (1970): 56–57; cf. Toy, *Critical*, 22–23; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 43–49. See, e.g., Jer 25:4-7.

82. Mark 1:22//Matt 7:28-29; Mark 2:7//Matt 9:3; Mark 4:41//Matt 8:27.

similarity to Jesus' ministry in its message and method (10:1, 7-8) as well as in the opposition it faces (10:17, 25; cf. 23:34).⁸³ The mission of the community is part of Jesus' work as Wisdom; they are the new envoys of Wisdom who minister in light of Wisdom's arrival.⁸⁴ The ministry of the community vindicates Wisdom because they are part of the work of Jesus/Wisdom;⁸⁵ one's response to the community brings blessing (10:40-42; 11:6) or condemnation (10:14-15; 11:20-24).⁸⁶

In describing John's ministry in conjunction with the rejection of Jesus' ministry, Matthew does so in light of the preceding comments that John is "more than a prophet" (11:9) and "the Elijah who is to come" (11:14) while Jesus is the Christ.⁸⁷ The insertion of 11:12-15 clarifies that John is the last of the prophets (11:13) who point to Jesus.⁸⁸ John's behavior differs from Jesus' because John belongs to the era of prediction (11:13) and fasting (9:14-17) while Jesus is the fulfillment of the Old Testament promises (5:17; 11:13). Therefore, the rejection of John continues the rejection of the prophets (13:57; 23:29-30, 35, 37). In addition to rejecting the messengers of Wisdom, "this generation" now rejects Wisdom herself—and it will continue to reject the messengers that Wisdom sends (23:34-36). Matthew thus describes Jesus as Wisdom, John as the last prophet (Elijah) sent by Wisdom in the era of promise, and the disciples as the new envoys of Wisdom sent out in the era of fulfillment, all rejected by the scribes and Pharisees.⁸⁹ Due to the

83. Compare these verses in Matthew to Mark 6:7 and Q 10:2-4. That the disciples do not receive teaching authority until 28:19-20 might show their need to have Jesus finish his teaching (Gundry, *Matthew*, 184) or delineate between pre-Easter and post-Easter missions (Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 170).

84. See H. J. Held, "Matthew and Interpreter of Miracle Stories," in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (trans. P. Scott; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 250-52; Johnson, "Reflections," 57. The placement of this mission immediately after Jesus' ministry emphasizes the similarities between their ministries (Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 61-63).

85. The promise of the ongoing presence of Jesus with the disciples (18:20; 28:20) shows that Wisdom remains with the disciples.

86. Matthew connects the two judgments by leaving the comparison to Sodom (Q 10:12) in the commission (Matt 10:15) and then moving it from the first (Q 10:12-15) to the last of the woes (Matt 11:21-24).

87. On the importance of these verses for 11:16-19, see Carson, "Matthew 11:19b/Luke 7:35," 135-37.

88. "Εως appears in an inclusive sense in 11:12 as in 1:17; 2:15; 20:8; 23:35; 27:8 (Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 257; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 142).

89. Matthew might use 11:11 to show that the prophets from the new community ("the least in the kingdom"; cf. 10:41; 18:6, 10, 14) are greater than John the Baptist, as John prophesied of the coming of the kingdom while the disciples demonstrate its arrival through continuing the ministry of Jesus.

association of Wisdom with Torah (e.g., Sir 1:26; 6:37; 15:1; 19:20; 24:23; Bar 4:1),⁹⁰ the rejection of Jesus as Wisdom is the rejection of Torah, presenting his community as the true followers of Torah and the scribes and the Pharisees as those who reject Torah.

The connections between Prov 1:20-33 and Matt 11:16-30 are admittedly subtle and may not be detected by those unfamiliar with the Q traditions or upon an initial reading of the text.⁹¹ Even if the original readers could not detect this link, however, redactional changes reveal the author's viewpoint.⁹² Moreover, the changes noted above cohere with the slight alterations made by Matthew to other passages in Q to place words of Wisdom upon the lips of Jesus,⁹³ thus matching Matthean redactional tendencies. Furthermore, a reader may not notice the portrayal of Jesus as Wisdom in 11:16-19 when reading the text for the first time since the text itself seems ambiguous,⁹⁴ but after reading the entire Gospel, one may wonder whether there is a link to Wisdom and note the connections to Prov 1:20-33 when re-reading the text, particularly if the community reads Matthew in conjunction with the Hebrew Scriptures. Above all, although redactional analysis has helped to reveal this inter-textual link, it only depends upon knowledge of Matthew and Proverbs; one could find it by reading Matthew and Proverbs without knowing Q or even assuming its existence.

While Matthew adapts the details and context of this Q parable to identify Jesus as Wisdom and allegorize his ministry as rejected Wisdom in Prov 1:20-33, the parable also exhibits functions in Matthew similar to those it has in Q. The parable unites wisdom and apocalyptic ideas in Q, and Matthew uses it to integrate the sayings of Jesus found in Q with the miracles found in Mark, presenting both as his works as Wisdom.⁹⁵ The parable once again serves as a turning point, as it introduces the growing opposition to Jesus that follows. Finally just as the existence of the Q community brings vindication to Wisdom, the ministry of the Matthean community serves as part of Wisdom's works of vindication in Matthew's version by bringing judgment and blessing at the time of the

90. See Robinson, "Jesus," 11; Burnett, *Testament*, 95; Deutsch, "Wisdom," 23-25.

91. See the reader-response analysis in Pregeant, "Wisdom Passages," 206-25.

92. Keener, *Matthew*, 343.

93. See the texts cited in n. 66.

94. On the ambiguity of the Wisdom passages in Matthew and the question of the "preferred reading," see Pregeant, "Wisdom Passages," 214-16, 222.

95. Cf. Edwards "Matthew's Use," 273-75, who states that Matt 11 combines the Markan idea of suffering son of humanity with the authoritative teacher of Q.

Gospel's composition. While the opponents of the community behave as judgmental children like the scribes and Pharisees, the Matthean community humbles itself like children (cf. 18:1-4).

Conclusion

The associations between the parable of the children in the marketplace and Prov 1:20-33 and integration of the parable with Q and Markan traditions in Matthew create an intertextual link to Prov 1:20-33. In particular, the call of Wisdom (city gate), events of the parable (marketplace), and ministry of Jesus in Matthew (cities) all take place in similar locations; the audience that rejects Wisdom (simple) finds an analogy in the parable (children). Moreover, both Prov 1:20-33 and Matt 11:16-30 conclude with words of judgment and invitation.

In addition to strengthening the Wisdom Christology of Matthew advanced by Suggs, this intertextual echo issues a commentary on the ministry of Jesus and the Matthean community. By placing the parable after Jesus' ministry in Matthew 8-9, Matthew allegorizes Jesus' ministry as Wisdom rejected by the "simple" to which he calls. The mission discourse of Matthew 10 reveals the Matthean community to be the new messengers of Wisdom, who speak the same message, perform the same works, and face the same hostility as Jesus/Wisdom. Since their missionary activity is part of the work of Wisdom that justifies her, the community is the new locus for blessing or judgment. Therefore, this echo to Prov 1:20-33 has Christological and ecclesiological ramifications.

JOHN THE BAPTIST, ELIJAH AND NABOTH: WHAT DOES 1 KINGS 21 HAVE TO DO WITH MATTHEW 14?

Jesse Rainbow

Numerous commentators on the death of John the Baptist according to Matt 14:3-12 have observed similarities between Herod, Herodias, and John, on the one hand, and Ahab, Jezebel, and Elijah on the other hand.¹

1. Francis Wright Beare, *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Commentary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 325; Frederick Dale Bruner, *Matthew: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 64-65; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988-97), 2:465, 476; Joachim von Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (2 vols.; Freiburg: Herder, 1986-88), 2:4; Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew* (2 vols.; WBC 33; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1993-95), 2:413; Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Saint Matthew* (SacPag 1; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1991), 217-18; Harold W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 162; Alan Hugh McNeile, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1915), 209, citing Henry Barclay Swete, *The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1905), 123; J. T. Nielsen, *Het evangelie naar Mattheüs* (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1971), 39; Markus Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," *JBL* 118 (1999): 461-72 (472); *idem*, *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 37, discussing Mark 6; Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist Within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 246; Jakob van Bruggen, *Mattheüs: het evangelie vor Israël* (Kampen: Kok, 1994), 274; Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (SNTSMS 7; London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 27-28; and Gary Yamasaki, *John the Baptist in Life and Death: Audience-Oriented Criticism of Matthew's Narrative* (JSNTSup 167; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 132, 142. One more recent study of Mark 6 is worth mentioning: Regina Janes, "Why the Daughter of Herodias Must Dance (Mark 6:14-29)," *JSNT* 28 (2006): 443-67 (449). Others have read the story, particularly its Markan version, against the backdrop of the story of Esther: Ignace de Potterie, "Mors Johannis Baptistae," *VD* 44 (1966), 142-51; Roger Aus, *Water Into Wine and the Beheading of John the Baptist: Early Jewish-Christian Interpretations of Esther 1 in John 2:1-11 and Mark 6:17-29* (BJS 150; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

In both cases the man of God is opposed and persecuted by a wicked king and his even more depraved wife. In both cases the circumstances of the royal marriage represent moral decline in Israel: Herod married his brother's wife, for which John the Baptist criticized him, presumably with biblical texts like Lev 16:18 and 20:21 in mind (Matt 14:4). Ahab married the daughter of the Sidonian king Ethbaal, ushering in a period of apostasy and thus proving the warning of Deut 7:3, which links inter-marriage with non-Israelites to the service of foreign gods (see 1 Kgs 16:31). Most irresistible, of course, is the identification of John the Baptist with the prophet Elijah—the “Elijah who is to come” (Mal 3:1; 4:5; Sir 48:10)—a theme that is well developed in Matthew (Matt 11:13-14; 17:11-12). On the basis of these observations, the putative alignment of Ahab and Herod, Jezebel and Herodias, and Elijah and John—as in Figure 1 below—appears to be a textbook example of an extended allusion to the Old Testament in the New Testament. This interpretation of the passage goes back at least to Jerome, who wrote that “John the Baptist, who had come in the spirit and power of Elijah, with the same authority whereby the latter rebuked Ahab and Jezebel, upbraided Herod and Herodias because they had entered into an unlawful marriage.”²



Figure 1. *The Supposed Correspondence of Elijah and John*

The present study challenges this oft-asserted alignment of the characters in Matthew 14 and 1 Kings 21 on the basis of a simple observation: unlike John the Baptist, *Elijah was neither imprisoned nor killed by his royal antagonists*—nor did anyone else manage to kill Elijah, who was ultimately taken up to heaven while he was still alive (2 Kgs 2:9-12). Noting that Matt 14:3-14 is one of several broadly contemporary martyr narratives, it would be difficult to find a more unsuitable proto-martyr than the immortal Elijah. Indeed, Matthew elsewhere tacitly recognizes that the biblical Elijah did not suffer and die by omitting (*vis-à-vis* the Markan parallel) the scripture-citation formula in the one place in the Gospel where he might otherwise have most effectively asserted a connection between the martyrdom of John and his Elijanic identity:

2. “Ergo Iohannes Baptista qui uenerat in spiritu et uirtute Heliae, eadem auctoritate qua ille Achab corripuerat et Hiezabel, arguit Herodem et Herodiadem quod inlicitas nuptias fecerint” (CCSL 77: 117; translation quoted from Manlio Simonetti, ed., *Matthew 14–28* [Ancient Commentary on Christian Scripture, New Testament 1b; Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity, 2002], 3).

But I tell you that Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they wanted, just as it is written about him (*καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν*) (Mark 9:13).³

I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they did not acknowledge him, but rather they did to him whatever they wanted (Matt 17:12).

In light of this apparent correction of Mark 9:13, it seems incredible that the Gospel of Matthew would offer its most extensive allusion to the Elijah cycle of 1 and 2 Kings in connection with John the Baptist's death, the one part of John the Baptist's story that has no precedent in the biblical or post-biblical legendary life of Elijah. Indeed, when biblical commentators speculate about the Old Testament background of Matthew 14 in a way that links John and Elijah, it is always on the level of a general resemblance between the two characters *in life*—in other words, there is no particular text in the book of Kings, and no particular incident in the life of Elijah that can be connected specifically to the *death* of John the Baptist. The idea that John's imprisonment and untimely death puts him in the company of the prophets is basically sound (Matt 23:37), but when one thinks of the fate of the Israelite prophets in this way—i.e., as martyrs—the deathless Elijah must be the last of them to come to mind. When Jesus expounds on the violent ends of the prophets in Matt 23:35, he does not refer to Elijah, but instead names Abel and “Zechariah son of Barachiah.”⁴

There is a story in 1 Kings that *does* involve imprisonment and execution at the hands of Ahab and Jezebel: the story of Naboth the Jezreelite in 1 Kgs 21:1-16. This story may provide what is lacking in the studies cited above: a way to anchor the comparison to Ahab and Jezebel to a

3. Öhler (“Expectation,” 465 n. 17) writes that Jesus' interpretation of John's death as Elijanic suffering in Mark 9:9-13 “causes [an] exegetical problem, since there is no hint in Jewish tradition that Elijah's return was connected with suffering. Of the solutions proposed thus far, the reference to the general fate of the prophets, which is a common motif in Jewish and Christian writings, is the most probable. The main reason for a reference to scripture in this pericope is the lack of an explanation for the death of the Baptist.” See also Öhler, *Elia*, 45–46, 75.

4. The imprisonment of John has antecedents in the Old Testament: hapless Jeremiah (Jer 20:2; 37:15-16; 38:6, 28), Hanani the seer (2 Chr 16:10), and Micaiah, imprisoned by Ahab (1 Kgs 22:26-27). As with the scriptural background to Jesus' statement in Matt 23:37 (“you who kill the prophets”), the common factor in the scriptural stories of prophetic imprisonment is that none of them involve the elusive Elijah. See Michael Hartmann, *Der Tod Johannes' des Täufers: eine exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie auf dem Hintergrund narrativer, intertextueller und kulturanthropologischer Zugänge* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Biblewerk, 2001), 171.

specific Old Testament text. But if Matthew 14 is indeed patterned on 1 Kings 21, then there is a problem with the supposed homology between John and Elijah, even beyond the observation that Elijah never died. While John is the central figure in Matthew 14, Elijah does not appear in the story of 1 Kings 21, except as a background figure. Sorting out the Old Testament background of the story entails a dilemma: the linking of John and Elijah—an idea that is heavily reinforced elsewhere in the New Testament Gospels—is what initially opens the door for a comparison between Ahab and Jezebel and Herod and Herodias. At the same time, the best Old Testament text on which to build such a comparison pushes Elijah almost completely out of the picture. Setting aside any *a priori* assumption that whenever John appears in Matthew, the archetypal association with Elijah is activated, the most natural way to compare 1 Kings 21 and Matthew 14 is to link John and Naboth, the two innocent victims:

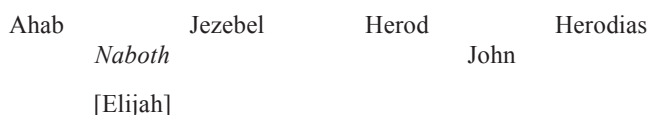


Figure 2. *The Correspondence of Naboth and John*

Aligned in this way, the parallels between the two stories are striking:

(1) Both Naboth and John run afoul of the king when they speak up in defense of decency and piety. Naboth responds to Ahab's request that he sell his vineyard not by invoking a purely secular concept of property rights, but by appealing to a theology of land possession: "The LORD forbid that I should give you my ancestral inheritance (נַחֲלַת אֲבוֹתַי)" (1 Kgs 21:4). The problem with Ahab's business proposal, according to Naboth, is not that Ahab is greedy or tyrannical, but that he is impious. Naboth is not holding out for a higher price, he is rejecting the proposed transaction on theological principle. To abandon his patrimony would be to forsake his obligations to his ancestors. In Iron Age Israel, Naboth's connection to the land was likely bound up with the maintenance of a domestic funerary cult, though by the time of Matthew, his objection may have been seen as based on scriptural injunctions not to alienate a historicized divine grant of landholdings (see Lev 25:8-34; Num 27:9-11; 36:7-9).⁵ Similarly, John the Baptist finds himself in prison for criticizing

5. On the nature of Naboth's objection, see Herbert Chanan Brichto, "Kin, Cult, Land and Afterlife—A Biblical Complex," *HUCA* 44 (1973): 31–32; Alexander Rofé, "The Vineyard of Naboth: The Origin and Message of the Story," *VT* 38

Herod's illicit marriage to his own sister-in-law, which as I have mentioned John would have understood in terms of Lev 18:16: "You shall not uncover the nakedness of your brother's wife; it is your brother's nakedness."⁶ The sins of Ahab and Herod are not the same, but they are both matters of the king's lack of decency and piety.

(2) Those who link John the martyr to Elijah tend to liken John's speech in Matt 14:4 ("It is not lawful for you to have her") to the prophetic declamations of Elijah.⁷ As Jerome put it, John spoke with the "spirit and power of Elijah." It is undeniable that both Elijah and John denounced kings. But so did Naboth. The question is which character in 1 Kings is the more plausible precursor to John's speech. It is worthwhile to compare the speeches of the three figures to the respective kings:

(1988): 90, 101. Francis I. Andersen ("The Socio-Juridical Background of the Naboth Incident," *JBL* 85 [1966]: 46–57 [46]) characterizes the Naboth incident as "a clash of Israelite and Canaanite ideas of kingship." Ugaritic records of transactions such as that proposed by Ahab were "almost completely secularized," while among the Israelites "Yahweh was the proprietor of the territory of Israel and its donor to his covenant people." For Andersen, then, Jezebel is true to form as a Sidonian in her attitude toward Naboth and his vineyard (49). The intentions of Ahab and Jezebel were consistent with the prior acquisition of the hill of Samaria, the royal seat of the Omrides (1 Kgs 16:24; see Andersen, "Background," 49). For cuneiform parallels to Ahab's proposed transaction, see Nadav Na'aman, "Naboth's Vineyard and the Foundation of Jezreel," *JSOT* 33 (2008): 197–218. On the legal case against Naboth, see Nahum Sarna, "Naboth's Vineyard Revisited (1 Kings 21)," in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (ed. Mordechai Cogan, Barry L. Eichler, and Jeffrey H. Tigay; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 119–26.

6. The observation that Herod violated the prohibitions of Leviticus is routine in the literature. Öhler ("Expectation," 472) makes the additional point that "Herod not only violated the prohibitions in Leviticus against taking one's brother's wife, but with his previous divorce he violated also Mal 2:15: 'Let no one deal treacherously against the wife of your youth!'" For Öhler, and contrary to what I am arguing here, this connection "underlines the Baptist's connection with the book of Malachi," i.e., as the fulfillment of Elijahian expectation.

7. Taylor, *Immerser*, 246; Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 162; Gnlika, "Martyrium," 87; and Michael Tilly, *Johannes der Täufer und die Biographie der Propheten: die synoptische Täuferüberlieferung und das jüdische Prophetenbild zur Zeit des Täufers* (BWANT 17; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994), 224. This point of comparison is implicit in a number of the other studies cited in n. 1 above.

Naboth	"The LORD forbid that I should give you my ancestral inheritance" (1 Kgs 21:3).
John	"It is not right for you to have her" (Matt 14:4).
Elijah	"As the LORD the God of Israel lives, before whom I stand, there shall be neither dew nor rain these years, except by my word" (1 Kgs 17:1). "I have not troubled Israel; but you have, and your father's house, because you have forsaken the commandments of the LORD and followed the Baals. Now therefore have all Israel assemble for me at Mount Carmel, with the four hundred fifty prophets of Baal and the four hundred prophets of Asherah, who eat at Jezebel's table" (1 Kgs 18:18-19). "Go up, eat and drink; for there is a sound of rushing rain" (1 Kgs 18:41). "Thus says the LORD: Have you killed, and also taken possession?... Thus says the LORD: In the place where dogs licked up the blood of Naboth, dogs will also lick up your blood...I have found you. Because you have sold yourself to do what is evil in the sight of the LORD, I will bring disaster on you; I will consume you, and will cut off from Ahab every male, bond or free, in Israel; and I will make your house like the house of Jeroboam son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha son of Ahijah, because you have provoked me to anger and have caused Israel to sin. Also concerning Jezebel the LORD said, 'The dogs shall eat Jezebel within the bounds of Jezreel.' Anyone belonging to Ahab who dies in the city the dogs shall eat; and anyone of his who dies in the open country the birds of the air shall eat" (1 Kgs 21:19-24, with omissions).

Figure 3. *Speeches to Kings by Naboth, John, and Elijah*

Contrary to the conventional comparison between John's speech and the speeches of Elijah, there is a basic dissimilarity. In 1 Kings, Elijah's face-to-face interactions with Ahab consist of extended harangues, as in 1 Kgs 18:18-19 and 21:20-24. John's exchange with Herod, in contrast, boils down to a single sentence of direct speech—quite like Naboth's relatively taciturn response to Ahab in 1 Kgs 21:3. Unlike Elijah, John does not invoke the word of the LORD, as in 1 Kgs 21:19 (כה אמר יהוה). In other words, there is no attempt to cast John's speech in Matt 14:4 as a prophetic sermon, even though this is sometimes done in the New Testament, as in Luke 3:2: "The word of God came to John" (ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην). It appears that in his martyrdom, John cast off the prophetic mantle of Elijah, at least with respect to the character of his rhetoric in Matt 14:4. Frankly, he sounds more like Naboth.

(3) Naboth and John meet their respective demises at special convocations of the royal court. At Jezebel's prompting, Ahab calls for a fast (צום) to set the scene for accusing Naboth, and the story of Matthew 14 is set at Herod's birthday feast (δεῖπνον in Mark 6:21, and implicitly a feast in the reference to the *συνανακειμένοι*, "dinner guests," in Matt 14:9). The other biblical birthday party is that of Joseph's Pharaoh, which ends with the execution of the king's baker (Gen 40:20-23). Obviously, a fast is in at least one crucial sense—namely, the prandial—the exact opposite of a feast. But this does not necessarily vitiate the proposed connection between the two passages. Reversal is a form of correspondence. Fasting and feasting, though diametrically opposed, exist on a common conceptual axis. Like all binary pairs, they are of the same kind, so that there is a paradoxical harmony between the settings of 1 Kings 21 and Matthew 14 that would not exist if the events of Matthew 14 had taken place in some other typical Gospel setting—say, on a boat on the Sea of Galilee, or in a private residence in Bethany, or in the thronging squares of Jerusalem. In 1 Kings 21, Ahab refuses to eat because he is in a bad temper. Jezebel capitalizes on this, indulging Ahab's poor appetite by turning his puerile hunger strike into a state occasion, a public orgy of abstinence.⁸ Jezebel's booby-trapped "fast" is a non-feast: if the king will not eat, then neither will anyone else. Naboth is seated at the head of the people (בראש העם) as if he were the guest of honor at a state dinner (1 Kgs 21:9, 12).⁹ The scene in Matthew 14 is a feast that turns cannibalistic, as it were, with John's head being served on a platter. The fast of Jezebel is engineered to feed the king's appetite for what belongs to Naboth.

(4) In both stories, the king's wife conspires behind the scenes to arrange for the innocent man's death.

8. The significance of the fast remains enigmatic. Its ultimate purpose was to effect Naboth's downfall, but the text does not identify the ostensible reason for the fast. The point here is that whatever the meaning of the fast, it was prompted by Ahab's hunger strike. On the meaning of the fast, including a helpful summary of competing theories, see Patrick T. Cronauer, *The Stories About Naboth the Jezreelite: A Source, Composition, and Redaction Investigation of 1 Kings 21 and Passages in 2 Kings 9* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 424; New York: T&T Clark International, 2005), 138–43; Rofé, "Vineyard of Naboth," 92. "Presumably to 'proclaim a fast' means to announce a court session with a suspension of other business so that citizens could assemble...the connection of jurisprudence with fasting is without parallel" (Andersen, "Background," 56).

9. The phrase "at the head of the people" (בראש העם) occurs only three times in the Bible and remains enigmatic. See Cronauer, *Stories*, 142–43.

(5) Both Ahab and Herod are said to be troubled following the death of the innocent man. Herod feels remorse immediately (Matt 14:9), and Ahab regrets his actions only after a conversation with Elijah (1 Kgs 21:27).

(6) John and Naboth each dies the death of a criminal—that is, both are executed.

So far, the case for connecting John to Naboth rather than to Elijah is not dependent on Matthew 14 per se, by which I mean that the six observations I have made hold true also for the parallel text in Mark 6:14-29 (though not for Josephus' version of the story in *Ant.* 18.5.1-4 [18.116-119]).¹⁰ Each feature in the list above is found in Mark: (1) the offense of Herod is related in Mark 6:17; (2) John's terse denunciation in Mark 6:18; (3) the birthday feast is described in Mark 6:21; (4) Herodias' machinations are in Mark 6:19, 24; (5) Herod's immediate regret in Mark 6:26; and (6) the execution of John by beheading in Mark 6:27.

There is a larger class of biblical martyr stories that includes also the deaths of Jesus,¹¹ Stephen,¹² Mordecai (attempted, but thwarted), Uriah

10. On the relationship between Josephus and the Gospel accounts, see Ross Kraemer, "Implicating Herodias and Her Daughter in the Death of John the Baptizer: A (Christian) Theological Strategy?," *JBL* 125 (2006): 321-49.

11. The insight that the death of John prefigures the death of Jesus is sound, though it too often preempts the investigation of the scriptural background of the story proposed here. Davies and Allison (*Matthew*, 2:474, 476) call it "a christological parable" and include a table of parallels. Wink (*John the Baptist*, 28) refers to it at "John's Passion." For Bruner (*Matthew*, 63), the death of John is a "Preview of Coming Attractions...a little pre-passion story." See also Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 285-86; Paul Gaechter, *Das Matthäus Evangelium: ein Kommentar* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1963), 474 (John is "der Vorläufer Jesu...selbst im blutigen Tod"); Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8-20* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 307-8; Craig Blomberg, *Matthew* (NAC; Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 230; Hagner, *Matthew*, 2:411; Harrington, *Matthew*, 217; R. T. France, *The Gospel According to Matthew: An Introduction and Commentary* (TynNTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1985), 233; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 318; Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 397; Öhler, *Elia*, 71-72, 75-76; Nielsen, *Mattheis*, 39; and Yamasaki, *John the Baptist*, 130, 132. In the *Protoevangelium of James*, Herod seeks to kill John along with the male children of Bethlehem, with the main target being Jesus.

12. Thomas L. Brodie, "The Accusing and Stoning of Naboth (1 Kgs 21:8-13) as One Component of the Stephen Text (Acts 6:9-14)," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 417-23.

the Hittite,¹³ Zechariah (2 Chr 24:20-22), and Eleazar (2 Macc 6:18-31; 4 Macc 5-6).¹⁴ Each of these stories involves some combination of the following: meals or feasts, face-to-face confrontations between innocent martyrs and wicked rulers, death by execution in various forms, the perversion of juridical processes, a courtly setting, the mental or emotional disturbance of the wicked ruler, and a female character in a central role. The fact that all three stories (1 Kgs 21; Mark 6; Matt 14) belong to this larger class appears to weaken the case for a direct literary relationship between the Gospel texts and 1 Kings 21—perhaps the similarities are a function of the common genre, rather than direct literary dependence. But the case can be strengthened and refined by comparing Matthew 14 to Mark 6. A careful accounting of the differences between the two Gospels suggests that relative to the Markan version of the story, Matthew has improved the correspondences between the deaths of John and Naboth.¹⁵ In other words, setting aside the question of the relationship between Mark 6 and 1 Kings 21, Matthew's subtle reshaping of Mark 6 is best explained as having been influenced by 1 Kings 21.¹⁶

1. Mark's Herod is a kindlier Herod. He imprisons John on account of Herodias (διὰ Ἡρώδιᾶδα, Mark 6:17), but then protects him from Herodias' lethal rage (Mark 6:20). He very nearly entrusts himself to John's teaching, and listens to him willingly (αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν, Mark 6:20). There is no hint of such *Menschlichkeit* in Matthew: Herod wants John dead, and temporarily spares him only because the people—not he himself—regard John as a prophet (Matt 14:5).¹⁷ In Mark, Herod fears

13. Marsha White, "Naboth's Vineyard and Jehu's Coup: The Legitimation of a Dynastic Extermination," *VT* 44 (1994): 68–71.

14. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:464; Gnllka, "Das Martyrium Johannes' des Täufers (Mk 6,17-29)," in *Orientierung an Jesus zur Theologie der Synoptiker* (ed. Paul Hoffmann, Norbert Brox, and Wilhelm Pesch; Freiburg: Herder, 1973), 85–86.

15. I agree, with most recent commentators, that Matt 14 is best understood as a shortened version of Mark 6. Davies and Allison (*Matthew*, 2:463–64) regard this pericope as a particularly strong piece of evidence against the Griesbach hypothesis.

16. The notion that Mark understood there to be a connection between John and Elijah is consistent with the scripture citation formula in Mark 9:13, discussed above. For a list of differences between Mark and Matthew, though with a different focus than here, see Kraemer, "Implicating Herodias," 324.

17. Luz, whose concern is to explain how the death of John prefigures that of Jesus, interprets this point of Matthew's narration in terms of the parallel to the passion of Jesus: "Herodias does not play the prodding role with him that she does with Mark, and Herod becomes the main negative actor—as with Josephus. He thus also achieves a theological goal. The parallel between Jesus (Matt 21) and John becomes greater than if John had fallen victim to a purely woman's intrigue" (*Matthew* 8–20, 306).

John (Mark 6:20); in Matthew, he fears the people (Matt 14:5). If Matthew's point were to maintain a comparison between John and Elijah, then it would hardly make sense to downplay Herod's respect for John as a prophet, since Mark's nuanced characterization of the love-hate relationship between Herod and John is actually quite like the king-prophet relationship between Ahab and Elijah, a relationship in which the king acknowledges Elijah's prophetic authority, if at times reluctantly.¹⁸ Unlike Ahab, Matthew's revised, one-sided Herod does not recognize John as a prophet. If, on the other hand, Matthew meant to activate or reinforce a comparison between John and Naboth, then it would make perfect sense to leave out anything that suggested the recognition on Herod's part of John's status as a prophet. Just as Ahab did not regard Naboth as a prophet (which he was not), Matthew's revised Herod does not regard John as a prophet. Matthew has recast the relationship between Herod and John so that it is less like the relationship between Ahab and Elijah, and more like the relationship between Ahab and Naboth.

2. Similarly, there is a development between Mark 6 and Matthew 14 in the role of Herodias. In Mark 6, Herodias' long-standing hatred of John (Mark 6:19) forms the backdrop against which the events of the story unfold. As I have noted, Herod fears John at the outset of the story, and only reluctantly puts him to death (Mark 6:20, 26). In Matthew, the situation is reversed. The story begins with Herod's desire to kill John (Matt 14:5). Herodias' motivations are discernible only indirectly: she does not actually pronounce the lethal wish in Matthew's narration, as she does in Mark 6:24, and her personal investment in John's imprisonment (so clearly spelled out in Mark 6:19) must be inferred from the fact that Herod imprisoned John (quite vaguely in Matthew) "on account of Herodias" (διὰ Ἡρωδιάδα, Matt 14:3). In 1 Kings 21—like Matthew 14, but unlike Mark 6—the chain of events begins with resentment between the king and the innocent martyr (1 Kgs 21:4). Like Matthew's Herodias—and unlike Mark's Herodias—Jezebel comes belatedly into the picture to finish off Naboth (1 Kgs 21:5). Matthew has reversed the roles of Herod and Herodias in John's death to enhance the correspondence of the story to 1 Kings 21.¹⁹

18. Ahab does Elijah's bidding by assembling the prophets of Baal and Asherah (1 Kgs 18:20), eats and drinks at Elijah's command (1 Kgs 18:41), and then flees at the prophet's instruction (1 Kgs 18:44–45). He repents when Elijah rebukes him (1 Kgs 21:27).

19. For Taylor (*The Immerser*, 246), even Mark's Herodias is a Jezebel figure: "Herodias' hatred of John is similar to Jezebel's hatred of Elijah, and her cunning is

3. Matthew omits Mark's statement that Herod had married Herodias (Mark 6:17; cf. Matt 14:3-4). Ahab and Jezebel were undeniably married (1 Kgs 16:31), and so the omission of this detail could be taken as *prima facie* evidence against my contention that Matthew is improving the correspondences to 1 Kings 21. In terms of the overall shape of the narrative, however, it actually strengthens the case. Robert H. Gundry notes that the effect of this change is that in Matthew, John is warning Herod not to do something rather than scolding him for something he has already done, as in Mark.²⁰ This buttresses the allusion to 1 Kings 21, where Naboth shames Ahab for something he has not yet done, and indeed will not do until after Naboth has been killed: namely, take possession of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 21:16).

4. One major element of the Naboth story that is wholly missing from either Gospel pericope is the suborning of witnesses by Jezebel to achieve Naboth's demise (1 Kgs 21:10, 13). It is not essential to my thesis for Matthew to have invented out of whole-cloth characters that are not in the Markan version of the story, solely based on 1 Kings 21. I am arguing that the allusion to Naboth is one component of his distinctive treatment of the story. He shapes the story to conform to 1 Kings 21, but in a way that respects the basic constraints of Mark 6.²¹ The comment of Thomas L. Brodie, who develops a Naboth–Stephen parallel as a “limited claim,” can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the present essay:

It is important to emphasize what is *not* being claimed here. It is not being said that the account of the accusing and stoning of Stephen is simply a reworking or reshaping of the Naboth text. What is being suggested rather is that, of the various elements and components which Luke has sifted and grafted together, *one* consists of the Naboth text. It is important, too, to try to describe the function of that component: it is an

the same as Jezebel's in regard to Naboth's vineyard.” This is a rare mention of Naboth in the secondary literature on the death of John, but Taylor does not quite do what I am doing here, namely, making a direct link between John and Naboth based on Matt 14. See also Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 162. Taylor continues: “Antipas is like Ahab, the manipulated king: ‘There was no one like Ahab, who sold himself to do what was evil in the sight of YHWH, incited by his wife Jezebel.’ For Mark, John was Elijah; it was fitting that he too should be in conflict with a cunning Jezebel and a weak Ahab. John's bold proclamation echoes...Elijah before Ahab.”

20. Gundry, *Matthew*, 286.

21. Matthew also downgrades the prominence of Herodias' daughter by having her speak only a single sentence (Matt 14:8; cf. Mark 6:22-25), and he does not mention the guard (σπεκουλάτορα) of Mark 6:27. Neither of these characters has a counterpart in 1 Kgs 21.

underlying framework—almost like a skeleton which, having lost its former body, is fleshed out once more until it supports a new body. Such a component is not immediately obvious, but with patient analysis a reasonable case may be made for its presence.²²

Having said all this, it should be noted that even though there are no false witnesses in Matthew 14, Matthew does emphasize the conspiratorial element in the story by saying that the daughter of Herodias was “put up to it by her mother” (προβιβασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς, Matt 14:8). This may represent Matthew’s best effort within the basic constraints of the tradition to make Herodias more like Jezebel. Some (mostly older) commentators, reading the prepositional prefix in προβιβάζω in a temporal sense, interpreted the participle as an indication of some instruction on the part of Herodias prior to the banquet—in other words, as meaning that Herodias had engineered the entire sequence of events from the very beginning.²³ The KJV reads “being before instructed.” The more recent consensus (supported by a handful of LXX occurrences of the verb, which is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament) is that προβιβάζω denotes instruction or prompting, but without the strong temporal force that was read into the prefix προ- in older commentaries.²⁴ In other words, it is possible (though in my view, not likely) that in Matthew, Herodias’ instruction was on the spur of the moment, and not the tip of a larger conspiratorial iceberg. The very least that must be said is that when the role of Herodias in Matt 14:8 is compared to Mark 6:24, it is clear that Matthew has accentuated the role of Herodias beyond what is allowed in Mark, where Herodias simply speaks (ἡ δὲ εἶπεν). In Matthew, if there is not an outright conspiracy, there is at least some premeditation of John’s demise. Like Jezebel, who recruits false witnesses, Matthew’s Herodias is in control of the situation and of her daughter, while Mark’s Herodias simply reacts to a welcome but unforeseen opportunity to kill

22. Brodie, “Accusing and Stoning of Naboth,” 421. See also Allison, *The New Moses*, 1–8. Along these lines, Gnlika (“Martyrium,” 87–88) notes that the death of John (in Mark) is best explained in terms of “einer bunten Verflechtung mannigfaltiger Motive.” Any attempt to discuss the OT background of the pericope (in Mark or Matthew) should account for a plurality of valid approaches.

23. Wolfgang Trilling, “Die Täufertradition bei Matthäus,” *BZ* 3 (1959): 271–89 (273); Floyd V. Filson, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (HNTC; New York: Harper, 1960), 169; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus: nachgelassene Ausarbeitungen und Entwürfe zur Übersetzung und Erklärung von Ernst Lohmeyer* (ed. Werner Schmauch; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 256, for whom the participle indicates “ein abgekartetes Spiel zwischen Mutter und Tochter.” Gaechter, *Matthäus*, 473, also allows for a prior plot.

24. For example, Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 164. See also BAGD, 866.

John. Matthew's subtle adjustments of the tradition strike an exceedingly fine balance. Matthew downplays the long-standing grudge of Herodias, even as he highlights her manipulation of the banquet scene. In other words, with respect to the depiction of Herodias per se, Matthew's handling of Herodias cuts both ways, something that is hard to explain if he is being guided simply by an interest in shifting the overall characterization of Herodias in one direction or the other. On the other hand, if Matthew is trying to conform Herodias to the particular role that Jezebel plays in 1 Kings 21, then the changes I have observed here make perfect sense.

5. Matthew concludes the pericope by saying that John's disciples reported John's death to Jesus after burying his body (Matt 14:12), an event that is not related in Mark, where the pericope ends with the burial. This verse has been interpreted in various ways: as a rather free adaptation of Mark 6:30 ("The apostles gathered around Jesus, and told him all that they had done and taught"), as an indication that John's disciples joined Jesus after their master's death, or as Matthew's way of regaining his literary composure following the non sequitur of Matt 14:3-11.²⁵ What has generally been overlooked is the fact that Matt 14:12 improves the correspondence of the story of John's death to 1 Kings 21. Of course, Naboth was not a prophet and did not have disciples, but the repeated reporting of his death not only to Elijah (1 Kgs 21:17) but to Ahab and Jezebel as well (1 Kgs 21:14, 16) is an important element of the story in 1 Kings 21. Matthew has reshaped the ending of the story, perhaps drawing on Mark 6:30, to match this important feature of 1 Kings 21.

This last point leads me back to a question that has so far been left unresolved: what ever happened to Elijah, that is, to the marginal, off-stage Elijah of 1 Kings 21? In 1 Kings 21, Elijah does not come on the stage until after the drama of Naboth's death has played out, in the sixth and final scene of the story.²⁶ When he does appear, it is not as the unfortunate victim of the royal conspiracy, but as the first outside recipient of the news of Naboth's death. In other words, Elijah plays the role that is played by Jesus in Matt 14:12. In my initial realignment Matthew 14 and 1 Kings 21 in Figure 2 above, Elijah was the odd man out. We can now redraw the relationship between the two texts as follows:

25. Beare, *Matthew*, 325; Gundry, *Matthew*, 289; Filson, *Matthew*, 170; Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1992), 375; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:475; Trilling, "Täufertradition," 272.

26. Following the division of the text by Rofé, "Vineyard of Naboth," 93-94.

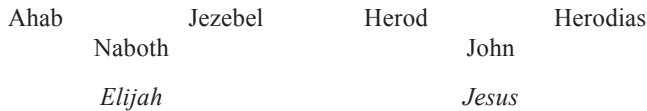


Figure 4. *The Correspondence of Elijah and Jesus*

This cuts against the instinct of many interpreters from Jerome onward to identify John and Elijah, an instinct that is based on the prevalence of this identification elsewhere in the New Testament Gospels. But John does not have a monopoly on Elijanic identity in the Gospels—there is also an extensive program of portraying Jesus in light of expectations of the return of Elijah mentioned in Mal 4:5-6.²⁷ In fact, Matthew puts the story of John's death at the beginning of a portion of the Gospel in which Jesus is portrayed as a miracle-working prophet after the pattern of Elijah and Elisha (Matt 13:53–16:20). Moreover, the story of John's death comes immediately after Jesus has identified himself—not John—as the rejected prophet (Matt 13:57). A number of commentators have explained the death of John as an illustration of Jesus' saying in Matt 13:57: "Only in his hometown and in his own house is a prophet without

27. The question of Matthew's representation of Jesus as one of the biblical prophets has inspired numerous analyses, including Jesus as Moses (Allison, *The New Moses*), Jesus first as Elijah, then as Messiah (Robert Alan Hammer, "Elijah and Jesus: A Quest for Identity," *Judaism* 19 [1970]: 207–18), Jesus as Elisha (Raymond E. Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," *Perspective: A Journal of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary* 12 [1971]: 85–104), Jesus as Jeremiah (David J. Zucker, "Jesus and Jeremiah in the Matthean tradition," *JES* 27, no. 2 [1990]: 288–305; and Michael Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthean Redaction* [JSNTSup 68; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993]), and Jesus as Elijah–Elisha, considered as a unity (Philippe Guillaume, "Miracles Miraculously Repeated: Gospel Miracles as Duplication of Elijah–Elisha's," *BN* 98 [1999]: 21–23). In addition, there are the matter of Elijah's portrayal in 1 Kings as the prophet like Moses (Allison, *The New Moses*, 39–45), whether John exhausts the expectation of Malachi (see Hammer, "Elijah and Jesus," 209; Öhler, "Expectation," 468), and what is to be made of the popular conception that Jesus was either John or Elijah *redivivus* (Matt 14:1-2; Mark 6:14-16). There is also the important matter of characterizing the state of Elijah-expectation in first-century Judaism (see Richard A. Horsely, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 [1985]: 435–63; Morris M. Faierstein, "Why Do the Scribes Say That Elijah Must Come First?," *JBL* 100 [1981]: 75–86; J. A. T. Robinson, "Elijah, John and Jesus: An Essay in Detection," *NTS* 4 [1958]: 263–81; Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* [JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991], Chapter 9; Öhler, *Elia*; Tilly, *Johannes*).

honor.”²⁸ The point of Jesus’ statement of the axiom is not to say what happens to prophets, but to assert that he himself is a prophet. Jesus is answering the questions that are raised about his miraculous powers in Matt 13:54-56. The death of John, in other words, is immediately preceded not by the question “What happens to prophets?,” but “Who is Jesus?” My argument in this essay is that the point of Matt 14:1-12 is not that *John* is Elijah—although this is also true, on other grounds—but that *Jesus* is Elijah.

The chapters immediately following the death of John build to a climax in which Jesus will stand on the mountain of transfiguration with Moses and none other than Elijah (Matt 17:1-13). By that point in the Gospel there is every indication that Jesus is standing with the two biblical giants whose offices he embodies in himself.²⁹ The story of the transfiguration ends with Jesus stating the dual focus of Elijanic identity in the Gospel, referring not only to himself but to the death of John: “Elijah is indeed coming and will restore all things; but I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they did not recognize him, but they did to him whatever they pleased. So also the Son of Man is about to suffer at their hands” (Matt 17:11-12).

What falls between the death of John and the transfiguration is a series of events patterned on the biblical stories about Elijah. In other words, the death of John, far from bringing an end to the Elijanic focus of the Gospel, ushers in a spectacular manifestation of Elijanic wonders. Jesus multiplies food twice (Matt 14:19 and 15:35-36; see 1 Kgs 17:14-16), withdraws to a mountain by himself (Matt 14:23; see 1 Kgs 19:8),³⁰

28. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:471; Wink, *John the Baptist*, 27–28; Yamasaki, *John the Baptist*, 129–30.

29. P. Dabek (“Siehe, Es Erschienen Moses und Elias,” *Bib* 23 [1942]: 175–89) explains the transfiguration in similar terms, except he locates the focus on Moses in Matthew and on Elijah in Luke. My argument is that this understanding of the transfiguration can be sustained entirely based on Matthew.

30. Following Lamar Cope’s analysis of the grammar of Matt 14:13, Jesus withdrew in response to the news that Herod thought Jesus was John the Baptist *redivivus* (Matt 14:2), and not when he heard that John had been killed (Matt 14:12); “The Death of John the Baptist in the Gospel of Matthew: Or, the Case of the Confusing Conjunction,” *CBQ* 38 (1976): 515–19. See also Stephanie L. Black, *Sentence Conjugations in the Gospel of Matthew: καί, δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν, and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse* (JSNTSup 216; SNTG 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 269–70. If the latter view is adopted, then Matthew has “buttoned his jacket to his waistcoat” (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:107, following G. M. Styler), and there is an irresolvable discontinuity, an anachronism (van Bruggen, *Mattheüs*, 275) in Matthew’s narrative. Cope’s solution grants Matthew the benefit of the doubt and maintains the flow of the narrative—though Terence L. Donaldson (“For Herod

works miracles through his cloak (Matt 14:36; see 2 Kgs 2:13-14), and heals the child of a woman from the region of Tyre and Sidon—that is, near ancient Zarephath (Matt 15:21-28; see 1 Kgs 17:22). Moreover, there are several incidents in the section that bear a likeness to the life of Elijah's successor and alter ego, Elisha.³¹ Jesus multiplies bread (see 2 Kgs 4:1-7, 42-44), twice speaks about food and contamination (Matt 15:10; 16:11; see 2 Kgs 4:41), causes the blind to see (Matt 15:31; see 2 Kgs 6:20), and causes a heavy object to float on water—not an iron axe (2 Kgs 6:6-7), but a “rock,” Peter (Matt 15:31)! This particular concentration of allusions to 1 and 2 Kings in Matthew between the death of John and the transfiguration is buttressed by additional allusions elsewhere in Matthew. Jesus is fed by angels in the wilderness (Matt 4:11; see 1 Kgs 19:5-8). Like Elijah, Jesus (but sadly, not John) is able to evade his royal antagonists (Matt 4:12; 14:13; 1 Kgs 19:3). Like Elijah, Jesus has disciples, and he tells them not to accept payment for healing lepers (among others), just as Elisha refused payment from the leper Naaman (Matt 10:7-8; see 2 Kgs 5:16). The dead were raised by proximity to the corpses of both Elisha and Jesus (2 Kgs 13:21; Matt 27:50-53; see also Sir 48:13-14).³²

Had Arrested John' [Matt. 14:3]: Making Sense of an Unresolved Flashback,” *SR* 28 [1999]: 35–48 [47 n. 1]) disagrees and accepts the discontinuity, along with a majority of commentators. Subsequently, if we regard the feeding of crowds (Matt 14:13b-21) as interrupting Jesus' flight from Herod (cf. Matt 4:12), then we may consider the mountain he ascends in Matt 14:23 as the destination of his flight. If this is the case, then this may constitute an allusion to Elijah's flight from Ahab to Horeb. This would explain and give theological and redactional significance to a mountain-episode in a gospel in which mountains are prominent and a “deliberate motif,” but which episode has been dismissed as having “no apparent redactional interest,” according to Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology* (JSNTSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 12. Admittedly, Elijah did not flee from Ahab after the murder of Naboth. On the contrary, he confronted him. In either case, Jesus' evasion of Herod recalls the pattern of Elijah evading Ahab by fleeing to a mountain.

31. Brown (“Jesus and Elisha,” 89) takes the identification of Jesus with Elisha as evidence that he is not to be identified with Elijah. John is Elijah, and Jesus is Elisha, his successor. He notes “how much closer is [the career of Jesus] to the Elisha pattern than to the Elijah pattern.” I maintain that in this section of Matthew, the miracles of Elijah and Elisha are taken as two phases of a single prophetic career (see 2 Kgs 2:9-15) that is then recapitulated by Jesus. In Luke 4:25-27—a text that is parallel to Matt 13:57, which begins the section in view here—Jesus mentions Elijah and Elisha in the same breath.

32. See Guillaume, “Miracles,” 21–23; Hammer, “Elijah and Jesus,” 210–14; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:480; Öhler, “Expectation,” 464, 467; Brown, “Jesus

To summarize, the proposed realignment of the relationship between Matthew 14 and 1 Kings 21 suggests that the story of John's death in Matthew 14 shifts Elijanic identity from John (see Matt 11:7-15) to Jesus at a pivotal point in the Gospel: as John passes from the scene, Jesus embarks on a series of miracles that recapitulate the careers of Elijah and Elisha, ultimately appearing with Elijah in the transfiguration and then stating the fulfillment of Elijanic expectation in a way that includes not only John but also himself (Matt 17:11-13).

Finally, this construal of the significance of Matt 14:1-12 serves to explain the placement of the pericope as something other than a blunder. A number of commentators regard Matt 4:3-12 as a literary infelicity, a parenthetical, analeptic report of inadvertently omitted background material, without which Matt 14:1-2 does not make sense, and from which an absent-minded Evangelist must clumsily recover in Matt 14:13.³³ By dissociating John and Elijah, and then realigning John with Naboth and Elijah with Jesus, it is possible to understand the pericope as fulfilling a crucial function exactly where it is in the Gospel: it represents the passing of the mantle of Elijah from John to Jesus.

and Elijah," 95; Barnabas Lindars, "Elijah, Elisha, and the Gospel Miracles," in *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in Their Philosophy and History* (ed. C. F. D. Moule; London: Mowbray, 1965), 63-79; Dabeck, "Moses und Elias."

33. What is not clear in this view is the chronological antecedent of Matt 14:13. Does it resume the narrative left off in Matt 14:2, or does it follow immediately on the heels of Matt 14:12? Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:107, 2:474; Donaldson, "Unresolved Flashback," 35-37; Beare, *Matthew*, 323; Trilling, "Täufertradition," 272; and Yamasaki, *John the Baptist*, 132, who identifies the pericope as "one of only two passages [the other is Matt 3:1-10, the beginning of John's ministry] in which Jesus does not appear and is not even mentioned...its contribution to the narrative is not to be found at the story level." Yamasaki interprets the death of John as primarily a foreshadowing of Jesus' death, which I hold to be a correct but incomplete analysis. As Yamasaki admits in the passage cited here, the foreshadowing function of the story does not explain its placement in the Gospel.

6

JESUS AS A NAZIRITE IN MARK 14:25 PAR., AND JOSEPH'S REUNION MEAL IN JUDAIC TRADITION*

Roger D. Aus

Introduction

Mark 14:25 has Jesus state after the “words of institution” in vv. 22-24: “Truly I tell you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God” (NRSV). This is the Greek: ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.¹ The earliest commentator on the verse is the Evangelist Matthew. In Matt 26:29 he omits ἀμὴν at the beginning; smooths over Mark’s

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1. I see no reason to question the text found NA²⁸, 163–64. Maurice Casey proposes an originally plural Aramaic form, “we shall not drink again.” He bases it on what he considers the most Semitic of the MSS: D (Θ, 565) a f (*Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel* [SNTSMS 102; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 220, 242), which he prefers. In his magisterial study *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 183, Joachim Jeremias accepted Matthew Black’s assertion in this regard that “semitizing variants in the text of the gospels may go back to ‘extra-canonical versions’ of the words of Jesus. In other words, the variants of D Θ al in Mark 14.25 stem from oral tradition.” He considers the three variant traditions with their respective translations to be equivalent to each other. Yet the reading of the Nestle-Aland text appears to be better attested, therefore I prefer it. It should be noted that Jeremias allowed for the serious possibility of Jesus’ speaking the solemn words of 14:22-25 not in Aramaic, but in Hebrew (198). The term Ἀμὴν in v. 25 is the Hebrew אָמֵן. See BDB, 53, and Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005, repr. of New York, 1943), 77. In addition, see Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 238. “The fruit of the vine” (פֵּרִי הַגֶּפֶן) is also a standard liturgical expression in Hebrew. On these, see below.

“barbaric”² οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ into οὐ μὴ ἀπ’ ἄρτι; adds μεθ’ ὑμῶν (“with you [disciples]”); and modifies “in the kingdom of ‘God’” (τοῦ θεοῦ) to that of “my Father” (τοῦ πατρός μου). The Evangelist Luke, probably following a special tradition at this point, transfers the saying to the word over the cup. In contrast to the other Synoptics, he has it precede that over the bread: “for I tell you that from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes” (22:18). The Fourth Evangelist has nothing at this point.

One can appropriately refer to Mark 14:25 as “ce logion énigmatique.”³ Ernst Lohmeyer spoke of it as “des kühnen Wortes vom ‘Neutrinken,’”⁴ while Heinrich Vogels emphasized “die Wucht, den Trost und das Hochgefühl des Wortes.”⁵ Scholarly opinion differs greatly as to whether the saying in v. 25 belongs to the preceding vv. 22-24, or, originally independent, was later added to them.⁶ Most commentators trace it back to Jesus. Julius Wellhausen, for example, considered it to make “einen sehr altertümlichen Eindruck.”⁷ Others consider the saying of v. 25 to have been spoken by an early Palestinian Jewish Christian in Jesus’ name, just as some logia in the sayings source “Q” were later

2. Cf. Pierre Benoit, “Le Récit de la Cène dans Lu. XXII, 15-20,” *RevBib* 48 (1939): 373–93 (379).

3. Cf. the monograph on the pericope by Paul Lebeau, *Le vin nouveau du royaume. Étude exégétique et patristique sur la Parole eschatologique de Jésus à la Cène* (Paris: Desclée de Brouver, 1966), 9. As noted in the title, Lebeau also deals with the interpretations of early church fathers, as does Heinrich Vogels in part in “Mk 14,25 und Parallelen,” in *Vom Wort des Lebens* (Festschrift Max Meinertz; ed. Nikolaus Adler; NTAh 1; Münster: Aschendorff, 1951), 93–104.

4. Cf. his *Das Evangelium des Markus* (Meyers 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 304.

5. Cf. his “Mk 14,25 und Parallelen,” 94.

6. On the latter, cf. the commentators listed in the monograph of George Ossom-Batsa, *The Institution of the Eucharist in the Gospel of Mark: A Study of the Function of Mark 14,22-25 within the Gospel Narrative* (European University Studies 23, Theology 727; Frankfurt: Lang, 2001), 144 n. 130, as well as Lebeau, *Le vin nouveau*, 90–91. Bruce Chilton in *A Feast of Meanings: Eucharistic Theologies from Jesus Through Johannine Circles* (NovTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 43–44, states: “Matthew 26:29; Mark 14:25 represents a statement Jesus might have made during any celebration of mealtime fellowship in celebration of God’s kingdom. Ordering them into a ‘last supper’ is an artificial development which imputes to the words an altogether different meaning.” He then proposes an Aramaic version of the saying. Joachim Jeremias, in *The Eucharistic Words*, 100, considers the words of interpretation in 14:22-24 par. to be the “earliest part of the accounts of the Lord’s Supper,” but v. 25 to be “early tradition” (apparently for him historical, yet from elsewhere).

7. Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909), 118.

modified and some newly created. Barry Crawford, for example, maintains that a Christian prophet, who conducted the liturgy at the Lord's Supper, spoke not only the words of institution but also "the eschatological benediction at the close of the meal," v. 25.⁸ Rudolf Bultmann believed that 14:25 was the fragment of an original account which was displaced by vv. 22-25; the present unit was "the cult legend of the Hellenistic circles around Paul."⁹ At least in regard to v. 25 this is extremely improbable, for the verse is almost completely composed of Semitisms, betraying an Aramaic or Hebrew origin.¹⁰ John Donahue and Daniel Harrington with understatement write in regard to the unit 14:22-25, "Historical reconstruction of this section is immensely complex..."¹¹ Walter Schmithals also notes concerning the history of tradition of v. 25, which "of course" does not belong to the words of institution, that it cannot be determined with certainty and must therefore remain an open question.¹² The following study makes a concrete proposal in regard to the history of tradition of Mark 14:25. Since it deals primarily with Judaic development of the Joseph narrative, that will first be sketched.

I. The Popularity of the Joseph Narrative

The story of Joseph is found in Genesis 37 and 39–50 and is thus one of the longest in the Bible. From earliest times up to Thomas Mann's four-part novel *Joseph and His Brothers* and Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical "Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat," the narrative has moved the hearts of countless hearers and readers. Max Seligsohn correctly notes that "Joseph occupies a very important place in the

8. Barry Crawford, "Near Expectation in the Sayings of Jesus," *JBL* 101 (1982): 225–44 (240). He cites *Did.* 10:7, "But let the prophets hold Eucharist as often as they want." See also the prophets (pl.) in the early Jerusalem Christian community (Acts 11:27-28 and 21:10-11); prophets in the church at Antioch (13:1); Judas and Silas, prophets from Jerusalem in Antioch (15:32); Paul's emphasis on prophecy as a spiritual gift given to some (1 Cor 12:10); his mentioning them right after apostles in 12:28; his encouraging two or three prophets to speak in a worship service in 14:29; and the fact that the author of the book of Revelation, John, speaks various messages as a prophet (1:3) in the name of Jesus to the seven churches of Asia Minor.

9. Cf. his *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 265.

10. Jeremias analyzes these in *The Eucharistic Words*, 182–84.

11. John Donahue and Daniel Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (Sacra Pagina 2; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 2002), 398.

12. Walter Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus. Kapitel 9,2-16* (ÖTKNT 2/2; Gütersloh: Mohn; Würzburg: Echter, 1979), 624–25

Haggadah, and no patriarch was the subject of so many Midrashic legends.”¹³ In sura twelve of the Koran, Mohammed retells the Joseph story, “the best of narratives.”¹⁴ Elsewhere I have proposed that Jesus himself appropriated several motifs from the Joseph narrative as a partial background to his parable of the prodigal son.¹⁵

The Septuagint already makes numerous changes in the Joseph narrative,¹⁶ the Pentateuch probably having been translated in Alexandria by the middle of the third century BCE.¹⁷ *Jubilees*, originally written by a Palestinian Jew in Hebrew somewhere around 150 BCE,¹⁸ retells the Joseph story in 34–46 with many major changes and additions.¹⁹ In his tractate “On Joseph,” Jesus’ contemporary Philo of Alexandria acknowledges in 151 and 160 that he is in part dependent here on earlier commentators.²⁰ Josephus, of priestly background and a native of Jerusalem with Aramaic as his mother tongue, retold the Joseph narrative at the end

13. Max Seligsohn “Joseph, In Rabbinical Literature,” *JE* 7 (1904): 248–51, here p. 248. See also Moses Aberbach, “Joseph, In the Aggadah,” *EJ* 11 (2007): 410–11, and Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1920/1969), 2:1–184, with the relevant notes in 5:324–77. I am indebted to Ginzberg for a number of sources I cite. “Haggadah” or “aggadah” is non-legal material, often simply the embellishment of something already present, just as the biblical books of Chronicles already supplemented 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. I provide an extensive definition of the term, with concrete examples from the Gospels, in my *The Death, Burial, and Resurrection of Jesus, and the Death, Burial, and Translation of Moses in Judaic Tradition* (Studies in Judaism; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2008), 283–300, including discussion of the relationship of haggadah to the questions of historicity and truth in the Gospels.

14. See 12:3 in Mohammed Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: Mentor, 1953), 174.

15. Cf. my “Die Rückkehr des verlorenen Sohnes. Motive aus der jüdischen Josefsüberlieferung in Lukas 15,11–32,” in *Weihnachtsgeschichte, Barmherziger Samariter, Verlorener Sohn: Studien zu ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund* (ANTZ 2; Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1988), 126–73.

16. I list six examples in “Die Rückkehr des verlorenen Sohnes,” 126 n. 3.

17. Cf. J. Wewers, “Septuagint,” *IDB* 4 (1962): 273.

18. Cf. O. Wintermute in *OTP* 2:43–45, and George Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 73–74.

19. The text is in *OTP* 2:121–37. One example is the day of the brothers’ selling Joseph becoming an annual occasion of mourning on the tenth day of the seventh month (the Day of Atonement): 34:18 (*OTP* 2:121).

20. Erwin Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 2, dates him from about 25 BCE to 45–50 CE. I employ the Loeb Classical Library (LCL) editions of Philo and Josephus.

of the first century CE, with many haggadic changes, in *Ant.* 2.7-200 (2.1–8.1).²¹ In 2.9 he mentions Joseph's handsomeness, but also his "virtuous qualities of soul, for he was endowed with exceptional understanding." Indeed, he was "a man of admirable virtue" (2.198). The eleventh of the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" is the "Testament of Joseph." After removing several Christian interpolations, one encounters a writing which also reflects numerous haggadic expansions. Probably written originally in Greek, possibly in Egypt, its date is highly contested.²² Finally, the romance *Joseph and Aseneth* was composed in Greek in Egypt, sometime between 100 BCE and 117 CE.²³

All of the above writings, at least the first four definitely early, show how popular the Joseph narrative was. One example from a Tannaitic source also shows the high estimation in which Joseph was held in Palestinian Judaism. *Mek. R. Ish.* Beshallah 1 on Exod 13:19 maintains that Joseph was not only greater than all his brothers. Moses, "than whom no one in Israel was greater," "busied himself with the bones of Joseph, than whom no one was greater." While being carried back to Palestine, Joseph's "coffin went alongside of the ark of the Eternal." The Israelites informed the nations who inquired whose body was in the coffin: "The one lying in this coffin has fulfilled [all] that which is written on what lies in that ark [the Ten Commandments]." ²⁴

21. Cf. *Bell.* 1.3, and *Ant.* 20.268 for the completion of the *Antiquities* ca. 93/94 CE.

22. Cf. Howard Kee in *OTP* 1:778 for ca. 150 BCE, who favors Syria as its provenance. The text is found in 1:819-25. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 315, also favors Greek as the original language, but dates the "Testaments" somewhat before 200 CE. In my opinion, he falsely considers them to be of Christian origin. His description of the "Testament of Joseph" as depicting "the patriarch as a *righteous* man, persecuted but delivered, rewarded and exalted" (312), is well taken. See below, p. 69.

23. Cf. Christoph Burchard in *OTP* 2:181 and 187. The text is found at 2:202–47. Joseph as "a / the son of God" in 6:3(6), 5(2); 13:13(10); 18:11; 21:4(3), 20; 23:11, as well as the cup labeled "a blessed cup of immortality" (8:5; 15:5[4]; 16:16) and "a cup of blessing" (8:9[11]), show how Christians could compare aspects of the Joseph narrative to Jesus, considered to be the Son of God, who himself at the Last Supper employed a cup for a special interpretation. "The History of Joseph," *OTP* 2:467–75, is irrelevant to my proposal below, and the section on Joseph in *Pseudo-Philo* 8:9-14 is unfortunately very short and betrays no haggadic material.

24. Lauterbach, 1:178–79. "Coffin" and "Ark" are the same in Hebrew (אָרֶץ). A parallel tradition is found in *m. Soṭah* 1:9 (Albeck 3:236; Danby 294; Neusner 449). Gudrun Holtz, "Rabbinische Literatur und Neues Testament. Alte Schwierigkeiten und neue Möglichkeiten," *ZNW* 100 (2009): 173–98, cites a number of good reasons for students of the New Testament to take rabbinic sources more seriously than they have in the past.

II. Analogies Between Jesus and Joseph

The earliest Palestinian Jewish Christians could easily have made analogies between Jesus and Joseph, especially in regard to the pattern of the humiliation/persecution of a righteous person, who was then exalted. This is one major reason for my proposal that the saying in Mark 14:25 derives from early Palestinian Judaic tradition on Joseph. The following terms and motifs are analogous between Jesus and Joseph.

1. “The Righteous One”

a. *Jesus*. He is labeled “the Righteous One” (ὁ δίκαιος) in Acts 3:14; 7:52; and 22:14.

b. *Joseph*. Already in Wis 10:13, Joseph is called “a righteous man” (δίκαιος).²⁵ In *b. Ket.* 111a²⁶ Joseph is labeled “completely ‘righteous’ (צדיק).” The Tannaitic *Sifre* Haʿazinu 334 on Deut 32:44 states that he remained righteous from the time he was a youthful shepherd until his activity as viceroy in Egypt.²⁷ In addition, *ʿAvot R. Nat.* A 16 says that “For out of prison he came forth to be king” (Eccl 4:14) refers to Joseph, “the righteous one” (הצדיק).²⁸

25. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 211–12, maintains it was written in Egypt (in Greek), perhaps in “the first decades of the Common Era.”

26. Soncino 718.

27. Finkelstein 384; Eng. Hammer 344. In *ʿEqeb* 38 on Deut 11:10 he is one of the righteous (Finkelstein 75; Eng. Hammer 75). See already *Jub.* 40:8, where Joseph both walked and ruled “uprightly” (*OTP* 2:130).

28. Becker 164–65; Schechter 63; Eng. Goldin 83–84. Cf. also *b. Yoma* 35b (Soncino 164); *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 93/7 on Gen 44:18 (Theodor and Albeck 1161; Soncino 2:863), and 95/4 on Gen 47:2 (Theodor and Albeck 1190; Soncino 2:883). In *Mek. R. Ish.* Beshallah 6 on Exod 14:22 (Lauterbach 1:235), R. Tarfon, a second-generation Tanna (see H. Strack and G. Stemmerger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 80), states that Joseph is one of the “righteous.” See also “the good and pious man Joseph” in *T. Benj.* 3:1 (*OTP* 1:825). *Targ. Neofiti 1* Gen 49:26 has Joseph as “the pious (חסידה) man” (Díez Macho 1:337; Eng. McNamara 226), as does *Fragment Targum* “P” on the verse (Klein 1:68 and 2:34). On the issue of sayings attributed to specific rabbinic authorities, see the discussion in Martin Jaffee, “Rabbinic Authorship as a Collective Enterprise,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (ed. Martin Jaffee and Charlotte Fonrobert; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 17–37. The attributions in Tannaitic sources, especially if attested in different writings, are more reliable than those in Amoraic sources.

2. *The Holy Spirit Resting on One*

a. *Jesus*. In Mark 1:8 John the Baptist says Jesus “will baptize you with the Holy Spirit.” At his own baptism by John, Jesus saw “the Spirit descending like a dove on him” (v. 10). Matthew 3:16 calls this “the Spirit of God,” and Luke 3:22 “the Holy Spirit.”

b. *Joseph*. Genesis 41:38 has Pharaoh say to his servants regarding Joseph: “Can we find anyone else like this—one in whom is the spirit of God?” *Jubilees* 40:5 modifies this to “the spirit of the Lord,”²⁹ while Philo in *Ios.* 116 also has “the divine spirit,” here differing from “the spirit of God” in the LXX.³⁰

3. *Temptation*

a. *Jesus*. Directly after his baptism, Mark 1:13 par. notes that Jesus was tempted by Satan. In the “Q” expansion of this, Jesus is represented as overcoming three different temptations before the devil left him (Matt 4:11; Luke 4:13).

b. *Joseph*. Genesis 39:7-20 relates how the wife of Potiphar attempts to seduce Joseph, who, however, can resist her advances. This episode is often retold with many haggadic additions, for example in *Jub.* 39:5-11;³¹ Philo, *Ios.* 40-53; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.41-59; and *Gen. Rab.* Vayesheb 87/1-10.³²

4. *False Accusations, and Innocence*

a. *Jesus*. At Jesus’ hearing before the high priest and others, “many gave false testimony against him, and their testimony did not agree. Some stood up and gave false testimony against him, saying...” (Mark 14:56-57 par.). The Gospel writers presented Jesus as innocent of all wrongdoing.

29. Cf. *OTP* 2:130.

30. While the midrash *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer* in its present form is quite late, it often preserves earlier material. In ch. 38 it states: “The Holy Spirit rested on Joseph from his youth until the day of his death” (Eshkol 148; Eng. Friedlander 305; later Gen 41:38 is quoted to mean that “the Holy Spirit rested on him” – p. 306).

31. Cf. *OTP* 2:128-29.

32. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1061–76; Soncino 2:806–13. Joseph’s responding to the temptress by quoting a number of scriptural passages recalls Jesus’ doing the same at his temptation by the accuser / seducer “Satan” (87/10 in Soncino 2:813). See already Ps 105:19 for the Lord’s “testing” Joseph. In *Lev. Rab.* Aḥare Moth 23/10 Joseph (Yosef) is named as one of the three “who fled from transgression and with whom the Holy One, blessed be He, united His name.” This is proved by Ps 81:6, “He appointed it in Joseph [Yehosef] for a testimony” (Mirkin 8:50; Soncino 4:300).

b. *Joseph. Jubilees* 39:10 states that Potiphar's wife "falsely accused [Joseph] before his master..."³³ Philo in *Ios.* 244 and 270 maintains the same, as does Josephus in *Ant.* 2.49 and 54. Wisdom of Solomon 10:14 says that "Those who accused [Joseph] she [wisdom] showed to be false." Joseph's innocence is emphasized in Philo, *Ios.* 52 and 171; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.26 and 68; and *Gen. Rab.* Vayesheb 87/9 on Gen 39:2.³⁴

5. Silence

a. *Jesus.* After being confronted with false testimonies, Jesus was asked by the high priest to respond to them. "But he was silent and did not answer" (Mark 14:61 par.).³⁵

b. *Joseph.* Already in the Genesis account Joseph remains silent at the conclusion of the attempted seduction by Potiphar's wife (39:12 and 18-20). *Jubilees* 39:8 simply notes that "he turned away and refused to listen to her."³⁶ Josephus a bit later in his narrative states that Joseph, "committing his cause entirely to God, sought neither to defend himself nor yet to render a strict account of what had passed, but silently underwent his bonds and confinement..." (*Ant.* 2.60). In 2.50 he had already decided "to suffer unjustly" (παθεῖν ἀδίκως).

6. Abasement

a. *Jesus.* After being arrested in (the Garden of) Gethsemane, Jesus was led away under guard (Mark 14:44) to his "hearing," where he was first mistreated, then beaten by the guards (v. 65), and in the morning led away bound to Pilate (15:1). Later he was flogged (v. 15) and crucified (v. 24).

b. *Joseph.* While Joseph's brothers first wanted to kill him (Gen 37:18-19), they instead threw him into a pit and later sold him to traders, who took him to Egypt. Because of the incident with Potiphar's wife, Joseph was then put into prison (Gen 39:20).³⁷ Psalm 105:18 states of him there: "His feet were hurt with fetters, his neck was put in a collar of iron." Wisdom of Solomon 10:13-14 notes that Joseph was in a dungeon, in

33. Cf. *OTP* 2:129.

34. Theodor and Albeck 1074; Soncino 2:812. The "false accusation" (of Potiphar's wife) is also noted in *T. Jos.* 10:3 (*OTP* 1:821).

35. This is usually considered to reflect Isa 53:7, yet Judaic tradition on Joseph could just as well play a role here.

36. Cf. *OTP* 2:129. See vv. 9-11.

37. Judaic commentators could easily connect the "pit" of Gen 37:20, 22, 24, and 28-29 with the "dungeon" of 40:15 and 41:14, for both are the Hebrew בּוֹר (BDB, 92,3 and 4).

chains. Philo speaks of Joseph's imprisonment in *Ios.* 80 and 247, where he was enchained for years (270). Josephus notes that Potiphar "cast him into the malefactors' prison" (*Ant.* 2.59), where he had to endure bonds/chains (60-61) and fetters (63) for two years (74). The oldest Judaic chronography, *Seder 'Olam*, states that Joseph instead spent twelve years in prison.³⁸

7. Exaltation

a. *Jesus.* Through his being raised by God (Mark 16:1-8 par.), Jesus was considered to have conquered the powers of death. He now sits at the right hand of the Power (= God, 14:62), as also expressed in Acts 2:33-34 and Rom 8:34 in light of Ps 110:1. As the Son, Christ is subject only to God the Father (1 Cor 15:24-28). The Fourth Evangelist makes a wordplay in this respect by employing the same Greek verb (ὑψόω) for Jesus' being "lifted up/raised" to the Cross and his being "exalted": 3:14; 8:28; 12:32 and 34.³⁹

b. *Joseph.* After Joseph was the only one capable of interpreting Pharaoh's two dreams correctly, the latter appointed him not only over his house, but also over the whole land of Egypt. Only in regard to the throne should Pharaoh be greater than he (Gen 41:40-43). *Jubilees* 40:6-8 retells this,⁴⁰ and Wis 10:14 interprets the incident by stating that wisdom "brought him the scepter of a kingdom and authority over those who ruled over him... [Wisdom] gave him everlasting glory." Philo maintains that Joseph had "a universal lordship" (*Ios.* 28).⁴¹ While

38. Cf. Guggenheimer, Chapter 2 on pp. 30-31, where Ps 105:18-19 are also cited. *Jub.* 39:14 (*OTP* 2:129) notes two years, probably dependent on Gen 41:1. The "Testament of Joseph" emphasizes Joseph's being in prison, in bonds, being whipped and sneered at, in chains, and beaten (1:6; 2:3 [Christian interpolation?], 4; 3:1; 8:4-5; 9:1; 13:9; 14:1-2). According to *Exod. Rab.* Bo 18/11 on Exod 12:41 (Mirkin 5:219; Soncino 3:227), Joseph was released from captivity on the fifteenth of Nisan, the first day of Passover. Then his exaltation began.

39. Cf. BAGD 850-51.

40. Cf. *OTP* 2:130. See also 43:19 and 23 (*OTP* 2:134).

41. Cf. *Ios.* 242, where Joseph states that "I have waiting on my will not only the inhabitants of the land, but most of the other nations, whether subject or independent..." On the basis of Gen 41:57, "all the world came to Joseph in Egypt to buy grain," *Pirq. R. El.* 11 maintains that Joseph was the third of ten kings. He ruled "from one end of the world to the other." The ninth king is the King, the Messiah (Ps 72:8 and Dan 2:35). See Eshkol 36-37, and Eng. Friedlander 80 and 83. On Joseph as the righteous one of Israel who "rules over the whole world from one end to the other," see also *Lev. Rab.* Behukkothai 36/2 on Lev 26:4, which quotes Gen 42:6 (Mirkin 8:189; Soncino 4:457).

Pharaoh retained the title “king,” in effect he appointed Joseph “viceroys of the kingdom, or rather, if the truth be said, king..., resigning to him the actual sovereignty” (119).⁴² Josephus speaks of Joseph’s “exalted rank” (*Ant.* 2.97), when he became “governor” of Egypt (111, 140, 155), also described as “lord of Egypt, hardly differing from its king” (174). In fact, Joseph was now robed in (royal) purple (90).⁴³

* * *

The above seven analogies between Jesus and Joseph, especially in early Judaic tradition, show how easily the first Palestinian Jewish Christians could compare their own “Righteous One,” Jesus, to the Righteous One, Joseph. Both underwent severe abasement, but finally were exalted. In light of these major similarities, it is understandable that these early Christians could also employ Joseph’s reunion meal with his brothers in Judaic tradition as a partial background to the reunion meal Jesus speaks of in Mark 14:25.

III. The Messiah Son of Joseph

One other analogy between Jesus and Joseph may have aided them in doing so. The prophet Zechariah had already spoken in 4:14 of “two anointed ones,” who are the royal and the priestly messiahs.⁴⁴ The community of Qumran also had its “anointed ones of Aaron and Israel,” i.e., a priestly and a royal messiah.⁴⁵ It is thus not surprising that later, possibly in the middle of the second century CE, belief in another messiah beyond the son of David, the “Messiah ben Joseph,” arose.⁴⁶

42. Cf. also 157, 163, 166, 242 and 248. In *Joseph and Aseneth* Joseph is king in 4:7; 24:5 (with “savior”); and 29:9, with a diadem. In 5:5 he wears a “purple robe.”

43. The theme of abasement and later exaltation is expressed well in *T. Jos.* 1:4, “Into a cistern they lowered me; the Most High raised me up” (*OTP* 1:819). On Joseph’s “glory,” see 17:8 (*OTP* 1:823), and on God’s “exalting” a righteous person, see 18:1 (*ibid.*). See also *T. Benj.* 5:4, “Even for a brief time he may be humbled, later he will appear far more illustrious, as happened with Joseph, my brother” (*OTP* 1:826).

44. Cf. also 6:11-13.

45. Cf. the discussion in John Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).

46. Cf. especially Str-B 2.292-99 on “Der sterbende Messias ben Joseph,” but also Moses Bittenwieser, “Messiah ben Joseph,” *JE* 8 (1904): 511-12. The latter states: “When and how this Messiah-conception originated is a question that has not yet been answered satisfactorily” (p. 512). This, unfortunately, is still true. See also

The Tannaitic *Sifre* Vezot ha-Berakhah 353 on Deut 33:16 states for example: “‘Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph’—he was the first to come to Egypt, and he will come first in the time to come. ‘And upon the crown of the head of him who is prince [*nezir*] among his brothers’—upon him who was removed far away by his brothers and made a Nazirite [*nazir*].”⁴⁷ The usually reticent *Targum Onqelos* indicates here that this coming figure is the Messiah ben Joseph.⁴⁸ The late midrash *Bereshit Rabbati* on Gen 49:26 also cites Deut 33:16, explicitly identifying the figure as the Messiah ben Joseph who will come before the Messiah ben David. Then it adds that Joseph will not drink wine for twenty-two years, i.e., until he is reunited with his brothers.⁴⁹

In *b. Sukk.* 52a, R. Dosa, a fourth-generation Tanna,⁵⁰ maintains that the mourning mentioned in Zech 12:12 is due to “the slaying of Messiah the son of Joseph.”⁵¹ In 52b “the Messiah the son of David, the Messiah

Gerald Blidstein, “Messiah in Rabbinic Thought,” *EJ* 14 (2007): 112. The death of the militant messianic figure Bar Kochba when fighting the Romans in 135 CE may have provided the basis for this belief. Israel Knohl, a professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, maintains that a stone with an apocalyptic text written in Hebrew on it, the “Vision of Gabriel,” dated at the end of the first century BCE or beginning of the first century CE, shows that Ephraim / the Messiah ben Joseph was a messianic figure already then. See his “‘By Three Days, Live’: Messiahs, Resurrection, and Ascent to Heaven in *Hazon Gabriel*,” *JR* 88 (2008): 147–58, as well as “The Messiah Son of Joseph: ‘Gabriel’s Revelation’ and the Birth of a New Messianic Model,” *BAR* 34 (2008): 58–62, 78, and “On ‘the Son of God,’ Armilus, and Messiah Son of Joseph,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1998): 13–38. In the meantime Knohl has in part modified his views, based on better readings of the text. For a convincing critique of his major theses, see especially John J. Collins, “Gabriel and David. Some Reflections on an Enigmatic Text,” in *Hazon Gabriel: New Readings of the Gabriel Revelation* (ed. Matthias Henze; Early Judaism and its Literature 29; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 99–112. The text with an English translation is offered in three different chapters.

47. Finkelstein 414; I modify Hammer’s translation somewhat (369).

48. Cf. Sperber 1:351; Eng. Grossfeld 108, with n. 46. His military activity is based primarily on 33:17. An example is *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 75/6 on Gen 32:6 (Theodor and Albeck 892–93; Soncino 2:698), where “the Rabbis” maintain that the “ox” of the verse is the one anointed for war, as in Deut 33:17, and the “ass” is the King, the Messiah, as in Zech 9:9.

49. Albeck 252. The minor difference in phrasing between Gen 46:26 and Deut 33:16 in this respect is commented on in *Gen. Rab.* Vayehi 98/20 on Gen 46:26, where the wine abstinence haggadah on Joseph is also related (Theodor and Albeck 1271; Soncino 2:970–71).

50. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 87.

51. Soncino 246. This is then buttressed by Zech 12:10, alluded to in Matt 24:20, and quoted in John 19:37 of Jesus’ death on the Cross.

the son of Joseph, Elijah and the Righteous Priest” are interpreted to be the “four craftsmen” of Zech 2:5.⁵² The Messiah ben Joseph is to fight the final or eschatological war and to perish while doing so. This prepares the way for the coming of the Messiah ben David.⁵³

While the figure of the Messiah ben Joseph can now only be traced back with relative certainty to the middle of the second century CE, its development within Palestinian Judaism shows that Jewish Christians there could also have thought in a similar way at a much earlier time. This was another possible reason for their making their Messiah Jesus, the son of Joseph, analogous to the biblical figure of Joseph in Judaic tradition.

IV. Joseph’s Reunion Meal with His Brothers

1. *A Very Early Reunion Meal with Wine*

The only reunion meal related in the Joseph narrative is found in Gen 43:16-34, on the occasion of Joseph’s brothers coming a second time from Canaan to Egypt to purchase grain. *Jubilees* 42:22-24 describes this “banquet.” Yet already in the second century BCE it also mentions a second, non-biblical meal when Jacob moves to Egypt and settles with his family in Goshen, and he and his other (eleven) sons eat and drink wine with Joseph (45:5).⁵⁴ This shows very early additional haggadic emphasis on a reunion meal coupled with wine within the parameters of the Joseph narrative.

2. *A Banquet with Wine Just Before Joseph is Sold to Egypt*

Before analyzing the reunion meal of Joseph and his brothers in Gen 43:16-34 and its relevance to Mark 14:25, it should be noted that Palestinian Judaic tradition described the meal taken by the brothers just after selling Joseph also as a formal banquet, with their reclining and drinking wine.

Except for Reuben (Gen 37:29) and Joseph’s stay-at-home little full brother Benjamin,⁵⁵ all the others stripped him of his special robe and

52. Soncino 251.

53. Cf. again the many texts cited in Str-B 2:292–99. I agree with Paul Billerbeck that it is improbable that Palestinian Judaism would model its suffering and dying messiah on the Gospel accounts of Jesus’ death (294).

54. Cf. *OTP* 2:136. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.166, also notes at this point: “Then they resorted to festivity.”

55. The last of Jacob’s twelve sons, only he was also a child of Rachel, who died at his birth (Gen 35:18-19). The others were half-brothers. For his not being present when the other brothers threw Joseph into the pit and later sold him, cf. *Sifre*

threw him into a pit (vv. 23-24). Before they sold Joseph to Ishmaelite/Midianite traders (v. 28), “they sat down to eat bread” (v. 25). The Hebrew of “And they sat down” is וַיֵּשְׁבוּ. Tannaitic tradition connected this “sitting down” with that in Exod 32:6.⁵⁶ When the Israelites no longer reckoned with Moses’ return from Mount Sinai, they made a “festival” (v. 5), meaning: “and the people ‘sat down’ (וַיֵּשְׁבוּ) to eat and drink, and rose up to revel” (v. 6). The term “to revel” (צַחֵק) is interpreted by R. Akiba, a third generation Tanna,⁵⁷ as immorality/licentiousness.⁵⁸ Certainly for this reason Judaic tradition added to the expression “they sat down to eat” in Gen 37:25, “and to drink.” *Tanḥuma* Ki Thissa 2 on Exod 30:12, for example, states regarding Joseph’s brothers: “They hurled him into the pit and said: ‘Let us eat and drink, and then we will lift him out and kill him.’” Judah then reprimanded them for wanting to say grace after they had eaten and drunk.⁵⁹ *Pesiqta Rabbati* 10/13 notes that the brothers on this occasion were “reclining” (as at a Greco-Roman banquet).⁶⁰ Even the usually reticent and literal *Targum Onqelos* on Gen 37:25 states: “And they reclined to eat bread...”⁶¹ Although the brothers’

Ha’azinu 352 on Deut 33:12 (Finkelstein 413; Eng. Hammer 366); *Mek. R. Ish.* Baḥodesh 4 on Exod 19:18 (Lauterbach 2:222); and *Tanḥ.* B Vayyigash 11 on Gen 44:18 (Buber 206; Eng. Townsend 275–76).

56. Cf. *Sifre* Balak 131 on Num 25:1 (Horovitz 168; German in Kuhn 502).

57. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 79–80.

58. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* Vayera 53/11 on Gen 21:9 (Theodor and Albeck 567; Soncino 1:470). The expression is literally “the uncovering of nakedness.” On this aspect of the Golden Calf incident, see Ginzberg, *The Legends*, 3:124 and 6:53 n. 272, and Wayne Meeks, “‘And They Rose Up to Play’: Midrash and Paraenesis in 1 Corinthians 10:1-22,” *JSNT* 16 (1982): 64–78.

59. Eshkol 391; Eng. Berman 568. Cf. *Pesiq. R.* 10/13 on Exod 30:13 (Friedmann 40a–b; Eng. Braude 190–91). *Sifre* Beha’alothekhah 69 on Num 9:10 notes on the accusative particle אֵת in Gen 37:12, “And his brothers went to feed (אֵת) the flock of their father in Shechem,” that it is dotted. That is, they went “to feed themselves” (Horovitz 65; German in Kuhn 181). This is also found in *Gen. Rab.* Vayesheb 84/13 on Gen 37:12 (Theodor and Albeck 1015; Soncino 2:778–79). *ʿAvot R. Nat.* A 34 states that the dotting means they went “to eat, drink and be enticed” (Becker 244; Schechter 100; Eng. Goldin 139; cf. the Hithpael of פָּתָה, פָּתִי in Jastrow 1252,2: to be enticed). A parallel is found in *Num. Rab.* 3/13 on Num 3:39 (Mirkin 9:65; Soncino 5:92). *ʿAvot R. Nat.* B 37 (Schechter 97; Saldarini 222) states that instead of pasturing their father’s flock, the brothers actually took “a young kid and slaughtered it.”

60. Cf. the noun הַסֵּבָה (Jastrow 359: “lying down for a meal in company”; he notes that *b. Pesah.* 108a speaks of “lying on the right side at the Passover meal”) in Friedmann 40b; Eng. Braude 191 falsely has “act of sitting down.”

61. Sperber 1:62; Eng. Grossfeld 126. Cf. סָחַד, Aphel, in Jastrow 971: “to recline around the table.”

drinking wine at this banquet is not explicitly mentioned, it is simply assumed. *Midrash Psalms* 10/3 on Ps 10:2 for example quotes in this connection Esth 3:15, “The king and Haman sat down to drink [wine].”⁶² In addition, R. Yose (b. Halafta), a third-generation Tanna,⁶³ maintains in *ʿAvot R. Nat.* B 45 on the basis of Gen 37:25 that men (here Joseph’s brothers) are “(wine-)bibbers.”⁶⁴

The above haggadic traditions on the brothers of Joseph as reclining at a banquet with wine after throwing him into a pit, and just before selling him to traders who take him to Egypt, set the stage for another banquet, with reclining and wine, upon the occasion of Joseph’s reunion with his brothers after many years. This in turn provided the main background to Jesus’ saying in Mark 14:25.

3. Joseph’s Reunion Meal with His Brothers, Including Wine

Genesis 43:16-34 describes the preparations for, and actual eating of, the reunion meal of Joseph and his brothers. Most important for the purpose of this study are the final two verses, vv. 33-34:

And they sat down before him, the firstborn according to his birthright and the youngest according to his youth, and the men looked in astonishment at each other. And he [the steward of v. 16] carried portions to them from his [Joseph’s] proximity, but the portion of Benjamin was five times as large as any of theirs. And they drank, and they became intoxicated with him.⁶⁵

Before analyzing the final line of v. 34, it is important to note that this verse was treated in an haggadic manner at a very early time. *Jubilees*, originally Palestinian and in Hebrew from the middle of the second century BCE, states in 42:22 that Joseph made a “banquet” for his brothers. Then, in 42:23 it notes that Joseph “increased Benjamin’s portion seven times more than any of their portions.”⁶⁶ The haggadic change from the Bible’s five to seven portions is explained somewhat differently by the Jewish historian Demetrius, writing in Greek in Alexandria at the end of the third century BCE, thus even before *Jubilees*:

62. Buber 93; Eng. Braude 1:152. Cf. Esth 1:7 and 10 for wine.

63. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 84.

64. Becker 402; Schechter 126; Eng. Saldarini 286. Saldarini has “gluttons,” yet here the term גרגר means “(wine-)bibber.” See Jastrow 265, with the related גרגרת as “throat,” and גרגר as “to pour down the throat,” more appropriate to wine than food.

65. This almost literal translation helps to understand better later Judaic interpretations of the two verses.

66. Cf. *OTP* 2:133.

Joseph “served up five portions for Benjamin, and he himself took two.”⁶⁷ This shows that the verse Gen 43:34 was already interpreted in an haggadic manner both in Egypt in the third century BCE, and in Palestine in the second century BCE. It is thus probable that the latter part of the same verse was also treated in a similar way at an early time.

Genesis Rabbah Vayyigash 93/7 first comments on the five portions of Benjamin noted above. It then continues regarding Gen 43:34b, “And they drank, and they became intoxicated⁶⁸ with him”: R. Isaac of Magdala said in the name of R. Yehudah ha-Nasi: “From the day that Joseph was separated (פָּרִישׁ) from his brothers, they drank no wine until that day, for they all abstained (נָזְרוּ) from wine. Joseph too drank no wine until that day, but abstained (נָזַר) from wine, as it says: ‘And on the crown of the head of him who was a Nazirite (נָזִיר, construct) through his brothers’ (49:26).”⁶⁹

Yehudah ha-Nasi/Judah the Prince was a fourth-generation Tanna, the editor of the Mishnah, who probably died in 217 CE.⁷⁰ The haggadic tradition of Joseph’s abstaining from wine until he was reunited with his brothers thus belongs to the earliest rabbinic traditions still available to us, those of the Tannaim.

In the following I shall present seven arguments as to why the above incident, as found here and in parallel traditions, should be considered to form the background of Mark 14:25. They derive in part from early sources, and in part from later sources now only found in Amoraic writings. Cumulatively, however, they form a strong case for the above proposal.

67. This is found in Fragment Two (21.14) of Alexander Polyhistor, whom Eusebius later included in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*. Demetrius explains this by means of the seven sons born to Jacob by Leah, and two by Rachel. See the text in Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (4 vols.; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 1:70–71, and the dating and provenance of Demetrius on pp. 51–52. *Gen. Rab.* Mikketz 92/5 on Gen 43:34 explains the five portions by stating that “Joseph gave [Benjamin] one portion, Asenath another, Manasseh another, Ephraim another, while he also took a portion with his brothers” (Theodor and Albeck 1143; Soncino 2:852). Josephus in *Ant.* 2.123 also differs from the biblical text at this point in asserting that Joseph “honored Benjamin with double portions of the dishes before him.” This is probably because he alone was his full brother.

68. This is not “and were merry,” as in the NRSV. The verb שָׁכַר means “be, or become drunk, drunken” (BDB 1016), confirmed by the LXX’s passive of μεθύσασθαι, “drink freely, get drunk,” aorist as here “to be drunk” (LSJ 1091).

69. Theodor and Albeck 1166; Soncino 2:866, modified.

70. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 89. The parallel in *Midr. Haggadol* ad loc. (Margulies 742) has “in the name of R’,” an abbreviation of “Rabbi,” for Yehudah ha-Nasi was considered to be *the* Rabbi.

a. *Joseph, the Firstborn, and His Brothers as the Future Twelve Tribes of Israel; Jesus, the Firstborn, and the Twelve Disciples as the Restored Israel.*

(1) *Joseph.* Jacob's twelve sons are listed in Gen 35:22-26. After comment on each of them in vv. 3-27, Gen 49:28 states: "All these are the twelve tribes of Israel."⁷¹ While Reuben was actually the firstborn son (Gen 29:32), since he lay with his father's concubine (35:22; 49:3-4), the rights of the firstborn were removed from him and transferred to Joseph. This was based in Judaic tradition in part on the "head" of Joseph in Deut 33:16 (//Gen 49:26) and him as meant by the statement, "His [Jacob's] firstborn bull—majesty is his!" in v. 17.⁷² It is Joseph and his eleven brothers who participate in the reunion meal of Gen 43:16-34.

(2) *Jesus.* Mark 3:14 states that Jesus "appointed twelve" (disciples), who are then named in vv. 16-19. "The twelve" as a definite unit occurs twelve times in the earliest Gospel.⁷³ There can be no doubt about Jesus' intention for them to become the basis of a "restored" Israel in the period of eschatological renewal inaugurated by him. This is shown, for example, in the later election of Matthias, considered necessary to replace Judas as the twelfth disciple/apostle in Acts 1:15-26.⁷⁴ The "Q" saying in Matt 19:28 is also relevant here. It has Jesus address the disciples (v. 23) as follows: "Truly I tell you, at the 'renewal' of all

71. Cf. Deut 33:6-25, where, however, Simeon is lacking.

72. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* Vayehi 98/4 on Gen 49:3, which states regarding Reuben that "the birthright should have been yours... Now that you have sinned, the birthright has been given to Joseph..." (Theodor and Albeck 1253; Soncino 2:949). Benjamin also called the seventh of his ten sons "Rosh" (head, chief: Gen 46:21) after his brother Joseph, for he was not only his brother, but also "chief" (*b. Sof.* 36b, Soncino 181). *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 46:21 states: "'Rosh,' because he [Joseph] was at the head of his father's house" (Clarke 58; Eng. Maher 150). According to R. Simlai, a second generation Palestinian Amora (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 96), Joseph told his brothers: "You are the body and I am the 'head,' as it says, 'Let the blessing come upon the head, Joseph' (Deut 33:16)." This is found in *Gen. Rab.* Vayehi 100/9 on Gen 50:19-20 in Theodor and Albeck 1294, and Soncino 2:1000. *Targ. Onqelos* Deut 33:17 interprets "His firstborn bull" as "The greatest among [Jacob's] sons" (Sperber 1:351; Eng. Grossfeld 108). *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on the same verse states: "The birthright belonged to Reuben, but it was taken from him and was given formerly to Joseph" (Clarke 353; Eng. 100–101). Both MS "P" and MS "V" of the *Fragment Targum* note Joseph's "first-born rights" here, adding his kingship and grandeur (Klein 1:115 and 233; Eng. 2:88 and 190). For the Messiah as "Rishon," the First One, see the passages cited in Str-B 1:65; 2:793; and 3:790.

73. Cf. 4:10; 6:7; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20 and 43.

74. Acts 26:7 also speaks of "a promise that our twelve tribes hope to attain, as they earnestly worship day and night."

things, when the Son of Man is seated on the throne of his glory, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”⁷⁵

When Jesus celebrates the Passover meal with his disciples in Mark 14:17-25, he does so with “the twelve” (v. 17), who represent the restored Israel. It is also they with whom Jesus will later drink of the fruit of the vine when he drinks it anew in the kingdom of God, as the Jewish Christian Evangelist Matthew correctly interpreted v. 25 (“with you” in Matt 26:29).

In contrast to Joseph, who only later became the firstborn son of Jacob in Judaic tradition instead of Reuben, Jesus was in fact Joseph and Mary’s “firstborn son,” noted in Luke 2:7, of Mary alone. His four younger brothers and his sisters are listed in Mark 6:55-56, whereby the parallel in Matt 13:55 has Jesus as “the carpenter’s son,” and Luke 4:22 as “Joseph’s son.” Both Joseph of the MT in Judaic tradition and Jesus⁷⁶ were thus firstborns. This was an additional factor which aided early Palestinian Jewish Christians in associating the two figures.

b. *Separation.*

(1) *Joseph.* Chapter 2 of the Tannaitic Judaic chronography, *Seder ‘Olam*, states that Joseph was “separated” from his father Jacob and unable to serve him for twenty-two years.⁷⁷ This verb is the Hebrew פָּרַשׁ. It is also found in Yehudah ha-Nasi’s statement in *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 93/7 with Gen 49:26, quoted above in regard to Joseph’s being “separated” from his brothers, as פִּירֵשׁ or פָּרַשׁ.⁷⁸ The basic meaning of פָּרַשׁ is

75. Luke 22:30 has this preceded by the disciples’ eating and drinking at Jesus’ table in his kingdom, reminiscent of Mark 14:25b. Cf. also Acts 1:6 on the time when Jesus will “restore” the kingdom to Israel.

76. Cf. also Rom 8:29; Col 1:15; and Heb 1:6. Col 1:18 and Rev 1:5 are irrelevant in this respect, for there Jesus is characterized as the firstborn of the dead. See Str-B 3.258 on Rom 8:29 and 677 on Heb 1:6 for rabbinic passages with the Messiah as “firstborn.”

77. Cf. Guggenheimer 30–31, with n. 8. In *b. Ber.* 55b (Soncino 337–38), R. Levi, a third-generation Palestinian Amora (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 98), explains the calculation by Joseph’s being seventeen when he was sold to Egypt (Gen 37:2), thirty when before Pharaoh (41:46), yielding thirteen. Added to the latter are seven years of plenty and two of famine = twenty-two. A baraita (a Tannaitic tradition outside the Mishnah) also names twenty-two years in *b. Meg.* 17a (Soncino 102, with n. 5).

78. Theodor and Albeck 1166 read the first, Mirkin in 4:140 the second. For the latter, see also *Midr. Prov.* 1 on Prov 1:14 (Visotzky 19; Eng. 25). See also *Targ. Onq.* Gen 49:26 for Joseph as a man פִּירֵשָׁה in regard to his brothers (Sperber 1:87; Eng. Grossfeld 159). While this adjective literally means “separated, set aside,” in

“to separate” or “be separated.”⁷⁹ Because it also means “to abstain (from),”⁸⁰ it was employed as a synonym for נָזַר, “to abstain (from).”⁸¹ An example is the above *Genesis Rabbah* passage, where after Joseph’s “being separated” from his brothers, they “abstained” (נָזַר) from wine, just as he did. This made him into the “Nazirite” (נָזִיר) of Gen 49:26.⁸²

(2) *Jesus*. In Mark 14:25 Jesus is represented as telling his disciples: “I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.” That is, he will be separated from them for a period of time. Passages such as 9:1 and 13:30 imply that Jesus himself thought some of his own generation would not die before the kingdom of God arrived. Yet 13:10 postpones the kingdom’s coming until the Gospel is proclaimed to all nations.⁸³ This means that for the Evangelist Mark, and for his readers, some decades have passed between Jesus’ death and Resurrection and their own time. Jesus has already been “separated” from them for so long, and they will have read this extension of his separation back into his prophecy/prediction of 14:25. I suggest that Joseph’s being “separated” from his brothers, and his not drinking wine until the reunion meal with them, aided them in not thinking of the kingdom of God as coming imminently, but only after some decades.

c. *A Banquet.*

(1) *Joseph*. At Joseph’s reunion meal with all his brothers in Gen 43:31, he tells his servants, “Serve the meal.” This is literally “Set bread,” and targums *Onqelos*, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, and *Neofiti I* have the same. Only the LXX ad loc. changes “bread” to the plural: “Serve bread loaves.” In contrast, *Jub.* 42:22 already in the second century BCE stated that Joseph made a “banquet” for his brothers. At this festive meal “they ate and drank” (v. 24), certainly with wine, as indicated at the other reunion meal in 45:5.⁸⁴ Philo in *De Iosepho* speaks here of a “sumptuous meal” (πολυτελὲς ἄριστον—196), which is a “feast” (εἰστία—201), a

this context it signifies “distinguished” (Jastrow 1228). The same is true for *Targ. Onq.* Deut 33:16 (Sperber 1:351; Eng. Grossfeld 108).

79. Cf. Jastrow 1241–42. “To depart” in the sense of “to be separated (from)” is found frequently, but inappropriate here. Joseph did not simply “depart” from his father and / or brothers; he was forcibly “separated” from them.

80. Jastrow 1242, Piel.

81. Jastrow 893. The Aramaic is the same.

82. For both Joseph and Jesus as “Nazirites,” see below, pp. 90–104.

83. Cf. Rom 11:25 with “until the full number of the Gentiles has come in,” and my study “Paul’s Travel Plans to Spain and the ‘Full Number of the Gentiles’ of Rom. XI 25,” *NovT* 21 (1979): 232–62.

84. Cf. *OTP* 2:133 and 136.

“festivity” (εὐωχία—202, 204). Josephus labels this a “meal/supper” (δείπνον—*Ant.* 2.123-24, certainly meant as a banquet because of the toasting which later takes place). *Tanḥuma* Vayyigash 4 on Gen 44:18 notes that Joseph arranged at this point a “banquet” (מְסֻדָּה)⁸⁵ for his brothers.⁸⁶ *Genesis Rabbah* Vayyigash 93/7 says “he prepared a ‘great banquet’ for them.”⁸⁷ *Midrash Proverbs* 1 on Prov 1:14, in contrast to the biblical narrative (Gen 43:32, 34a), comments on “we shall all have one purse/cup”: “they [all] ate at one table at the ‘banquet’ (מְסֻדָּה).”⁸⁸

This banquet, certainly with various meat dishes (the “portions” of Gen 43:34), also included wine, as will be shown below (pp. 90–94).

(2) *Jesus*. Jesus’ last meal in Mark 14 is portrayed as a Passover meal (vv. 12, 14, 16).⁸⁹ Verse 12 mentions the Passover lamb, which was slaughtered in the Jerusalem Temple and then eaten in groups. One of the four pilgrimage festivals, Passover was also one of the few occasions on which the eating of meat was obligatory, as well as the drinking of wine (see below, pp. 90–104). Philo calls it a “festal meal” (εὐωχία), a “communal meal” (τὰ συσσίτια, yet certainly meant here as a “banquet,” for it included toasting) in *Spec. Leg.* 2.148-49.⁹⁰

Because Jesus’ final meal was a Passover meal,⁹¹ with meat and wine, and thus for all Palestinian Jews a real “banquet,” early Palestinian

85. Jastrow 1009: meal, dinner; “feast,” “banquet.”

86. Eshkol 174; Eng. Berman 269.

87. Theodor and Albeck 1165; Soncino 2:865. The same noun is employed here as in *Tanḥuma*. See also the expression δείπνον μέγα, “a great banquet / dinner,” in Jesus’ parable at Luke 14:16, as well as Rev 19:17.

88. Visotzky 19; Eng. 25. On the noun, cf. Jastrow 803: banquet, dinner. A מִסְבָּה (ibid.) is a dining couch, indicating a reclining position at the banquet. Here “purse” (כֶּסֶף: BDB 476) is read as “cup” (כּוֹס, BDB 468, Jastrow 633), as in the variant in Prov 23:31. The *Targum* has here כּוֹסא, “cup” (Jastrow 652; see de Lagarde 137, and Healey Eng. 50). On the reading “cup,” see *Lev. Rab.* Shemini 12/1 on Lev 10:9 (Mirkin 7:127; Soncino 4:152), as well as *Midr. Prov.* 23:31 (Visotzky 162; Eng. 103), and other passages noted in Mirkin 7:127, n. 1. This may be one part of the background to the idea of Jesus and the disciples’ having a common (one) cup.

89. The Passover meal and the rite of Naziriteship, to be discussed extensively below, can be connected via two entities. Both require a one-year-old male lamb (Exod 12:5 and Num 6:12 and 14), and unleavened bread, *maṣṣōth* (Exod 12:8, 15, 17-18, 20 and 13:6-7, and Num 6:15, 17 and 19). Association by catchwords played an important role in Judaic comparisons.

90. Cf. LSJ 1734 on the second noun. F. H. Colson appropriately translates it with “banquet” in the LCL edition.

91. I agree with Joachim Jeremias in his *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* and many others in this respect. Even those who prefer the Johannine chronology admit that Mark 14 now describes a Passover meal.

Jewish Christians could easily associate it with Joseph's reunion meal with his brothers, also a "banquet" with meat and wine.

d. *Reclining.*

(1) *Joseph.* Josephus relates in regard to Gen 43:33 that Joseph invited his brothers to supper, "and they reclined [at table]" (*Ant.* 2.123).⁹² *Genesis Rabbah* Vayyigash 93/7 on the same verse says Joseph made a "great banquet" for his brothers. "And when he came to have them recline, he took the cup..."⁹³ The usually reticent *Targum Onqelos* on the above verse reads: "And they reclined about the table before him."⁹⁴ The same is true for *Targum Neofiti I*: "And he made them to lie down before him."⁹⁵

The above sources make it clear that in Judaic tradition on Joseph's reunion meal with his brothers, all "reclined" at table, as at a Greco-Roman *symposion*.⁹⁶ This is another reason a Palestinian Jewish Christian could associate this reunion meal with Jesus' last meal, including Mark 14:25. It also was characterized by reclining.

92. The present passive of the verb κατακλίνω is employed here: "lie at table" (LSJ 894). Thackeray in LCL ad loc. paraphrases to "where couches were set for them." Philo seems to be objecting strongly to contemporary interpretation of Gen 43:33 in Alexandria when he states that "at that date it was not the custom to recline at convivial gatherings" (*Ios.* 203). He probably has moral misconduct at such *symposia* in view (*Cont.* 40-56).

93. Theodor and Albeck 1165; Soncino 2:865. The Hebrew לָהֵסֵב is from סָבַב, Hiphil: "to recline for dining in company," literally "to surround [the table]." See also the Piel as "Esp. reclining on the dining couch around the tables," or "lying on couches" (Jastrow 948). H. Freedman in the Soncino translation has: "and when they came to recline [at the meal]..." The rabbi cited here is Samuel bar Nahman, a third generation Palestinian Amora (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 97). A parallel tradition in *Tanh.* Vayyigash 4 (Eshkol 174; Eng. Berman 269) has the same form of the Hebrew verb.

94. Sperber 1.75; Eng. Grossfeld 144, who strangely translates differently here, although he rendered the verb סָחַר, Aphel, as "reclined" in Gen 37:25 (p. 126; cf. n. 7 on p. 127 on reclining). See Jastrow 971.4): "to recline around the table."

95. Díez Macho 1:289; Eng. McNamara 196. This is the verb רָבַע, Aphel: "to cause to lie down" (Jastrow 1445). *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* has: "And they surrounded [him, being] before him" (Clarke 55; Eng. Maher 143 somewhat stiltedly as "And they sat around before him"). The verb הִזָּר, Aphel, means "to surround, go around" (Jastrow 446). As noted in the previous section, *Midr. Prov.* 1 on Prov 1:14 has all twelve of them eating at one table at the banquet.

96. Cf. the descriptions of a Greek *symposion* and a Roman *convivium* by Pauline Schmitt-Pantel and Gerhard Binder, respectively, in "Gastmahl," *Der neue Pauly* 4 (1998): 798-806.

(2) *Jesus*. One basic characteristic of Jesus' ministry was table fellowship, eating together not only with his disciples, but also with many others, including the despised and outcasts of society. At normal meals, he would have sat on the ground, if outside, or more frequently at a table, if inside, as was customary.⁹⁷ Yet at a special meal, such as at a wedding banquet, Jesus and the other guests followed the Greco-Roman custom of reclining.⁹⁸ Mark 2:15 relates, for example, that Jesus "reclined"⁹⁹ at the tax collector Levi's house, where "many tax collectors and sinners were also 'reclining'¹⁰⁰ with Jesus and his disciples." In regard to the so-called messianic banquet, Jesus praised the faith of a Gentile centurion in contrast to that of "the heirs of the kingdom," his fellow Jews. In Matt 8:11 he stated: "I tell you, many will come from the east and the west and will 'recline' with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven..."¹⁰¹

Mark 14:25, related to the latter, is part of Jesus' last meal, a Passover meal. Verse 18 relates: "And while they were 'reclining' and eating..."¹⁰² It should be noted that the Passover meal was the only one in early Judaism at which all Jews were *obligated* to recline. The Mishnah relates at *Pes.* 10:1 that "even the poorest Israelite should not eat until he 'reclines at his table.'"¹⁰³ It is thus understandable that the common motif

97. Cf. the many sources cited by Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 48, with nn. 3-4.

98. Cf. Luke 14:8 with *κατακλίνω*, pass.: "recline at dinner" (BAGD 411), and *ἀναπίπτω* in v. 10 ("lie down, recline, esp. at a meal": BAGD 59), as well as *συνανακείμενοι* in the same verse.

99. The Greek *κατάκειμαι* here means "recline on a dining couch": BAGD 411.

100. The Greek *συνανάκειμαι* here means "recline at table with" (BAGD 784).

101. The Greek *ἀναπίπτω* is employed here (cf. n. 98). The parallel "Q" tradition is found in Luke 13:29 with *ἀνακλινόμεναι*: "lie down, recline at a meal" (BAGD 56). On the messianic banquet, see especially pp. 102-104 below.

102. The Greek *ἀνάκειμαι* basically means "lie, recline," here at table (BAGD 55); cf. Matt 26:20. The NRSV, as in the other passages cited above, consistently covers up this motif of "reclining." See also Luke 22:14 and John 13:12 with *ἀναπίπτω*. In *b. Pesah.* 108a (Soncino 561) reclining at the Passover meal may not be on one's back, or on one's right side (this would make eating with the right hand impossible, thus it was customary to recline on one's left side). Leonardo da Vinci's famous picture of the Lord's Supper with six disciples of Jesus *sitting* at his left side, and six others at his right, is patently anachronistic. It has strongly influenced Western thought in visualizing this meal for too long.

103. Cf. Albeck 2:176 with *בִּשְׁכָּתָא*; Neusner 249, here; Danby 150 falsely has "sits." R. Levi explains this in *y. Pesah.* 10:1, 37a (Neusner 13:475 by Bokser and Schiffman): "Because it is the custom of slaves to eat standing, here, [on Passover night, the Mishnah requires people] to eat reclining to proclaim that they have gone out from slavery to freedom."

of “reclining” aided in a Palestinian Jewish Christian’s associating Joseph’s reunion meal with his brothers in Judaic tradition and Jesus’ “Last Supper,” a Passover meal at which he and the twelve disciples reclined, and he spoke the words of Mark 14:25.

e. *A Cup*

(1) *Joseph*. While the goblet or cup from which Joseph drinks at the reunion meal is not mentioned in Gen 43:16-34, it is emphasized through fivefold repetition just afterwards in 44:2 (twice), 12, 16 and 17. Here it is the Hebrew גִּבְיֵי.¹⁰⁴ It was made of silver (v. 2).¹⁰⁵ Verse 5 has the servant ask: “Is it not from this that my lord [Joseph] drinks? Does he not indeed use it for divination?” Already in the second century BCE in Palestine, *Jubilees* retells the above incident and mentions the cup in 42:25; 43:1, 2 and 5. In v. 10 it then in an haggadic expansion has Joseph ask his brothers: “Did you not know that a man would be pleased with his cup as I am with this cup?”¹⁰⁶

The verb “to use for divination” in Gen 44:5 is the Hebrew נָחֵשׁ.¹⁰⁷ Already in the LXX this becomes a special kind of divination: ornithomancy, to augur, or “take omens from the flight and cries of birds.”¹⁰⁸ *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* agrees here with the LXX,¹⁰⁹ while *Targum Onqelos* says Joseph “carefully tests” with the cup.¹¹⁰ Philo has Joseph’s steward accuse his brothers of stealing “the finest and most valuable of my master’s cups in which he pledged/toasted you” (*Ios.* 213, with ἐκπαυμα: drinking-cup, beaker).¹¹¹ Josephus employs the term σκύφος,

104. Cf. BDB 149: “cup, bowl.” It should be noted that in Jer 35:5 the plural is “bowls full of wine, and cups.” The latter is בֹּוֹס, used for wine in Gen 40:11, 13 and 21. Prov 23:31 associates it with red wine. This shows that Joseph’s cup / bowl could be thought of as larger than a regular cup, thus befitting a ruler.

105. The LXX already adds to Gen 44:5, “Why have you stolen my silver cup?” The noun it employs throughout is κούπερ, “drinking-vessel” (LSJ 977).

106. Cf. *OTP* 2:133, with n. “b.”

107. Cf. BDB 638: “practice divination, divine, observe signs.” See also v. 15.

108. Cf. LSJ 1211 on οἰωνιζομαι. It can also mean in general “divine from omens.”

109. Cf. Clarke 55; Eng. Maher 144. The verb טִייר is employed (Jastrow 526 on the Paal of טִיר: “to espy, to augur”). The noun טִייר (p. 531) is divination from birds, augury.

110. Cf. Sperber 1:76; Eng. Grossfeld 146. The verb is בִּדֵּק, Paal “to discover” (by sorcery), “to find out secrets” (Jastrow 141,2). On Joseph’s “testing” his brothers, see also Philo, *Ios.* 232 and 235, and Josephus, *Ant.* 2.125 and 161.

111. Cf. LSJ 519. See the same noun in *Ios.* 216 and 235. In 207 Philo speaks of it as “his finest piece of silver, the cup out of which he was to drink himself.” Just before, in 206, he notes that toasts were made with it.

“cup,”¹¹² at this point and speaks of “the cup of friendship / love, with which he had drunk to their health” (*Ant.* 2.128).¹¹³

Judaic tradition understandably moved the cup back from ch. 44 to Gen 43:33 to explain how Joseph was able to have all his brothers recline, precisely in the order oldest to the youngest, causing their amazement. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on the verse, for example, states of Joseph: “He took the silver cup in his hand, and striking [it] like a diviner, he arranged the sons” according to their respective four mothers. Here the Aramaic form of בוס (“cup”), בָּסָא, is employed.¹¹⁴ This is found in basically the same form in *Gen. Rab.* Mikketz 92/5 on Gen 43:33,¹¹⁵ Vayyigash 93/7 dealing with the same verse,¹¹⁶ and *Midr. Prov.* 1 on Prov 1:14.¹¹⁷ In the latter the term כֶּלִיד is employed, “cup,” “chalice,”¹¹⁸ which is also found in targums *Onqelos* and *Neofiti 1* as כְּלִיד (א) on Gen 44:2, 12, 16-17.¹¹⁹

(2) *Jesus*. The great importance of Joseph’s cup in Judaic tradition on Gen 43:33, including the phrase “he took the cup” (נטל את / הכליד / הכסא)¹²⁰ reminiscent of Jesus’ “taking the cup” (λαβὼν [τὸ] ποτήριον) in

112. Cf. LSJ 1618.

113. Cf. the noun also in *Ant.* 2.124 (“the silver cup from which he gladly drank”), 126, 132 and 134.

114. Cf. Clarke 55; Eng. Maher 144, with n. 17. On the noun, “cup, calyx,” see Jastrow 652.

115. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1142; Soncino 2:852. Here Joseph “took the cup and pretended to smell,” in divination, before seating his brothers. The biblical term גִּבִּיעַ is employed for the cup here.

116. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1165; Soncino 2:865. Here גִּבִּיעַ is also employed. A parallel is found in *Tanh.* Vayyigash 4 (Eshkol 173–74; Eng. Berman 269). For the beginning of the motif, see also *Gen. Rab.* Mikketz 91/6 on Gen 42:7 (Theodor and Albeck 1124; Soncino 2:840).

117. Cf. Visotzky 18; Eng. 24-25.

118. Cf. Jastrow 642 and Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin, 1899; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 2:289: “Becher,” “Kelch.” The “common purse” (כֶּסֶף: BDB 476,b) of Prov 1:14 is taken here to be בוס, “cup,” and the midrash comments on it: “they [all] ate at one table at the banquet, [reclining].” On this purse / cup, see Visotzky, English 131 n. 72. I suspect it influenced the choice of the “common purse” (γλωσσόκομον: BAGD 162 and LSJ 353 as “money-box”) held by Judas and mentioned appropriately at Jesus’ final meal in John 13:29 (see also 12:6).

119. Only *Pseudo-Jonathan* has אֹגְבִין (Jastrow 10 has אֹגְבִין = אֹגְבִין, Heb. גִּבִּיעַ: “calix or corolla of flowers,” and should be supplemented by these references) at 44:2, 12 and 16 (Clarke 55–56). Yet in vv. 16-17 it also has כְּלִידא.

120. Cf. the sources cited in nn. 114-16. *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 43:33 has the verb נָטַל, “take” (Jastrow 932). Otherwise the Hebrew נָטַל is employed (Jastrow 899–900, the same).

Mark 14:23, certainly aided a Palestinian Jewish Christian in thinking of Judaic tradition on the very next verse, Gen 43:34, in regard to the content of Mark 14:25. It should be recalled that in the first century CE there was not yet a division into verses, only into sections of Scripture.

f. Benjamin as the Beloved of the Lord, and the “Beloved Disciple” at Jesus’ Last Supper.

(1) *Joseph*. The biblical figure of Benjamin was also treated in an haggadic manner in Judaic tradition.¹²¹ “Tradition” maintained that he was one of the four who “died through the counsel of the serpent,” i.e., not through their own sin.¹²² He was also one of seven “over whom the worms had no dominion” in their graves, which Deut 33:12 attests for him.¹²³ In addition, he was one of six who were called “beloved,” also supported by Deut 33:12.¹²⁴ Because his brothers thought Benjamin had indeed stolen Joseph’s cup (Gen 44:12), they struck blows upon his shoulders. “By virtue of these blows with which they smote him on his shoulders, he was worthy of having the Divine Presence rest on his shoulders. It is so stated [of him]: ‘And He [the Lord] dwells between his shoulders’ (Deut 33:12).”¹²⁵ That is, the Temple was erected in Jerusalem on his territory.¹²⁶

121. Cf. the articles “Benjamin” and “In Rabbinical Literature,” by Louis Ginzberg and Kaufmann Kohler, respectively, in *JE* (1902), 3:23-24, and “Benjamin” by Haïm Hirschberg in *EJ* (2007), 3:356.

122. Cf. *b. B. Bath.* 17a (Soncino 86-87) as “Our Rabbis taught...” See also *b. Šabb.* 55b (Soncino 256, with n. 2).

123. See *b. B. Bath.* 17a (Soncino 86, with n. 7), also as “Our Rabbis taught...”

124. This Tannaitic tradition is recorded in many sources, showing its popularity. Cf., e.g., *Sifre Vezot ha-Berakhah* 352 on Deut 33:12 (Finkelstein 409; Eng. Hammer 364–65); *b. Menah.* 53a-b (Soncino 320); and *ʿAvot R. Nat.* B 43 (Becker 393; Schechter 121; Eng. Saldarini 265).

125. Cf. *Tanḥ.* B Mikketz 13 on Gen 44:5 and 13 (Buber 198; Eng. Townsend 264). A parallel is found in *Tanḥ.* Mikketz 10 on Gen 44:13 (Eshkol 169; Eng. Berman 262).

126. Cf. *b. Yoma* 12a (Soncino 53), where the Hall, the Temple, and the Holy of Holies are built in the territory of Benjamin the Righteous, with Deut 33:12, while other parts are erected in the territory of Judah. See also *ʿAvot R. Nat.* A 35 (Becker 250; Schechter 104–5; Eng. Goldin 145–46). In *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 93/6 on Gen 44:18, Judah speaks of Benjamin as “‘the beloved of the eyes,’ the one who gives hospitality to the Holy One, blessed be He—as it says, Deut 33:12” (Theodor and Albeck 1156; Soncino 2:860).

The above traditions show how important Deut 33:12 was for the figure of Benjamin. It reads: “Of Benjamin [Moses] said: ‘The beloved of the Lord dwells in security. Above him [the Lord] surrounds him all day long, and He dwells between his shoulders.’” “The beloved” here is the Hebrew יָדִיד.¹²⁷ *Targum Onqelos*, *Neofiti I*, and *Fragment Targum*, MS “V,” have רַחֵם(וֹ)מֵא at this point,¹²⁸ “friend,” “loved one,”¹²⁹ while *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* reads חֲבִיבִיה,¹³⁰ “beloved,” “dear,” “precious.”¹³¹ The LXX has ἡγαπημένος, “loved / beloved.” The latter is of most significance for the “beloved” disciple of Jesus, to be shown below (pp. 89–90).

For Joseph, Benjamin was “the beloved one” not only because he was the youngest of the twelve brothers and had not participated in selling him to Egypt. He was also his only full brother, for both were the sons of Rachel. This background is important in understanding additional Judaic comment on Gen 43:33. *Genesis Rabbah* Vayyigash 93/7 states in regard to this verse that after Joseph at the large banquet by means of his cup caused the other brothers to recline in their respective groups as full brothers, only Benjamin was left. Joseph stated: “He is motherless, and I am motherless. Let us recline together.”¹³² *Tanhuma* Vayyigash 4, commenting on the same verse, states that Joseph “invited them to a banquet. He sought to have Benjamin recline at his side, and he didn’t know how to accomplish it. He took the cup and struck it... Benjamin was then left over. He [Joseph] said: ‘I see concerning him that he had a brother, and he is separated (פָּרַשׁ) from him, and he has no mother. I too had a brother, and he is separated (פָּרַשׁ) from me and I have no mother. Let him come and sit at my side. He [then] sat at his side, as Scripture says: ‘And they sat before him...’ (Gen 43:33).”¹³³ The above expression “at his side” is the Hebrew אֶצְלוֹ, and “at my side” is אֶצְלִי.¹³⁴ *Genesis Rabbah* Mikketz 92/5 is an anonymous tradition on Gen 43:33 which is very

127. Cf. BDB 391; Jastrow 564.

128. Cf. Sperber 1.350, Eng. Grossfeld 106-07; Díez Macho 5:287, Eng. McNamara 167; and Klein 1.232 and 2.189, respectively.

129. Cf. Jastrow 1467.

130. Cf. Clarke 252; Eng. 100.

131. Cf. Jastrow 418.

132. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1165, where I prefer the reading נֹסֵב, “let us recline together,” found in four MSS, in contrast to “let us sit together,” found only in one MS; Soncino 2:865.

133. Cf. Eshkol 174; Eng. Berman 269. This is spoken by R. Nahman b. Isaac, a fourth generation Babylonian Amora (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 105).

134. Cf. Jastrow 111 on אֶצְלִי: “by the side of, near, with.”

similar. It ends by Joseph saying in regard to Benjamin: “Therefore let him come ‘and place his head at my side / upon me.’” The latter is the Aramaic *ויתן רישיה גבי*.¹³⁵

Here Joseph, the head of the twelve brothers, the future tribes of Israel, has Benjamin, the “beloved one,” recline / sit at his side, or place his head upon him, at the reunion meal. This Judaic tradition is immediately followed by Joseph’s not having drunk wine for twenty-two years.

(2) *Jesus*. Only the Fourth Evangelist mentions a “beloved disciple.” Probably in order to have Jesus, the “Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world” (1:29, 36),¹³⁶ be killed by crucifixion at the same time that the Passover lambs were slaughtered in the Jerusalem Temple,¹³⁷ John moves Jesus’ “Last Supper,” in the Synoptics a Passover meal, up one day (18:28; 19:14). The long section of 13:1–17:26 deals with this meal and begins: “Now before the festival of Passover...” Verse 12 of ch. 13 states that after Jesus washed the feet of the twelve, “he reclined [at table] again.” When he foretells Judas’ betrayal, vv. 23–25 note (NRSV): “One of his disciples—the one whom Jesus loved—was reclining next to him; Simon Peter therefore motioned to him to ask Jesus of whom he was speaking. So while reclining next to Jesus, he asked him, ‘Lord, who is it?’” The “disciple whom he loved” is also mentioned at the Crucifixion in 19:26–27;¹³⁸ 20:2; 21:7 and 20 (“Peter turned and saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following them; he was the one who had reclined next to Jesus at the supper...”). It is then he who testifies to “these things,” either the events narrated in ch. 21, or the whole Gospel.

135. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1142; Soncino 2:852. See Jastrow 203 on *בג* as a preposition: “towards, with, etc.” See the Hebrew *עַל גְּבִי, עַל גֵּב*: “on, upon, by the side of.” Another sign of affection for his full brother Benjamin is found in *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 45:14, “Then [Joseph] inclined upon the joint of his brother’s neck” (Clarke 57; Eng. Maher 147).

136. Cf. the Christian interpolation in *T. Benj.* 3:8, where Jacob embraced Joseph and kissed him for two hours, saying: “Through you will be fulfilled the heavenly prophecy concerning the Lamb of God, the Savior of the world...” (*OTP* 1:826).

137. In John, Jesus’ legs were also not broken (19:33) so that Exod 12:46 on the Passover lamb should be fulfilled (19:36).

138. Cf. my study “Jesus’ Concern for the Welfare of His Mother After His Death in John 19:25–27, and Moses’ Concern for the Welfare of His Mother After His Death,” in *The Death, Burial, and Resurrection of Jesus*, 125–32.

John 13:23 has “whom Jesus loved” (ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς). This person was “reclining” (ἦν ἀνακείμενος) “with his head on Jesus’ chest” (ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ).¹³⁹ Verse 25 states that this disciple was reclining “at the chest of Jesus” (ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ).¹⁴⁰ Four instances (13:23; 19:26; 21:7, 20) of the disciple “whom he loved” are the Greek ὃν ἡγάπα. Only 20:2 has ὃν ἐφίλει. The verbs ἀγαπάω and φιλέω are synonyms, just as the various Hebrew and Aramaic terms for “beloved” in Judaic tradition on Deut 33:12 listed above are synonyms. The LXX’s ἡγαπημένος employs the same verb, ἀγαπάω, as found in four of the five instances in John of the “beloved” disciple. I suggest that the Fourth Evangelist, who was certainly a Jewish Christian, or the tradition informing him at this point, modeled the figure of the “beloved” disciple who reclined with his head on Jesus’ chest at the Johannine “Last Supper” on Benjamin, the “beloved” of the Lord.¹⁴¹

The above discussion thus indicates how the same complex of Judaic tradition on Gen 43:33 in regard to the reunion meal of Joseph with his brothers influenced not only Mark 14:25, as proposed in the other six parts of this section, but also the “beloved disciple” of John 13:23. Both are found in the same context of Jesus’ last meal with his disciples. Judaic tradition on the next verse in Genesis, 43:34, then forms the background for Joseph’s abstaining from wine, and for Jesus’ doing the same in Mark 14:25.

g. Abstention from Wine as a Nazirite.

(1) *Joseph. Genesis Rabbah* Vayyigash 93/7, as noted above, has the Tanna Yehudah ha-Nasi comment on Gen 43:34b, “And they drank, and they became intoxicated with him,” as follows: “From the day that Joseph was separated from his brothers, they drank no wine until that day, for they all abstained from wine. Joseph too drank no wine until that

139. Cf. BAGD 442 on κόλπος, “1. *bosom, breast, chest*, ἀνακείσθαι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τινός, *lie* (at a meal) w. one’s head *on someone’s breast* (s. ἀνάκειμαι 2) J 13:23.”

140. Cf. BAGD 767: “chest, breast,” here and in 21:20.

141. The Greek ἀπὸ or τοῦ κυρίου in LXX Deut 33:12 could easily be thought of as Jesus, the disciples’ “lord.” Cf. John 13:25, “Lord (κύριε), who is it?” The above suggestion as to the background of Benjamin for the beloved disciple was first made by one of my Yale teachers, Paul Minear, in “The Beloved Disciple in the Gospel of John: Some Clues and Conjectures,” *NovT* 19 (1977): 105–23. However, he was not aware of any of the Judaic sources I cite above. While James Charlesworth identifies the beloved disciple with Thomas, he reviews many other proposed solutions, including Minear’s suggestion of the influence of Benjamin, in *The Beloved Disciple: Whose Witness Validates the Gospel of John?* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), esp. 164–66 and 257.

day, but abstained from wine, as it says: ‘And the crown of the head of him who was a Nazirite through his brothers’ (49:26).”¹⁴²

This comment on Gen 43:34b is supplemented by other Judaic interpretations of the same verse. *Genesis Rabbah* Mikketz 92/5 notes for example after the contents of Yehudah ha-Nasi’s statement above: “With him they drank, but away from him they did not drink. For R. Levi said: ‘During the whole of the twenty-two years that he did not see them he did not taste wine, and they [too] did not taste wine until they saw him.’”¹⁴³

The Hebrew of Joseph’s “abstaining” from wine in the *Genesis Rabbah* passage 93/7 above is נָזַר עֲצֻמוֹ, lit. “he dedicated himself to be / vowed to be a Nazirite,” i.e., here to abstain from or renounce wine.¹⁴⁴

142. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1166; Soncino 2:866, modified. See also Tannaitic comment in *Sifre Vezot ha-Berakhah* 353 on Deut 33:16, “and upon the brow of the Nazirite [*nezir*] among his brothers”: “upon him whom his brothers removed / rejected and made a Nazirite [*nezir*]” (Finkelstein 414; Eng. Hammer 369, modified). This is repeated in *Midrash Tannaim* on the same verse (Hoffmann 218), which is almost identical with *Midrash Haggadol* ad loc. (Fisch 769, where כָּל מִי כָּל should be לְמִי as in n. 14).

143. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1143; Soncino 2:852, slightly modified. R. Levi was a third-generation Palestinian Amora and student of R. Yoḥanan (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction* 98). See the parallel in *b. Šabb.* 139a (Soncino 702) in the name of R. Yose b. Ḥanina, a second-generation Palestinian Amora and also a student of R. Yoḥanan (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction* 96), and *Midr. Prov.* 1 on Prov 1:14 (Visotzky 19; Eng. 25). See also *Gen. Rab.* Vayehi 98/20 on Gen 49:26 (Theodor and Albeck 1271; Soncino 2:970), where R. Levi also says regarding Joseph: “He was literally a Nazirite,” and “he did not taste the taste of wine,” i.e., by no means did so. *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 43:34 states on “And they drank and became drunk with him”: “because from the day they were separated from him they had not drunk wine, neither he nor they, until that day” (Clarke 56; Eng. Maher 144).

144. Cf. Jastrow 893 on נָזַר. See “Nazir,” *EJ* 15 (2007): 44–45; Jacob Milgrom, “Nazirite,” and Aaron Rothkoff, “In the Talmud,” *EJ* 15 (2007): 45–46; George Barton, “Nazarite,” and Ludwig Blau, “In Rabbinical Literature,” *JE* 9 (1905): 195–96; Jacob Lauterbach, “Nazir (‘Nazarite’),” *JE* 9 (1905): 197–98; and Str-B 2:747–51 on Acts 18:18. Markus Bockmuehl, “‘Let the Dead Bury the Dead’ (Matt 8:22 / Luke 9:60): Jesus and the Halakhah,” *JThS* 49 (1998): 553–81, contains much relevant material on the Nazirite and mentions Joseph on p. 567 n. 45. He contends that Jesus’ vow in Mark 14:25 “in its first-century context would have unmistakable connotations” (p. 571). Stuart Chepey acknowledges his thanks to Bockmuehl in his Oxford dissertation, which was supervised by Martin Goodman, *Nazirites in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of Ancient Jewish Writings, the New Testament, Archaeological Evidence, and Other Writings from Antiquity* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 60; Leiden: Brill, 2005). On this, see the review of Joshua Schwartz in *RBL* 4/1 (2006). Chepey’s treatment of Joseph is found on pp. 133–37.

Numbers 6:1-21 is the Scriptural basis for the Nazirite vow. In v. 3 one who has made the vow of a Nazirite (v. 2) must “separate himself” (נָזִיר) from wine and strong drink, as well as from all other products of the grape.¹⁴⁵ While Scripture does not mention any specific length for a Nazirite vow, it was usually thirty days (*m. Nazir* 1:3).¹⁴⁶ Examples are given of this being extended to two, three, four, seven, twelve, or even 354 or 365 spells (each of thirty days).¹⁴⁷ The latter would then be a “Nazirite for life.”¹⁴⁸ It is related that Queen Helena of Adiabene ended up being a Nazirite for twenty-one years,¹⁴⁹ close to Joseph’s twenty-two. Yet his was an open-ended Naziriteship, dependent on when he would see his brothers again.

Joseph’s being a Nazirite in Judaic tradition is based primarily on the very similar passages concerning him in Jacob’s blessing his twelve sons just before he died (Gen 49:26), and Moses’ blessing of the Israelites just before he died (Deut 33:16): May the blessings come / these things be “on the head of Joseph, on the brow of him who was set apart from / the prince among his brothers.” The reason for the variant translations here, as in the NRSV, is that “him who was set apart” and “prince” are the same Hebrew word, נָזִיר. This noun can mean either a prince or ruler as consecrated, or a Nazirite, one who is abstinent (of wine).¹⁵⁰ An example

He does not note that the *Gen. Rab.* 93/7 Joseph tradition is Tannaitic (Yehudah ha-Nasi), but instead cites the late R. Isaac of Magdala in 98/20. He deals with Mark 14:25 on pp. 147–51 and quotes Bockmuehl on p. 151. Chepey does not, however, take note of the many different Judaic Joseph traditions cited above, and his emphasis on a context of mourning, like funerary grief (p. 150), is inappropriate to Mark 14:25. Nevertheless, Chepey is the first to have related Judaic Joseph traditions to Mark 14:25. This is found neither in the recent commentaries of Joel Marcus, *Mark 8–16* (AB 27A; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007); and Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (WBC 34B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001); nor in over thirty other commentaries and related studies I have consulted.

145. Joseph is neither described as growing his hair long (Num 6:5), nor as avoiding a corpse (v. 6), the other two basic requirements for a Nazirite vow. Early Jewish Sages knew that as the second man in Egypt he could not do at least the first. Nevertheless, they characterized him as a Nazirite. The same is true for Jesus in Mark 14:25, as will be pointed out below.

146. Cf. Albeck 3:196; Danby 281; Neusner 431.

147. Cf. *t. Nezirut* 1:2-3 in Lieberman, *Nashim* 124, and Neusner 3:123.

148. Cf. *m. Nazir* 1:2 with נָזִיר עולם in Albeck 3:195; Danby 281; and Neusner 431.

149. Cf. *m. Nazir* 3:6 in Albeck 3:202; Danby 284; and Neusner 435.

150. Cf. BDB 634,1 and 2; and Jastrow 891 for the latter.

of the latter, of relevance to the Judaic narrative noted above, is *m. Nazir* 2:3. It reads: “[If] they mixed a cup [of wine] for someone and he said, ‘I will be a Nazirite / abstainer (נָזִיר) from it,’ behold, he is a Nazirite (נָזִיר).”¹⁵¹

First-century CE Palestinian Jews and Jewish Christians were well acquainted with the practice of becoming and being a Nazirite, including bringing the final offering associated with it to the Temple in Jerusalem. This is shown for example in “the four men under vow” who will shave their heads, their expenses to be taken over by Paul as a sign of his fidelity to the Torah in Acts 21:23-24.¹⁵² First-century CE Palestinian Jewish Christians, especially before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, thus would have greatly appreciated the haggadic narrative of a very popular biblical figure, Joseph, who became a Nazirite and abstained from wine for twenty-two years until the reunion meal with his eleven brothers.

No longer considered a Nazirite after the completion of his promise to abstain from wine until being reunited with his brothers, Joseph drank wine profusely with them at the reunion meal. Philo notes in *Ios.* 206 that there were on that occasion “constant signs of kind feeling shown in toasts and good wishes.” Josephus in *Ant.* 2.128 states that Joseph toasted them with his cup sacred to friendship.¹⁵³ These first-century CE Jewish writers show that there was very early comment on Gen 43:34b, for they certainly did not invent this motif independently of each other.

Finally, Tannaitic tradition considered Joseph’s reunion meal with his brothers to have been a Sabbath meal. This is based on a *gezerah shawah*, here an analogy due to the same word.¹⁵⁴ In Gen 43:16 Joseph tells his steward to bring his brothers into the house, slaughter an animal, and “prepare” (הִכֵּן) the meal. This is connected to “prepare” (הִכֵּן) on

151. Albeck 3:198; I modify Neusner 432 and Danby 282.

152. Cf. also King Agrippa I’s (reigned 37–44 CE) taking over the expenses “for a very considerable number of Nazirites to be shorn” in Josephus, *Ant.* 19.294. For his description of a Nazirite, where he first mentions abstaining from wine, see *Ant.* 4.72. He also states: “Having made a [Nazirite] vow, they dedicate themselves [to God].” King Agrippa II’s sister Berenice was in Jerusalem to fulfill a Nazirite vow in 66 CE (Josephus, *Bell.* 2.313-14). For John the Baptist as a Nazirite, see Luke 7:33 // Matt 11:18, and Luke 1:14, based on Num 6:3. See also Chepey, *Nazirites in Late Second Temple Judaism*, passim, for many other examples.

153. Cf. LSJ 1941 on II. φιλοτηςία: “with or without κύλιξ, the cup *sacred to friendship*, the *loving-cup*.”

154. Cf. the discussion in Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 21.

the sixth day (Exod 16:5) for the Sabbath (20:8).¹⁵⁵ Early Palestinian Jews and Jewish Christians will have imagined Joseph, whom they considered retroactively to be a pious and observant Jew, to have first gone aside to another room at the reunion meal with his brothers so as to avoid betraying himself. This was in order to speak the “Kiddush,” the obligatory sanctification of the Sabbath as in Exod 20:8, on Friday at nightfall over a cup of wine.¹⁵⁶ The Kiddush was spoken before the meal was allowed to commence. Part of it was the blessing over wine: “[Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe,] ‘who creates the fruit of the vine.’”¹⁵⁷ The latter is the Hebrew: בּוֹרֵא פֶּרִי הַגֶּפֶן,¹⁵⁸ also of relevance to Mark 14:25 below. While this is not recorded in extant Judaic traditions, it was simply assumed to have occurred by early Jewish listeners of the narrative when they heard that this was a Sabbath meal.

(2) *Jesus, with Other Aspects of Mark 14:25.* Since Jesus’ abstaining from wine as a Nazirite is found in Mark 14:25, I shall comment on it here, yet in conclusion also on various other aspects of the verse.

(a) *Amen, and a Vow of Abstinence.* The expression “Verily I say to you [pl.]” (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν) is found twelve times in Mark, and the same in the singular (σοι) once in 14:30. It is followed by “that” (ὅτι) eight other times in addition to Mark 14:25. As noted before, it is the Hebrew word אָמֵן, “verily,” “truly.”¹⁵⁹ Jesus retained it in his native Aramaic, and

155. Cf. *Mek. R. Ish.* Beshallah 1 on Exod 13:19 (Lauterbach 1:179), with a parallel in *Mek. Šim. b. Yoh.* Beshallah (Nelson 83); *Gen. Rab.* Mikketz 92/4 on Gen 43:15-16 (Theodor and Albeck 1140; Soncino 2:850); and other sources cited in Theodor and Albeck’s notes.

156. Cf. Aaron Rothkoff, “Kiddush,” *EJ* 12 (2007): 138–39. On the “kiddush” spoken over a cup of wine at a Passover meal, see, e.g., *b. Pesah.* 102a (Soncino 540).

157. Cf. *b. Pesah.* 105a-106a (Soncino 549–54, with helpful notes). In 107a (Soncino 557) “Our Rabbis taught: ‘You recite *kiddush* over wine only, and you say a blessing over wine only.’”

158. Cf. *m. Ber.* 6:1 (Albeck 1:24; Danby 6; Neusner 9). Not found in the Hebrew Bible, the expression also occurs twice in *t. Ber.* 4:3 (Lieberman, *Zeraʿim* 18; Neusner 1:20); ten times in the Babylonian Talmud, including over the first cup at the Passover meal in *Pesah.* 103a (Soncino 543) and at *kiddush* in 106a (Soncino 553–54); four times in the Minor Tractates; and nine times in the Jerusalem Talmud. It may also be noted that according to Josephus, when Joseph interpreted the dream of Pharaoh’s cupbearer (οἰνοχόος, lit. “pourer out of wine”: LSJ 1208), he praised “the fruit of the vine” (κάρπον...ἀμπέλινον) as a blessing given to men by God, in part in order to terminate feuds (*Ant.* 2.66).

159. Cf. BDB 53, and Jastrow 77, II,1). It derives from the verb אָמַן, meaning “to confirm” (BDB 53).

it was not translated into Greek in the Gospels, showing how characteristic it was for Jesus. In *b. Šebu*. 36a, R. Yose b. Hanina, a second-generation Palestinian Amora,¹⁶⁰ states that “‘Amen’ implies oath, acceptance of words, and confirmation of words.”¹⁶¹ It is clear from Matt 5:34 that Jesus completely disapproved of swearing (taking an oath).¹⁶² He therefore substituted “Verily I say to you” to add emphasis to what he wanted to say. There is no reason to believe that the expression was added to Mark 14:25 at a later date.¹⁶³ Since “Verily I say to you” appears in v. 18 at the beginning of the narrative of the Last Supper, in v. 25 it also functions to indicate the closure of this Gospel unit.

When Jesus of Nazareth¹⁶⁴ is represented as stating he will “definitely no longer¹⁶⁵ drink of the fruit of the vine until...,” and prefaces this with his peculiar substitution for taking an oath / swearing, thus strongly underlining it, he can legitimately be thought of as doing the equivalent of taking a Nazirite vow.¹⁶⁶ This typically involves abstention from wine,

160. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 94.

161. Cf. Soncino 210.

162. Josephus, *Bell.* 2:135 asserts the same view for the Essenes.

163. Against Joachim Gnika, *Das Evangelium nach Markus (Mk 8,27–16,20)* (EKK II/2; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), 243.

164. The village of Nazareth, Jesus’ hometown, could be associated with being a “Nazirite.” This is especially true if the earliest form of the place-name was “Nazara,” as in Matt 4:13 and Luke 4:16. It is usually not taken into consideration that the Hebrew letters נ and ת interchange (Jastrow 377). Thus “Našara” could also be read as “Nazara.” How the bilingual Jewish Christian Matthew intended “He shall be called a Nazorean,” the fulfillment of what had been spoken through the prophets for Jesus of “Nazareth” (Matt 2:23), will probably always remain his secret. The best treatment is still that of Paul Billerbeck in Str-B 1:92–96. See also the extensive discussion in Raymond Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), 207–13. He states on p. 219: “Nazareth is providentially the home of the child Jesus because it gives him a gentile designation ‘Nazorean’ that reminds us that he is a Nazirite (*Nazir*)—a select holy one set aside to God’s service from his mother’s womb like Samson and Samuel.” Yet this plays no role in the entire Gospel of Matthew except for 26:29, not noted by Brown.

165. This is the implication of the overburdened, clumsy Greek οὐκέτι οὐ μῆ.

166. This is the opinion of numerous scholars who are experts in early Judaism. Two examples are Bockmuehl, “Let the Dead...,” 571 and 577, and Chepey, *Nazirites*, 147–51. See also Michael Wojciechowski, “Le naziréat et la passion (Mc 14,25a; 15,23),” *Bib* 65 (1984): 94–96. Although not connected to Judaic Joseph traditions, the description of Jesus as “the Holy One” also designates him as a Nazirite, who shall be called “holy” (Num 6:5, MT קדוש and LXX ἅγιος). See Mark 1:24 // Luke 4:34; John 6:69; Acts 3:14; 4:27 and 30; as well as Luke 2:23, reflecting Exod 13:2.

even if the Greek expression εὐχομαι εὐχῆν (LXX Num 6:2)¹⁶⁷ understandably does not occur in Mark 14:25.¹⁶⁸ In this respect one can compare *m. Ned.* 1:1, which states: “Any substitute for [the form of words used to utter] a vow, ban, oath, or Nazirite vow is as binding as the vow, ban, oath, or Nazirite vow itself.”¹⁶⁹

Finally, Mark 14:22 notes that at the Lord’s Supper, Jesus took a loaf of bread, spoke the blessing,¹⁷⁰ and broke it, giving it to his disciples. Another act of blessing / giving thanks takes place in v. 23 over the cup. These should not be thought of as immediately following each other. Rather, blessing God / saying grace took place at the beginning of the meal as well as at its conclusion, here before Jesus’ words of interpretation over the “cup of blessing” (1 Cor 10:16).¹⁷¹ In *m. Ber.* 8:8 it is stated in this regard: “They respond ‘Amen’ after an Israelite who recites a blessing...”¹⁷² That is, although like much else that is not stated in Mark 14:22-25, the twelve disciples will have responded “Amen” after Jesus’ giving thanks twice. The first Palestinian and Hellenistic Jewish

167. Cf. LSJ 739 on εὐχομαι II., “vow” or “promise to do,” and εὐχή as “prayer” or “vow.” The LXX is incapable of directly translating נדר, as the continuation shows.

168. Since Jesus expresses belief in his imminent death in Mark 14:22-25, one should not expect mention here of the Nazirite’s obligation to let his hair grow for thirty days or to avoid corpse uncleanness. This is against Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 213 n. 4, who therefore prefers to speak of Jesus’ “Avowal of Abstinence.” Yehudah ha-Nasi could also describe Joseph as a Nazirite abstaining from wine in *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 93/7 on Gen 43:34, even though he knew that Joseph didn’t let his hair grow long or avoid corpse uncleanness as viceroy in Egypt.

169. Cf. Albeck 3:147; Danby 264, here; Neusner 406. Three examples of substitutes for the Nazirite vow are found in 1:2 (ibid., with Albeck 3:148). See also *m. Nazir* 1:1 with other examples, especially “I will be” (אֶהְיֶה) (Albeck 3:195; Danby 280; Neusner 430), closest to Mark 14:25. The tractate “Nazir (The Nazirite Vow)” follows directly after that of “Nedarim (Vows)” because the former, including a vow of abstention, is a sub-category of the latter (see Danby 264 n. 1). In *Num. Rab.* Naso 10/1 on Num 6:2 (Mirkin 9:233; Soncino 5:338), a man proclaims: “I swear (נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי) that I will never drink wine...” This shows one could also become a Nazirite by “swearing” not to drink wine. The terminology was certainly somewhat fluent.

170. The NRSV has “and after blessing it [the bread].” In early Judaism *God* is blessed / thanked as the creator of the bread, and not the bread itself. This should thus read: “and after saying the blessing.”

171. Cf. the discussion in Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 110, 221 and 232. See also Josephus, *Bell.* 2.131 on the priest of the Essenes saying grace before and after a meal.

172. Cf. Albeck 1:30; Neusner 13.

Christian hearers / readers of the Markan account of the Lord's Supper knew this and will have appreciated its catchword connection to Jesus' words in v. 25: "'Amen,' I say to you..."

(b) *The Fruit of the Vine*. The expression "the fruit of the vine" (τὸ γένημα τοῦ ἀμπέλου) in Mark 14:25 par. only occurs here in the New Testament.¹⁷³ If one were not so familiar with it, one would wonder why the simple "wine" (οἶνος) was not employed here, as in 2:22 par. The main reason is that "the fruit of the vine" was part of a liturgical formula spoken during the Passover meal before v. 25 several times. As noted above in 3.7.a., the sanctification ("kiddush") not only of the Sabbath, but also of a festival such as Passover, included the blessing over a cup of wine at the outset: "[Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe,] who creates 'the fruit of the vine'..."¹⁷⁴ It was also employed before drinking from the cup of wine both before and after the meal itself.¹⁷⁵ In referring to "the fruit of the vine" in Mark 14:25, Jesus thus

173. Cf. BAGD 155 on γένημα. They only point to LXX Isa 32:12, ἀμπέλου γενήματος. See also Zech 8:12 with καρπός, "fruit"; Judg 13:14; Jer 2:21; and Hab 3:17; as well as Philo, *Op.* 116; *Ebr.* 2; *Somn.* 2:163; *Mos.* 1:231; and *Aet.* 63; and Josephus, *Ant.* 2:66 in n. 158. The Hebrew of Num 6:4 has יֵינֵה יִצְחָק, "vine of the wine"; the LXX, however, separates the two terms ἄμπελος and οἶνος.

174. Cf. also the discussion in Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 26–29, where he states that the Passover "kiddush" "is the opening of the passover meal and was spoken over the first of the four passover cups" (29).

175. Cf. *m. Pesah.* 10:2, where after the first cup is mixed, the benediction over the wine is spoken (Albeck 2:177; Danby 150; Neusner 249). The Houses of Hillel and Shammai debate as to whether it precedes or comes after the "blessing of the day," by which the "kiddush" is probably meant. In *t. Pesah.* 10:2 (Lieberman, *Mo'ed*, 196; Neusner 2:164) it is stated that the House of Hillel prevailed in that first the benediction over the wine was spoken. See also the blessing over the wine in the earliest recoverable Passover Haggadah in Heinrich Guggenheimer, *The Scholar's Haggadah*. Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Oriental Versions (Northdale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1995), e.g. 84–85. See also 1 Cor 10:16, "the cup of blessing which we bless," and Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 183 and 87. The "in the same way" of 1 Cor 11:25 in regard to the cup (of wine) probably includes "giving thanks," as over the bread in v. 24. While the four cups of wine found in *m. Pes.* 10 cannot be dated with certainty to the early first century CE, I consider them to be most probably early. This is not because of the various haggadic reasons explaining the four cups (see *y. Pes.* 10:1, 37b in Neusner / Bokser / Schiffman 13.476–77). Rather, *b. Pes.* 108b (Soncino 562) states that the "four cups must contain the standard of a *rebī'ith*, whether pure or diluted, whether new [wine] or old." This is a "fourth" of a "log" (לִּי), "a liquid measure equal to the contents of (or the space occupied by) six eggs" (Jastrow 694). In *b. Ker.* 13b (Soncino 101) "a fourth of a log of wine forty days' standing" (i.e., no longer grape juice, but fermented and thus new wine) is capable of causing intoxication. See also *Num. Rab.* Naso 10/8 on Num 6:3 (Mirkin 9:258;

remains consistent and continues imagery he as leader of the Passover festival meal had employed several times just before.¹⁷⁶

(c) *Until That Day*. In Mark 14:25 Jesus states: “Truly I say to you, I will definitely not drink from the fruit of the vine ‘until that day’ when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.” The expression “until that day” is the Greek *ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*. The preposition *ἕως*, “until,” corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic *עַד*.¹⁷⁷

“Until that day” in Mark 14:25 derives directly from Judaic haggadic interpretation of Gen 43:34b. In *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 93/7 on the verse, R. Yehudah ha-Nasi states: “From the day that Joseph was separated from his brothers they drank no wine ‘until that day,’ but all of them abstained from wine. Joseph too did not drink wine ‘until that day,’ but made himself an abstainer / Nazirite from wine, as it says: Gen 49:26.” The Hebrew of “until that day,” twice here, is: *עַד אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם*.¹⁷⁸ *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, which here repeats the abstention from wine tradition in simplified form, also has “until that day,” the Aramaic *עַד יוֹמָא הַהוּא*.¹⁷⁹

Just as Joseph here drank no wine “until that day” when he was reunited with his eleven brothers and again (ate and) drank wine with them, so Jesus declares that he will not drink wine (with the twelve disciples; cf. Matt 26:29’s “with you”) “until that day” when he drinks it anew in the kingdom of God. As was shown in n. 158 above, the latter includes the messianic banquet, at which abundant wine will be present.

Soncino 5:374), where “the Sages have given ‘four’ as the limit for drunkenness, viz. a fourth of a *log* of undiluted wine which is as much as four cups of ordinary wine.” The effects of drunkenness from so much wine are then spelled out (Soncino 5:375). These four fourths, and no more, probably led to the custom of “four” cups at an early time in order to prevent drunkenness at the joyous Passover meal.

176. This imagery was further developed within the context of the Lord’s Supper as celebrated by early Christians. *Did.* 9:2 states: “First, with respect to the cup, ‘We give You thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Your servant, whom You made known to us through Jesus, Your servant.’”

177. Cf. BDB 724,2; Jastrow 1042. An example is Num 6:5, where the Hebrew *עַד* becomes *ἕως* (here with *ἕν*) in the LXX. *Targums Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Neofiti I* all have *עַד*.

178. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1166; Soncino 2:866. Once *אוֹתוֹ* occurs, once the plene form *אוֹתוֹ*. This is also the Hebrew found in the United Bible Societies’ Hebrew New Testament (p. 133). See also the “until” in *Gen. Rab.* Mikketz 92/5 on Gen 43:34b (Theodor and Albeck 1143; Soncino 2:852): “‘until’ they saw him.” A parallel is found in 98/20 (Theodor and Albeck 1271; Soncino 2:971).

179. Cf. Clarke 56; Eng. Maher 144. This is closer to the Hebrew New Testament of Delitzsch, which reads (p. 92): *עַד הַיּוֹם הַהוּא*. See also Joel 4:18, “‘In that day’ the mountains shall drip sweet / new wine.”

(d) *New Wine in the Kingdom of God.*

(α) *New Wine.* Mark 14:25 ends with Jesus saying: “until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.” The word “it” (αὐτό) refers back to “fruit” (γένημα—of the vine) in the same verse. The adjective “new” (καινόν), however, does not follow “it,” but rather “I drink,” the present subjunctive meant here as “I will drink.” Strangely, the adjective νέος for “new” wine is not employed here as in Mark 2:22; Isa 49:26; and Sir 9:10.¹⁸⁰ Because it would be highly unusual for “new” to stand alone in the predicate in Aramaic and Hebrew,¹⁸¹ various suggestions have been made to come to terms with this difficulty. Robert Gundry believed it was the Evangelist Mark who himself “transferred newness from the present covenant (1 Cor 11:25; Luke 22:20) to the future drinking.” Here it is not an adjective for him, but an adverb meaning “again” or “anew.”¹⁸² Vincent Taylor suggests that Jesus said: “until I am renewed (אתחדת) in the kingdom of God.”¹⁸³ Dissatisfied with these proposals, Maurice Casey offered the Aramaic: “until that day on which I drink it and it (will be) new in the kingdom of God.”¹⁸⁴

I suggest instead that the Palestinian Jewish Christian who first formulated Mark 14:25 in a Semitic language continued to think of Jesus as a Nazirite here. Numbers 6:3 states of such a person: “he shall separate himself / be a Nazirite ‘from wine and strong drink’ (מִיַּיִן וְשִׁכָּר).” All four available targums have here: “from wine, new and old” (מִחֲמַר חֲדָת וְעֵתִיק).¹⁸⁵ Influenced by this terminology, he formulated: “when I will

180. Cf. BAGD 536,1. on νέος as “new,” “fresh,” with examples of new wine still fermenting, and 394,3.b. on καινός “in the sense that what is old has become obsolete, and should be replaced by what is new,” especially in eschatological usage such as here.

181. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 184, agreeing with Dalman here (n. 5).

182. Robert Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 834. Joel Marcus in *Mark 8–16*, 959, also treats καινόν as an adverb modifying “I (will) drink”: again, in a new way, “anew.” Unfortunately, the Modern Hebrew מְחֻדָּשׁ, “anew,” does not seem to be found in Early Hebrew. Gnilya, *Das Evangelium nach Markus (Mk 8,27–16,20)*, 243, also presumes “new” is a later addition.

183. Cf. his *The Gospel According to St Mark* (New York: St Martin’s, 1966), 547.

184. Cf. his *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 220–21 and 243. He believes the author was a disciple (not one of the twelve) who himself participated in the meal (251). Other suggestions on “new” are listed in Robert Stein, *Mark* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 653.

185. See *Onqelos* in Sperber 1:228, Eng. Grossfeld 86; *Pseudo-Jonathan* in Clarke 163, Eng. 203; *Neofiti 1* in Díez Macho 4:49, Eng. McNamara 48; and

drink ‘wine, new,’ in the kingdom of God.” This expression in single quotation marks would be חמר חדת in Aramaic, or יין חדש in Hebrew.

When a Hellenistic Jewish Christian translated the whole sentence into Greek, he correctly rendered the liturgical formula “the fruit of the vine” (= wine) as τὸ γένημα τοῦ ἀμπέλου. Yet when he attempted to translate “wine, new,” he recalled the neuter of the Greek for “fruit,” which he had just formulated, and inserted “it” (αὐτό) before “I will drink.” Clumsily, he then omitted the original “wine,” for he already had “the fruit of the vine,” but retained “new” (καινόν). It is now neuter, agreeing with the neuter “it.” Yet it can also be the masculine considered to be the accusative singular, agreeing with an assumed / omitted “wine.” The translator’s conundrum thus led to the present ambiguity.

If the above suggestion is basically correct, it means that “wine, new” / “new wine” was in the Semitic original of Mark 14:25.¹⁸⁶ R. Eleazar ha-Qappar, a fourth-generation Tanna,¹⁸⁷ in *Sifre* Naso 23 on Num 6:3 states that “‘Wine’ refers to mixed wine, while ‘strong drink’ refers to wine that is not diluted.”¹⁸⁸ Wine was sometimes diluted as one portion of wine to three portions of water.¹⁸⁹ Another tradition, perhaps more frequent, has to two portions of water.¹⁹⁰ In regard to the same expression

Fragment Targum, MS “V,” in Klein 1:191 and 2:149. The only variant is מן / מן, “from.” It should be recalled that the next verse, v. 5, has “from the wine of the vine.” *Num. Rab.* Naso 10/8 on Num 6:3 also has “new wine” (יין חדש) (Mirkin 9:261; Soncino 5:379).

186. On wine, cf. Judah Eisenstein, “Wine,” *JE* 12 (1906): 532–35; and *EJ* 21 (2007): 80–81; and the section on wine in Samuel Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1911), 2:239–43, with the notes.

187. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 88.

188. Cf. Horovitz 23; Neusner 1:135. Parallels are found in *Sifre Zutta* on 6:3 (Horovitz 240; Neusner 30), and *Num. Rab.* Naso 10/8 (Mirkin 9:260; Soncino 5:378).

189. Cf. *b. Peş.* 108b (Soncino 561, with n. 7). A kettle containing water for mixing wine at the Passover meal is mentioned in *m. Peş.* 7:13 (Albeck 2:168; Danby 146; Neusner 244). *Num. Rab.* 10/8 on Num 6:3 states regarding a greater dilution: “the Sages have given ‘four’ as the limit for drunkenness, viz. a fourth of a log of undiluted wine, which is as much as four cups [of ordinary wine]” (Mirkin 9:258; Soncino 5:374). See also n. 175 above.

190. Cf. *b. Šabb.* 77a (Soncino 364) regarding (strong) Sharon wine. Before this, however, it is stated that “Wine which does not carry three parts of water to one [of itself] is not wine.” The latter thus seems to be the minimum amount of wine to be still called wine. See also *Num. Rab.* Bemidbar 1/4 on Num 1:1, which states regarding the mingled wine of Cant 7:3, “Wine that is mixed in the correct proportions consists of one-third of a cup of wine to two-thirds of water” (Mirkin 9:15; Soncino 5:10).

“wine and strong drink” as found in Lev 10:9, “Our Rabbis taught” that the quantity which can cause drunkenness is “a fourth of a *log* of wine of forty days’ standing.”¹⁹¹ In *b. Sanh.* 70a the question is asked how long wine may be called “new wine.” The answer is: “As long as it is in its first stage of fermentation.” This is explained shortly thereafter by: “wine is unattractive until it is forty days old.”¹⁹²

“New wine” in the MT is expressed by סִיחֵי, “sweet wine.”¹⁹³ The LXX version of Isa 49:26 has for it οἶνος νέος, “new wine.” Both Amos 9:13 and Joel 4:18 in the LXX have here γλυκασμός, “sweet wine,”¹⁹⁴ related to Acts 2:13, where some sneer regarding the Christians’ speaking in various languages at Pentecost: “They are filled with ‘new wine’” (γλεῦκος, lit. ‘sweet new wine’).¹⁹⁵ However, Peter says in v. 15 that they are not drunk. Amos 9:13 and Joel 4:18 have almost the identical phrase, “the mountains shall drip ‘sweet wine,’” prefaced in Joel by “in that day.”¹⁹⁶ In *Gen. Rab.* Vayyigash 93/5 on Gen 44:18 the “sweet wine” here is interpreted of Joseph’s brothers (the tribes).¹⁹⁷ Elsewhere Joel 4:18 is often related to the time or world to come.

191. Cf. *b. Ker.* 13b (Soncino 101, with n. 4).

192. Cf. Soncino 475. In *m. Ḳavot* 4:20, R. Yose b. Judah, a fourth-generation Tanna (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 88), says that one who learns from the young is like “one that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from the winepress,” that is, new wine (Albeck 4:373; Danby 455; Neusner 684). Is the time limit of forty days somehow connected to the forty days between Jesus’ Resurrection and his ascension in Acts 1:3? Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Mk 8,27–16,20), 250, refers Mark 14:25 to this period.

193. Cf. BDB 779: Isa 49:26; Amos 9:13; Joel 1:15 and 4:18; and Cant 8:2. Jastrow 1098 has “must, young wine.” The Aramaic is the same. It is related to תִּירוֹשׁ, “juice, must, wine” (Jastrow 1666). See also 1Q28a (1QSa) 2.11–22 (Martínez and Tigchelaar 102–103) for the time when God begets the Messiah. Then the members of the community will gather at table and drink “new wine” (תִּירוֹשׁ). Making a vow to abstain from *tirosh*, “(fermented) wine,” was permitted, however (Jastrow 1666). This makes it different from *‘asis*.

194. Cf. LSJ 353.

195. Cf. BAGD 162, only here in the New Testament.

196. The *Targum* has here חֲמֵר מְרִית, “sweet wine” (Sperber 3:416; Eng. Cathcart 73). See Jastrow 844 on this adjective with wine: “first flow of trodden grapes, sweet wine.”

197. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 1153–54; Soncino 2:858. See also *Tanh.* B Noah 21 on Gen 9:27 with the “tribes” and Joseph, whom they sold after sitting down to eat (and drink wine). God states in regard to such a “stumbling block”: “in the world to come I am turning wine into ‘sweet wine,’” as in Joel 4:18 (Buber 50–51; Eng. Townsend 54). On the latter motif spoken by R. Ishmael, a second-generation Tanna (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 79), see *Lev. Rab.* Shemini 12/5 on Lev 10:9 with “wine and strong drink” (Mirkin 7:136; Soncino 4:160–61).

If Mark 14:25 is from Jesus, the above could imply that although he expected to be killed imminently (vv. 22-24), he also believed God would vindicate and resurrect him very soon thereafter (sometime within forty days, the period of new wine). When God's rule then became complete (when His "kingdom" came), he would resume table fellowship with his disciples and drink with them "new / sweet wine." Alternatively, Jesus in 14:25 could have meant that he would very soon drink the "new" (καινός) wine of the new (messianic or final: cf. n. 180) age. If the Hellenistic Jewish Christian translator understood the Semitic so, it is understandable that he rendered it not with νέος, but with καινός. In the event that the verse does not stem from Jesus, the author, like Mark's hearers and readers, would have envisaged a much longer period, years, even decades, before the *parousia* of their Lord (Mark 13:7-8, 10, 32).

(β) *Wine at the Messianic Banquet.* At the healing of the centurion's servant, Jesus says to his followers: "I tell you, many will come from east and west and will eat with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven..." (Matt 8:11 // Luke 13:28-29 with "kingdom of God"). According to Luke 14:15, a guest at a banquet (with wine) said to Jesus: "Blessed is anyone who will eat bread in the kingdom of God."¹⁹⁸ Jesus then tells a parable of one who gives a large banquet, which at the time entailed the drinking of wine (14:16-24). Matthew 22:1-10 has it as a wedding banquet, at which wine was drunk for seven days, as at the wedding at Cana in John 2:1-11.¹⁹⁹ The prophet from Nazareth compared himself with the bridegroom at a wedding feast, who therefore did not fast or abstain from wine (Mark 2:19-20, with "new wine" in v. 22). Indeed, he was accused of being a "wine-bibber," who even participated in banquets with tax collectors and sinners (Matt 11:19 // Luke 7:34). Jesus' table fellowship with his own adherents, and with those considered the outcasts of society at that time, was a foretaste of the "messianic banquet" indicated in Mark 14:25b.²⁰⁰ At this banquet, also

198. Cf. also Rev 19:9, "Blessed are those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb."

199. Cf. Judg 14:15; Tob 11:18; and elsewhere. Through his transforming a fantastic amount of water into wine at Cana, Jesus is thought of as already giving a foretaste of the messianic banquet. See my "The Wedding Feast at Cana (John 2:1-11), and Ahasuerus' Wedding Feast in Judaic Traditions on Esther 1," in *Water into Wine and the Beheading of John the Baptist: Early Jewish-Christian Interpretation of Esther 1 in John 2:1-11 and Mark 6:17-29* (BJS 150; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 1-37 (8-9 and 28).

200. Many of the sources on the messianic banquet are found in Str-B 4:1154-65. Jesus is not represented in 14:25 as meaning a reunion Passover meal, which would have been a year later. If the verse is genuine, he meant a much shorter time. The messianic banquet could be thought of as taking place on a renewed or

called the meal of the righteous, it is emphasized that wine would be served. This special wine goes back to the Garden of Eden.

Genesis Rabbah Bereshith 15/7 on Gen 2:9, “and the tree of knowledge of good and evil,” asks: “What was the tree whereof Adam and Eve ate?” R. Yehudah b. R. Ilai, a third-generation Tanna,²⁰¹ said: “It was grapes, for it says, ‘Their grapes are grapes of gall, they have clusters of bitterness’ (Deut 32:32). Those clusters brought bitterness [i.e., sorrow] into the world.”²⁰² R. Nehemiah, another third-generation Tanna,²⁰³ commented on the same verse by associating the vine with “the primeval serpent [Satan] that caused Adam and Eve to go astray.”²⁰⁴ Other sources corroborate this view.²⁰⁵ R. Ishmael, a second-generation Tanna,²⁰⁶ noted that God said: “Seeing that in this world wine is a stumbling-block for mankind, in the time to come I will make it an object of rejoicing, as it is said, ‘And it shall come to pass in that day that the mountains shall drop down sweet wine’ (Joel 4:18).”²⁰⁷ Once the cause of sin, wine in the future (at the messianic banquet) will thus be a source of great joy.²⁰⁸

transformed earth, as in Isa 65:17. Verse 21 says that then people will enjoy the fruit of the vineyard (see also 62:9, and especially 25:6). In Mark 12:25, however, Jesus states that at the resurrection of the dead, no more marriages will take place, “but they are like angels in heaven.” These neither eat nor drink. For example, when three of them accepted the hospitality of Abraham and ate in Gen 18:8, they only appeared to do so. See *Gen. Rab.* Vayera 48/14 (Theodor and Albeck 491; Soncino 1:415), and *b. B. Mešia* 86b (Soncino 498). Louis Ginzberg’s statement about the messianic banquet is relevant in this regard. It “wants to convey the view that this will be the last feast, after which the pure spiritual life will begin, when there will be no bodily needs or pleasures” (*The Legends*, 5:43 n. 127, referring to Luzzatto).

201. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 84–85.

202. Cf. Theodor and Albeck 140; Soncino 1:123. Parallels are found in *Lev. Rab.* Shemini 12/1 on Lev 10:9 (Mirkin 7:130; Soncino 4:154), and *Esth. Rab.* 5/1 (Vilna 17; Soncino 9:67). In *The Legends* 5:97 n. 70, Ginzberg states: “The oldest and most prevalent view identifies the forbidden fruit with the grape, which goes back to an old mythological idea that wine is the beverage of the gods.”

203. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 85.

204. Cf. *Sifre* Ha’azinu 323 on Deut 32:32 (Finkelstein 374; Eng. Hammer 336).

205. Cf. *Num. Rab.* Naso 10/2 on Num 6:2 (Mirkin 9:235; Soncino 5:339); 10/4 on the same verse with Gen 3:6 and Prov 23:31 (Mirkin 9:247; Soncino 5:359); and *Apoc. Abr.* 23:7 (*OTP* 1:700).

206. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 79.

207. Cf. *Lev. Rab.* Shemini 12/5 (Mirkin 7:136; Soncino 4:160–61). Referring to this passage, Ginzberg, *The Legends*, 5:98 n. 71, remarked that “the wine of paradise preserved for the pious is probably related to the view that the fruit which brought sin into the world will become a ‘healing’ in the world to come...”

208. Cf. in this respect Frederick Grant in “The Gospel According to St. Mark,” *IB* 7 (1951): 878, on Mark 14:25, who states: “‘Drink it new,’ as everything in the

According to 2 (*Syrian*) *Baruch* 29, in the time to come, when the Anointed One (= Messiah) is revealed, Behemoth and Leviathan will provide “nourishment for all who are left,” and there will be a superabundance of wine.²⁰⁹ R. Joshua b. Levi, a first-generation Palestinian Amora,²¹⁰ stated that the phrase “the eye has not seen” in Isa 64:3 refers to “the wine that has been kept with its grapes since the six days of Creation.”²¹¹ In *Num. Rab.* Naso 13/2, dealing with the messianic interpretation of Cant 4:16, God in the time to come “will prepare a feast for the righteous in the Garden of Eden,” and He will “give them to drink of the wine that is preserved in its grapes since the six days of Creation...”²¹² The latter is also found in *Targ. Ps.-Jon. Gen 27:25*,²¹³ *Targ. Eccl 9:7*,²¹⁴ and *Targ. Cant 8:2*.²¹⁵

When Jesus is represented in Mark 14:25 as saying he will again drink of the fruit of the vine / wine when God reigns completely / in His kingdom, this will be the special wine served at the messianic banquet, which “new wine” in Judaic tradition goes back to the Garden of Eden.

* * *

The biblical narrative of Joseph was very popular in Palestine and elsewhere both before and after the time of Jesus. In addition, seven analogies can be made between Jesus and Judaic tradition on Joseph. This helps to explain how Judaic traditions on the reunion meal of Joseph and his brothers, including Joseph’s having become a “Nazirite” and his abstaining from wine for twenty-two years, could have been applied by a Palestinian Jewish Christian to Jesus at his final meal with

Kingdom will be new, new as in the first creation.” See also Rev 2:7, where the exalted Christ says: “To everyone who conquers, I will give permission to eat from the tree of life that is in the paradise of God.”

209. Cf. *OTP* 1:630–31. A. Klijn thinks the Syriac was translated from Greek, which in turn was from a Hebrew original, and that the writing comes from Palestine “from the first or second decade of the second century” CE (1:616–17).

210. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 92–93.

211. Cf. *b. Sanh.* 99a (Soncino 671) within a discussion of the days of the Messiah. A parallel is found in *b. Ber.* 34b (Soncino 215, with n. 5).

212. Cf. Mirkin 10:46; Soncino 6:500–501.

213. Cf. Clarke 31; Eng. Maher 96. Here an angel provides Jacob with this special wine to give to his father Isaac. It is the fifteenth of Nisan, i.e. Passover. See *Targ. Ps.-Jon. Gen 27:1*, 6, 9 (Clarke 31; Eng. Maher 94–95), and *Pirq. R. El.* 32 (Eshkol 111; Eng. Friedlander 236–37).

214. Cf. Knobel 45.

215. Cf. Alexander 190–91, with the King Messiah, and his notes 9–10 on numerous parallels. See also note “h” on new wine and old wine in this passage.

his twelve disciples. In Mark 14:25 Jesus informs them that he will not drink of the fruit of the vine / wine again until he does so (with them) when God rules completely, i.e. at the messianic banquet. One may question the analogous character of a particular expression or motif analyzed above. Cumulatively, however, they make a strong argument for Judaic Joseph traditions, especially on Gen 43:34, as having been applied to Jesus by an early Palestinian Jewish Christian in Mark 14:25.

V. The Language and Provenance of Mark 14:25

1. The Language

It is incontestable that Mark 14:25 has been translated into Greek from a Semitic language.²¹⁶ In various sections above I have pointed out analogous expressions and formulations both in Hebrew (almost all the haggadic traditions are in this language) and in Aramaic (above all, the targums), and how the Hellenistic Jewish Christian translator was clumsy or at least infelicitous in several of his renderings (e.g. “new”).²¹⁷ The term “Amen” is Hebrew, as is “the fruit of the vine” for wine. The latter was part of a liturgical blessing formula employed at the beginning of a festival meal, and at least twice during the Passover meal itself—all in Hebrew. Thus v. 25 could have been originally formulated in this language, whether it is from Jesus or not.²¹⁸ The almost exclusive use of Hebrew in the pre-70 CE writings from Qumran, as well as the originals of *Pseudo-Philo* and *2 Baruch*, show that Hebrew was still employed in Palestinian writings up to 125 CE, at least by those Jews with some education.

However, Jesus’ mother tongue was Aramaic. If Mark 14:25 is historical, he would more naturally have spoken it to his disciples in that language. The proposed renderings into Aramaic by Bruce Chilton²¹⁹ and Maurice Casey²²⁰ show that this is indeed possible. Yet the latter may not be taken by itself as a sign of genuineness. Agreeing with Joachim Jeremias, I believe the question of whether v. 25 was originally in Hebrew or Aramaic must still be left open, although I myself tend towards Aramaic.

216. Cf. the evidence presented in Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 182–84.

217. For other examples such as οὐκέτι οὐ μή, and ἐκ instead of ἀπό before “the fruit of the vine,” see Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 182–84.

218. Cf. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 198, who observes that the “solemn avowal of abstinence” (v. 25) and other things in vv. 22–24 could have been in Hebrew.

219. Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings*, 44.

220. Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 220–21.

2. The Provenance

If Mark 14:25 was spoken by Jesus, its Palestinian origin is clear. If it was not, since it was originally composed in either Aramaic or Hebrew, and almost all the first Jewish Christians came from Galilee and Judea, Palestine remains the most probable provenance.²²¹

VI. The Historicity, Meanings, and Genre of Mark 14:25

1. The Historicity

Many scholars consider Mark 14:25 to be historical, i.e., spoken by Jesus in its present context.²²² Others retain its historicity but maintain it came from elsewhere.²²³ Yet they have a very difficult time proposing a concrete life setting for it. Why would Jesus have spoken the contents of v. 25 at another, earlier fellowship meal if he states that he will now cease drinking wine?

Others consider Mark 14:25 to be non-historical for various reasons.²²⁴ While I do not exclude the possibility that Jesus spoke the basic contents of the verse, I also tend to regard it as non-historical. This is primarily because it appears to be a Palestinian Jewish Christian application of Judaic traditions regarding Joseph to Jesus, as I have attempted to demonstrate extensively above. Each of the two figures, like a Nazirite, will not drink wine again until the reunion meal with his brothers / the disciples.²²⁵ I would thus modify Crawford's suggestion and propose

221. Antioch in Syria may not be completely excluded, for both Greek and Aramaic were spoken there, the latter by a large Jewish segment of the population.

222. Cf., e.g., Lebeau, *Le vin nouveau du royaume*, 98; Wojciechowski, "Le naziréat et la passion," 94–96; Camille Focant, *L'évangile selon Marc* (Commentaire biblique: Nouveau Testament 2; Paris: Cerf, 2004), 527; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium, II. Teil* (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 362; Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 243–47; and Chepey, *Nazirites*, 150–51.

223. Cf., e.g., Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 100 ("special tradition" separate from vv. 22–24, which are "the earliest part of the accounts of the Last Supper"); Ossam-Batan, *The Institution of the Eucharist in the Gospel of Mark*, 144 n. 130; and Josef Blank, "Der 'eschatologische Ausblick' Mk 14,25 und seine Bedeutung," in *Kontinuität und Einheit* (Festschrift Franz Mussner; ed. Paul-Gerhard Müller and Werner Stenger; Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1981), 513.

224. Cf. Bultmann, *The History*, 265, for vv. 22–25 as "the cult legend of the Hellenistic circles around Paul," with v. 25 from an older, displaced account; and Yarbello Collins, *Mark*, 657, who states that the Evangelist placed v. 25 after vv. 22–24. It may be a pre-Markan tradition, but Mark may also have composed it.

225. Mark 15:23 should not be used against Jesus' being characterized as a Nazirite in 14:25. It describes Jesus' not taking the wine mixed with myrrh offered him on the Cross (see *b. Sanh.* 43a on its numbing effect in Soncino 279–80, and

that one of the Palestinian Jewish Christian prophets, celebrating the Lord's Supper, uttered v. 25 as a kind of eschatological benediction or promise at the end of the meal.²²⁶ It gained rapid popularity and was attached to the words of institution, vv. 22-24, at a very early date. In this pre-Markan form the unit vv. 22-25 then became available to the earliest Evangelist. The intentions of v. 25, however, require additional elucidation.

2. The Meanings

If Mark 14:25 is from Jesus, it has more than one meaning. To begin with, it conveys in an indirect manner the prophet from Nazareth's conviction that he will be killed imminently. His blood will be shed very soon (v. 24). To this extent it is another, the last, "passion prediction." Yet it also reassures Jesus' disciples that he *will* drink new wine in the kingdom of God, i.e., when God exerts His rule over all things, also quite soon. This will take place with them (Matt 26:29 correctly: "with you") at the so-called messianic banquet (Matt 8:11 // Luke 13:28-29). Before this, they will judge the twelve tribes of Israel with him at the renewal of all things (Matt 19:28 // Luke 22:30).

Mark 14:25 also expresses Jesus' firm belief that his Father will vindicate his ministry, which consisted in part of healings and exorcisms through which the kingdom of God was already present (Matt 12:23 // Luke 11:20), by resurrecting him from the dead. Although he could easily have avoided capture, Jesus chose to suffer voluntarily and vicariously "for many" (Mark 14:24). By vowing not to drink wine again until God vindicated him, Jesus to a certain extent contended with Him, hoping through his final actions to induce his heavenly Father to

parallels in Str-B 1:1037), thus allowing him still to be thought of as a Nazirite at this point. Matthew 27:34 has him taste, but not drink this wine. Just before Jesus expires, Mark 15:36 also relates that someone gave him sour wine to drink. If he mocked Jesus with the words, "Wait, let us see whether Elijah will come to take him down," Jesus can hardly be represented as having drunk this either. Luke 23:36, after omitting the motif at v. 33, says the mocking soldiers offered Jesus sour wine, but here too no notice is made of his drinking it. John 19:30 states that Jesus did receive the sour wine held to his mouth before expiring. Yet this is an haggadic expansion of "I am thirsty" from Ps 69:21 ("for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink"), a Scripture to be fulfilled according to 19:28. It is probably also behind Mark 15:36 and Luke 23:36.

226. Cf. his basic suggestion, which I have modified, in "Near Expectation in the Sayings of Jesus," 240. Even today, after Protestant communicants have received bread and wine / grape juice as a group, the pastor dismisses them with a Bible verse or sometimes with a spontaneously formulated blessing.

establish His final rule—imminently.²²⁷ He could even have imagined this to take place during the upcoming seven-day festival of Passover, celebrating Israel's redemption.

Judaic traditions considered the (night and) day of the fifteenth of Nisan to consist of miracles.²²⁸ This was for example the time when God made a covenant with Abraham between the parts (Gen 15); the ministering angels informed Abraham of the upcoming birth of his son Isaac (18:10); and the birth of Isaac (21:1-2).²²⁹ It was also the date on which Joseph was released from captivity,²³⁰ and on which God saved Hezekiah, Hananiah and his companions, and Daniel from the lions' den.²³¹ R. Joshua (b. Ḥananyah), a second-generation Tanna,²³² interpreted Exod 12:42, including "throughout their generations," to mean: "In that night they were redeemed [in Egypt], and in that night they will be redeemed in the future."²³³ *Exodus Rabbah* on the same verse states: "and on that night the Messiah and Elijah will appear."²³⁴

This is the reason the celebration of the Passover at the time of Jesus had strong eschatological overtones and a large contingent of Roman troops, including Pontius Pilate, came precisely then from Caesarea on the Mediterranean Sea to Jerusalem. Pilate feared a possible revolt based on Jewish messianic fervor. To quell such, he preemptively had Jesus crucified as a messianic pretender, as a revolutionary considered an enemy of Rome (Mark 14:26, "The King of the Jews").

In Mark 14:25 Jesus could thus very well have meant that God would vindicate him imminently (as the Messiah of Israel), already within the next seven days of Passover, celebrating the (final) redemption of Israel. Within a very short period of time he would thus drink "new wine" in the kingdom of God (with his closest followers and others at the messianic banquet). In addition to pointing to his imminent suffering and death, Jesus' words in Mark 14:25 would thus also convey joyful anticipation,

227. On the latter, cf. also Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words*, 216 ("almost a wrestling with God"); Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 968; and Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 394 ("and hasten the consummation of the kingdom").

228. Cf. the index in Ginzberg, *The Legends*, 7:347, on "Nisan, the fifteenth of."

229. Cf. *Mek. R. Ish.* Piṣḥa 14 on Exod 12:41 (Lauterbach 1:112-13).

230. Cf. *Exod. Rab.* Bo 18/11 on Exod 12:41 (Mirkin 5:219; Soncino 3:227).

231. Cf. *Exod. Rab.* Bo 18/12 on Exod 12:42 (Mirkin 5:219; Soncino 3:227).

232. Cf. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 77.

233. Cf. *Mek. R. Ish.* Piṣḥa 14 on this verse (Lauterbach 1:115-16). In *Mek. R. Šim. b. Yoḥ.* Piṣḥa 16 ad loc., Joshua states "in Nisan," allowing for somewhat more time (Nelson 58).

234. Cf. n. 231. As suggested by Radal in Soncino 3:227 n. 7, the verb מתגדלִין, "shall be made great / magnified," should be read as מתגאֲלִין.

signified by the delightful drinking of wine, in the kingdom of God, which would then be fulfilled.²³⁵

If Mark 14:25 is not from Jesus, several of the above meanings are nevertheless valid since the Evangelist Mark appropriated the unit of vv. 22-25 from an earlier source. The Palestinian Jewish Christian author of v. 25, however, modeled it on Judaic tradition regarding Gen 43:34 with Joseph's abstaining from wine until the reunion meal with his brothers after a long period, twenty-two years. If the author was one of the Palestinian Jewish Christian prophets, who composed the saying as an appropriate closure to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the term "until" (ἕως) now obviously meant not a number of days, but of years, even decades. Nevertheless, the Apostle Paul for example still expected Jesus to return within his own lifetime,²³⁶ and could pray in Aramaic at the end of a letter, "O Lord, come!" (μαρانا θα in 1 Cor 16:22).²³⁷ He also concluded his transmission of the words of institution with: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death 'until he comes'" (1 Cor 11:26). This shows that Jesus' return or *parousia* was hoped and prayed for even a few decades after his death. In the Gospel of Mark this interim period was extended even further, as shown in 13:7-8, and above all in v. 10. However, since the reader knew from church tradition that Jesus' prophecies regarding Judas in 14:18 and the disciples in vv. 27-31 had already been fulfilled, s/he also was confident that Jesus' indirect prophecy in v. 25 would also be fulfilled. Until that time the "good news" should be shared with all peoples.²³⁸ Nevertheless, the regular celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Markan community would already now provide its members a foretaste of the "new wine" Jesus would drink with them at his return, when God's rule would be complete, His kingdom would come. They also prayed for it probably daily in the Lord's Prayer: "May Your kingdom come."

235. Cf. Ezra Gould, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (ICC 32; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896/1955), 266; Julius Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (NTD 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 147 ("the meal of joy which will be celebrated when God's kingdom arrives"; however, he is wrong in speaking of "triumph" here—this is also true for Heinrich Seesemann's entry "οἶνος," in *TDNT* 5:164); and Eduard Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (NTD 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 166, who notes Acts 2:46.

236. Cf. 1 Thess 4:15; 1 Cor 15:51-52, as well as 10:11; and Rom 13:11.

237. Cf. this expression also in *Did.* 10:6 from ca. 100 CE, possibly from Syria (Bart Ehrman in LCL, *The Apostolic Fathers* 1:411). This is in connection with the Eucharist.

238. Cf. Acts 1:6 and 8 for Jesus' restoring the kingdom to Israel only after the apostles are his witnesses "to the ends of the earth."

3. The Genre

Very few scholars have concerned themselves with the genre of Mark 14:25. Rudolf Pesch says it is “a prophecy of death within a meal situation.” The second part of the verse is close to the not dying of special persons such as the righteous or disciples.²³⁹ Joachim Gnilka considers v. 25 to be a prophetic saying, with a double negation as a formal characteristic, but it is also “an announcement similar to an oath,” but not a vow of abstention.²⁴⁰ In his special study of forms and genres in the New Testament, Klaus Berger includes v. 25 under the larger category of “prophecies of adversity as prophecies of suffering.”²⁴¹ It belongs to the subdivision of “prophecies of one’s own suffering,” here with the announcement of one’s own death. The partial origin of these is in “the genre of testaments, in which the person about to die prophesies his imminent death.” The meal situation in v. 25 corresponds to this.²⁴² I consider the latter suggestion of a testament, however, to apply better to the long farewell speech / testament of Jesus at the meal in John 13–17, after which he proceeds across the Kidron Valley to a garden (18:1), from which he is taken off to his death.

Mark 14:25a is indeed an indirect prophecy of Jesus’ own imminent death, this now strengthened in the immediate context by v. 24. Yet the entire verse is also a vow of abstinence based on Judaic tradition concerning Joseph as a Nazirite (Deut 33:16; Gen 49:26; and the Nazirite in Num 6, especially v. 3) until that day when he celebrates a reunion meal with his brothers (Gen 43:34b). Jesus of Nazareth is represented here as a Nazirite. As with Joseph, there will be a conclusion to the period of his vow: when Jesus drinks new wine in the kingdom of God (at the messianic banquet with his disciples and all the righteous). I therefore suggest that the best characterization of the genre of Mark 14:25 is the simple: “a prophecy of one’s imminent death, including a vow of abstention until the fulfillment of that vow.”

239. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium, II. Teil*, 355; for a full discussion of his view, see pp. 355–56 and 361.

240. Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus (Mk 8,27–16,20)*, 246.

241. Klaus Berger, *Formen und Gattungen im Neuen Testament* (UTB 2532; Tübingen: A. Francke, 2005), 350.

242. Berger, *Formen und Gattungen*, 350.

THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES IN THE THIRD GOSPEL

R. Steven Notley and Jeffrey P. García

More than half a century has passed since the publication of Black's influential work, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*.¹ Following the work of Dalman,² Torrey,³ Burney,⁴ and Jeremias,⁵ Black⁶ established a linguistic assumption regarding the Gospels that continues to dominate New Testament scholarship, viz., that Aramaic was Jesus' primary language of discourse⁷ and that the Gospels made use of Aramaic sources. The studies offered by Segal,⁸ Kutscher,⁹

1. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946).

2. G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu: mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Buchhandlung, 1898); Eng. trans. by D. M. Kay, *The Words of Jesus Considered in Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902).

3. C. C. Torrey, *The Four Gospels: A New Translation* (New York: Harpers, 1933); *idem*, "The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels," in *Studies in the History of Religions: Festschrift for C. H. Toy* (ed. D. G. Lyon and G. F. Moore; New York: Macmillan, 1912), 296–317.

4. C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922).

5. J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935; 4th ed., 1967); Eng. trans. *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1966).

6. Black also spends time discussing the earlier contribution of J. Wellhausen (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1905) and E. Nestle (*Philologica Sacra: Bemerkungen über die Urgestalt der Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte*, 1896) to the study of Aramaic influence on the Gospels.

7. Black, *An Aramaic Approach*, Chapter 2.

8. M. H. Segal, "Mishnaic Hebrew and Its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic," *JQR* 20 (1908): 647–737; *idem*, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927).

9. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIsa)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974); *idem*, "Hebrew Language," *EncJud*, 8:634–39; *idem*, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1982).

Grintz,¹⁰ Rabin,¹¹ and Safrai,¹² have had little impact on the manner in which New Testament scholars approach the Gospels; Aramaic remains the principal language of inquiry into the Semitic background of the Gospels.¹³ In contrast to the dominance of Aramaic in New Testament scholarship, the inscriptional evidence unearthed in the previous century attests to Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek comprising the linguistic landscape of first-century Judea.¹⁴ The discoveries in the Judean Desert alone reflect this ancient reality. Of the almost 950 documents discovered and written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, the vast majority are

10. J. M. Grintz, "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple," *JBL* 79 (1960): 32–47.

11. C. Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century," in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; 2 vols.; CRINT; Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976), 2:1007–39.

12. S. Safrai, "Spoken and Literary Languages in the Time of Jesus," in *Jesus' Last Week* (ed. S. Notley, M. Turnage, and B. Becker; Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels 1; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 225–44 (first published in *Jerusalem Perspective* 30, 31 [1991], <http://www.jerusalemerspective.com/2563/>). See also Randall Buth, "Language Use in the First Century: Spoken Hebrew in a Trilingual Society in the Time of Jesus," *JOTT* 5/4 (1992): 298–312.

13. This is the case despite a common understanding to the contrary in other fields of academic discourse. Y. Breuer states, "Scholars had been of the opinion that, after the return of the Babylonian exiles, Hebrew no longer served as a spoken language. On this account Hebrew retained its status as a holy tongue and was used in prayer and in Torah study, and for this reason the Mishnah and contemporary tannaitic literature was composed in Hebrew, but in everyday life Aramaic alone was spoken. Today this view is no longer accepted, the scholarly consensus now being that Hebrew speech survived in all walks of life at least until the end of the tannaitic period (the beginning of the third century CE)" ("Aramaic in Late Antiquity," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 4, *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* [ed. S. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006], 457–58). See also Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 117–18. For the continued dominance of Aramaic in New Testament scholarship, see M. Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel* (SNTSMS 102; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *idem*, *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospel of Matthew and Luke* (SNTSMS 122; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). J. A. Fitzmyer comments in his review of Casey's *Aramaic Sources*, that with Casey's work the "Investigation of the Aramaic Substratum of the Gospels Moves into a New Phase" (*CBQ* 62 [2000]: 139).

14. See G. Baltes, "The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic in Epigraphic Sources of the New Testament Era," in *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea* (ed. R. S. Notley and R. Buth; Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels 2; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 35–65; Safrai, "Spoken and Literary Languages"; Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic"; and also J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–31.

in Hebrew.¹⁵ Indeed, documents that originated from the Qumran Congregation were all penned in Hebrew.¹⁶ The data, therefore, suggests that Hebrew played a significant role in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Congregation.

It is not surprising that the Gospels, which reflect the linguistic character of the Second Temple period, preserve indications that Jesus regularly used Hebrew, especially to teach. The clearest example is his use of narrative parables. Of the 456 rabbinical parables that appear in the literature of the Tannaim, not a single one is in Aramaic.¹⁷ All Jewish story-parables of the type attributed to Jesus are in Hebrew.¹⁸ Even later parables that appear in Aramaic literary contexts, are in Hebrew (e.g. *b. Bab. Qam.* 60b).¹⁹ Quite simply, in Jewish custom of late antiquity one does not tell parables in Aramaic, and there is no evidentiary reason to doubt that Jesus, who likely also knew Aramaic and Greek, taught his parables in Hebrew.²⁰

In the same vein, we have no reports of any Jewish sage in Roman Judea during the days of the Second Temple whose exegesis of the Bible is based upon any other version than the Hebrew Scriptures. Jesus' exegesis as reported in the Third Gospel also suggests his knowledge and use of Hebrew. Insufficient attention has been given to Jesus' creative treatment of sacred texts, which betrays a high degree of intertextuality that is possible only through the use of Hebrew versions of the Bible. The intent of the present study is to examine four occasions (Luke 4:18-19; 7:27; 10:25-28; 22:69) in which Jesus is described to exegete the Hebrew Scriptures. We will pay particular attention to what these reports tell us about the linguistic milieu of first-century Judea, about Jesus' intimate familiarity with the contours of emerging Judaism, and what both of these elements inform us concerning the message of Jesus.

15. J. A. Fitzmyer, "Languages," in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 473.

16. Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill 1995), 32-58.

17. R. S. Notley and Z. Safrai, *Parables of the Sages: Jewish Wisdom from Jesus to Rav Ashi* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2011).

18. Safrai, "Spoken and Literary Languages," 238.

19. Safrai, "Spoken and Literary Languages," 238. See also R. Buth and B. Kvasnica, "Temple Authorities and Tithe Evasions: The Linguistic Background and Impact of the Parable of the Vineyard, the Tenants and the Son," in Notley, Turnage, and Becker, eds., *Jesus' Last Week*, 53-80 (58 n. 17).

20. *Contra* the conjectural Aramaic reconstructions of Casey, Vermes, Black, etc.

Jesus' Preaching at the Synagogue in Nazareth (Luke 4:18-19)²¹

Apart from preserving an illustration of Jesus' exegetical technique, this account also presents the oldest report of the Jewish custom to read a portion of the Prophets (*haftarah*) after the reading of the Torah (see also Acts 13:15). Outside of the New Testament, the earliest reference to such a practice appears in the Mishnah, codified at the beginning of the third century CE:

ביום טוב המשה ביום הכיפורים ששה בשבת שבעה און פוחתים מהן אבל
מוסיפים עליהם ומפירים בנביא

On a festival day [the Torah is read] by five [readers], on the Day of Atonement by six, and on the Sabbath by seven. They may not take from them but they may add to them, and *they close with a reading from the Prophets* (*m. Meg. 4:2* [emphasis added])

Interestingly, Luke does not record Jesus reading from the Torah. Yet, according to Safrai, the Evangelist's description of Jesus that, 'he stood to read' (*ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι*),²² indicates that Jesus also read from the Torah; one does not stand to read from the prophets.²³ Furthermore, the Lukan depiction bears a striking similarity to the high priest's reading from the Torah described in the Mishnah, וכהן גדול עומד ומקבל וקורא, "עומד": "And the high priest rises and receives [the Torah] and reads [it]

21. We consider here only Luke's account, since the parallels in Mark (6:1-6) and Matt (13:53-58) do not preserve Jesus' use of Scripture. Portions of what follows appear in R. S. Notley, "Jesus' Jewish Hermeneutical Method in the Nazareth Synagogue," in *Early Christianity and Intertextuality*. Vol. 2, *Exegetical Studies* (ed. C. A. Evans and H. D. Zacharias; LNTS 392; London: T&T Clark International, 2009), 46-59.

22. This description has no parallel in Matthew or Mark. Mark states, "And when the Sabbath came he began to teach in the synagogue" (*καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἤρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ*). Matthew expands upon on the Markan account, "Then he came to his homeland and began to teach them in their synagogue" (*καὶ ἔλθων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν*). This is yet another instance where Luke, in distinction from the other Gospels, preserves language from his source(s) that indicates a decidedly Jewish custom.

23. Shmuel Safrai, "Synagogue and Sabbath," *Jerusalem Perspective* 23 (1989): 8-10. Safrai also recognized that Luke's report of Jesus reading alone is in accord with other ancient witnesses (e.g. *m. Sot. 7.7-8*; *m. Yoma 7.1*; Josephus, *Ant. 4.209*; Philo, *Prob. 81-82*), and the pre-70 practice that allowed for one reader of Torah, not seven readers as per the common custom shortly after the destruction of the Temple. See Safrai, "Synagogue," in Safrai and Stern, eds., *Jewish People*, 929-30; D. Bivin, "One Torah Reader, Not Seven!," *Jerusalem Perspective* 52 (1997): 16-17.

standing,” *m. Yom.* 7:1). The Lukan omission of Jesus’ reading from the Torah may be a consequence of the Evangelist’s assumption that it was not necessary to detail what was already understood, viz., that Jesus stood to read from the Torah first and then the book of Isaiah (i.e. *the haftarah*).²⁴

Beyond the biblical passages themselves, there are indications that the Lukan narrative has drawn from sources that were shaped within a Hebrew language environment.²⁵ For example, after reading from the Torah, Jesus is reportedly given “the book of the prophet Isaiah” (βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἰσαΐου, 4:17).²⁶ This phrase is a simple and often overlooked indication that the Lukan narrative reflects Post-biblical Hebrew idioms. The Greek βιβλίον, or its Hebrew equivalent ספר, is never used as a descriptive term for the prophetic work in either the Hebrew Bible or Greek Jewish literature from the Second Commonwealth. The few examples that we do have where Isaiah is referred to as a ספר (i.e. book) come from Qumran and on each occasion the phrase is the Hebrew ספר ישעיה הנביא (4QFlorilegium [4Q175] f1, 2i:15; 4QJub[?] [4Q176] f1, 2:4; 4QMiscellaneousRules [4Q265] f1:3).

Luke’s record of Jesus’ citation from Isa 61:1-2 clearly does not follow the Hebrew Bible. The common scholarly assumption that Luke has drawn his biblical passages from the LXX obscures the exegetical ingenuity evident in the account. Further, as we noted, the report’s preservation of non-Septuagintal Hebraisms belies the simplistic explanation that the variants upon the Masoretic tradition resulted from the Evangelist’s dependence on the LXX. Instead, it suggests that Luke had access to source(s) other than our canonical Mark and Matthew, and that these were “marked with stark Hebraisms.”²⁷

24. Notley, “Jesus’ Jewish Hermeneutical Method,” 47.

25. Notley, “Jesus’ Jewish Hermeneutical Method,” 49.

26. Evidence from the Cairo Geniza suggests that the *haftarah* readings during the Second Temple period were not set and that readings within the Triennial Cycle may have differed from community to community. Often the connection between the Torah reading and the prophetic portion was due to common themes or wording (Michael Fishbane, *The JPS Bible Commentary: Haftarah* [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002], xxiv). Furthermore, it is likely that the reading of the prophetic portion was at the discretion of the reader (Notley, “Jesus’ Jewish Hermeneutical Method,” 50). As the Mishnah states, מדלגים בנביא ואן מדלגים בתורה (‘‘They skip [from place to place] in the prophetic [readings] but do not skip in the Torah [readings],’’ *m. Meg.* 4:4). In Luke, it seems that Jesus is the one who chooses where to read in Isaiah. If so, it likely possessed a thematic or verbal connection to the Torah portion that he just read.

27. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according Luke I–IX* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 531. Luke makes no mention of the use of Targum, *contra* Fitzmyer’s

Jesus' deviation from Isa 61:1-2 is threefold: (1) the omission of Isa 61:2b ("to bind the broken-hearted," לחבש לנשברי-לב); (2) the omission of Isa 61:2b ('And the day of vengeance of our God,' ויום נקם לאלהינו); (3) the insertion of Isa. 58:6 ("and let the oppressed go free," ושלה רצוצים חפשים). It is Jesus' insertion of Isa 58:6 which particularly concerns us here, because it sheds light on his exegetical methodology.

Fitzmyer assumed that the addition of Isa 58:6 was a consequence of the appearance of ἄφεσις ("release") in the LXX's version of both Isaianic passages.²⁸ While Fitzmyer has rightly recognized that the combination of these two passages is based on verbal analogies, his assumption regarding the use of the Greek Bible is less sure. The Greek term, ἄφεσις, appears frequently in the Septuagint (50 times). A comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts reveals that ἄφεσις translates eleven different Hebrew words.²⁹ Indeed, in our passages it translates two entirely different Hebrew words (Isa 58:6: חפשים; Isa 61.1: דרור).

Yet, scant attention has been given to a rare Hebrew verbal link between the two Isaianic passages. There are only two places in the entirety of the Hebrew Bible where the phrase רצון ליהוה (i.e. "the Lord's favor") occurs, Isa 61:2 and 58:5—precisely the contexts from which Jesus drew his reading for our pericope. The Lukan narrative provides an example of Jesus' adept use of *gezerah shavah*, a hermeneutical approach first associated with Hillel the Elder and described to be one of his seven exegetical rules (cf. *t. Sanh.* 7:11; *'Abot R. Nat.* A 37).³⁰ It is a

assumption that Jews did not readily comprehend Hebrew and therefore needed an Aramaic translation to understand the Scriptures. The evidence from Qumran suggests that while Aramaic was readily known during the Second Temple period, Targums were few in Judea (e.g. 11QtgJob; 4Q156, Targum to Lev 16) and we have no record of their use until the Usha Period (140 CE). The change likely resulted from developments following the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE). Many Jews previously living in Judea emigrated to the Diaspora, while there was an influx of Aramaic-speaking Jews from Babylonia. The population shift brought with it a new need for the Targumim. See A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 398; R. Buth, "Aramaic Targumim: Qumran," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter; Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 2000), 91–93.

28. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 533.

29. Notley, "Jesus' Jewish Hermeneutical Method," 52. For example see Exodus: ἄφεσις for שלוח (18:2), and ἄφεσις for תשמט (23:11).

30. While it is unlikely that Hillel invented these seven rules, they were in use during his time (early first century CE). As Strack has noted, the introduction "of the rules into Pharisaic exegesis" is commonly associated with *y. Pes.* 6:33a. H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. and ed. M. Bockmuehl; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 17.

midrashic verbal analogy of sorts, by which two unrelated verses are combined because of a similar word or phrase³¹—although it seems that the early form of the technique may have required exact verbal analogy, such as we witness with Jesus.³²

The rare appearance of this Hebrew phrase, coupled with the fact that the verbal link disappears in the Aramaic Targumim and LXX of Isaiah,³³ indicates that Jesus is here pictured dependent on a Hebrew version of these texts. Consequently, if Jesus did employ a Hebrew text, it suggests not only his knowledge and use of Hebrew, but that also of his listeners in the synagogue who readily understood the significance of his reading and were immediately provoked by his “words of grace” (τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος).³⁴ In a longer treatment of this passage, Notley has argued that if we rightly understand the method by which Jesus joins these texts, it must affect our understanding of what he is saying through his creative exegesis. It was not Jesus *per se* or his messianic claim that was rejected in Nazareth. Instead, it was the message he delivered through his creative ingenuity that challenged his hearers’ assumptions regarding the nature of the hoped-for redemption. In this regard, the disappointment of those in the synagogue at Nazareth was not dissimilar to that of John the Baptist while imprisoned by Herod Antipas (see Matt 11:3). Nevertheless, for the purposes of our study, what is important is that the episode is dependent upon Jesus’ creative exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Jesus’ Witness Concerning John (Luke 7:27 = Matthew 11:10)³⁵

Jesus’ statement regarding John the Baptist as reported in Luke 7:27 and its Synoptic parallel in Matt 11:10, reflects the contemporary hope for an eschatological prophet who would precede the advent of the Messiah:

31. See Azzan Yadin, *Scripture as Logos: Rabbi Ishmael and the Origins of Midrash* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 82–83; and David Instone Brewer’s discussion of *gezerah shavah* I and II in *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (TSAJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 17–18.

32. Notley, “Jesus’ Jewish Hermeneutical Method,” 52.

33. Isa	58:5	61:1
LXX	δεκτήν	ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν
t. Yon.	אָרְבֵּי	שְׁנַת רִבְעִי

34. See J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (London: SCM, 1971), 206–207.

35. Portions herein appear in a study on the enigmatic statement in Matt 11:12, “The Kingdom Forcefully Advances,” in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition* (ed. C. A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 279–311.

“Behold, I send my messenger before thy face,³⁶ who shall prepare thy way before thee.” Scholarship has acknowledged wording from the Hebrew Bible in the content of the testimony,³⁷ but few have recognized the creative exegesis inherent in Jesus’ witness.

His testimony is taken in part from Mal 3:1:

הנני שלח מלאכי ופנה דרך לפני...

Behold, I am sending my messenger and he will clear the way before me... (Mal 3:1).

Yet, similar language is heard earlier:

הנה אנכי שלח מלאך לפניך לשמרך בדרך...

Behold, I am sending a messenger before you to preserve you on the way... (Exod. 23:20).

The appearance of the shared words highlighted in the verses is collocated only in these two verses.³⁸ Accordingly, the Evangelists attest to the fusion of the individual passages into a single citation. For the most part, the saying follows Exod 23:10, but the addition of τὸν ἄγγελόν μου (מלאכי) is a linguistic indicator that we are also dealing with wording taken from Mal 3:1. It is true that the SP and LXX of Exod 23:20 preserve a variant, “my messenger” (מלאכי; τὸν ἄγγελόν μου), rather than the MT’s מלאך. Yet, it is possible that the LXX in fact witnesses to a non-extant Hebrew version. Similar Hebrew variants were discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls, which shed light on the differences between the LXX and MT’s versions, particularly those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.³⁹ While no such Judean text has been discovered of Exod 23:20, the SP concurs with the LXX’s variant. Moreover, there are indications elsewhere that Jesus may have been familiar with non-Masoretic textual traditions (see below).

36. “Before thy face” = “before you.”

37. Cf. W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew* (AB 26; New York: Doubleday, 1971), 136; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 207–208; J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (ABRL; 3 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1991–2008), 2:140–41; J. A. T. Robinson, “Elijah, John and Jesus: An Essay in Detection,” *NTS* 4 (1957–58): 253–81; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament* (Vancouver, B.C.; Regent College, 2000), 242–43; E. M. Boring, “Luke,” in *The New Interpreter’s Bible* (ed. Leander E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 8:268.

38. It should be noted that הִנֵּנִי is essentially an inflected form of הִנֵּה אֲנִי (Exod 23:20) or הִנֵּה אָנִי.

39. See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d rev ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 319–26, 333.

In the Second Temple period, Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20 were part of a complex of traditions regarding the eschatological prophet, who was expected to appear to announce the messianic age.⁴⁰ The anticipation for this figure finds expression in *The Community Rule* (1QS) 9:10-11:⁴¹

ומכול עצת התורה לוא יצאו ללכת בכול שרירות לבם ונשפטו במשפטים
הרשונים אשר החלו אנשי היחד לחסר במ עד בוא נביא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל

They should not deviate from any of the counsels of the Law to walk in the stubbornness of their heart. They should govern themselves in the former judgments, which the men of the Community began to be instructed in them, until there come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

Biblical support for this figure is preserved in the citation of Deut 18:18-19 found in *4QTestimonia* (4Q175):⁴²

נבי אקים לאהסה מקרב אחיהסה כמוכה ונתתי דברי בפיהו וידבר אליהסה את
כול אשר אצוונו הָאִישׁ לוא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר הנבי בשמי אנוכי אדרוש

I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them everything that I command. Anyone who does not heed the words that the prophet shall speak in My name, I Myself will hold accountable. (4Q175 1:5-8)

The role of the eschatological prophet envisioned by the Qumran Congregation and other Second Temple literature is frequently one of a legislator who will mediate divine law.⁴³ Therefore, it should not surprise us to find expectations for this prophet couched in Deuteronomistic language. When facing a dilemma regarding stones from the Temple's altar that were defiled by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Judah the Hasmonean decided that they should not be removed until "there should come a prophet" (μέχρι τοῦ παραγενεθῆναι προφήτην) that would show the people what to do with them (1 Macc 4:42-46)—perhaps an allusion to Deut 34:10. Later, the author of 1 Macc employed similar language to describe the selection of Simon as leader and high priest, "And the Jews and their priests decided that Simon should be their leader and high priest, forever, *until a faithful prophet should arise*" (ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστὸν, 1 Macc 14:41). Such language borrows images of a

40. See Notley, "The Kingdom," 290–96.

41. See also 1QS 1:1-3.

42. Alex P. Jassen has argued that both the 1QS text and 4Q175 are the first texts to present "the concept of the prophet as a precursor to the Messiah(s)," in *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STJD 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 174.

43. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 175.

faithful (נאמן, Num 12:7) and ideal prophet-like-Moses (ולא קם נביא עוד, Deut 34:10). It seems that a similar description, perhaps of Moses,⁴⁴ is gathered from disparate biblical passages in *IQFestival Prayers* (1Q34^{bis} f3 2:8), where the lawgiver is called a “faithful shepherd” (רועה נאמן = Exod 3:2; Num 12:7) and, if the reconstruction is correct, a “humble man” (איש ענו = Num 12:3). Thus, the emphasis of the prophet’s participation in legal matters, especially in Qumran literature, indicates that the eschatological prophet was envisioned to be a prophet-like-Moses.⁴⁵

The identity of the prophet of the End of Days is not limited to one like Moses. Malachi identifies this prophet with Elijah:

הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא

Behold, I am going to send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord. (3:23)

The earliest post-biblical reference to Elijah in this role is heard in the Wisdom of Ben Sira:

ὁ καταγραφείς ἐν ἐλεγμοῖς εἰς καιροῦς, κοπάσαι ὀργὴν πρὸ θυμοῦ, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱόν, καὶ καταστήσαι φυλὰς Ἰακωβ.

You [Elijah] who are ready at the appointed time, it is written, to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury, to turn the heart of the father to the son and to restore the tribes of Jacob. (Sir 48:10)

The close association of the two figures is already expressed in the joint appearance of Moses and Elijah in Malachi:⁴⁶

44. The reconstruction of משה in column 2, line 8 was suggested to Notley by David Flusser in private conversation.

45. The Jewish expectation for a Deuteronomic “prophet-like-Moses” is witnessed elsewhere in the New Testament, where we hear about “a prophet rising.” At Nain, the people respond to the healing of the widow’s son, “*A great prophet has arisen among us!*” (ὅτι προφήτης μέγας ἡγήρθη ἐν ἡμῖν, Luke 7:16). Furthermore, scholarship has recognized that the three answers to Jesus’ question, “Who do the crowds say that I am,” are in fact three variations on the same answer—“John the Baptist; but others say Elijah; and others, that *one of the old prophets has arisen*” (οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν, Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἠλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι προφήτης τις τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη, Luke 9:19, emphasis added). Jesus does speak of his death in prophetic terms, “I must go on my way today and tomorrow and the day following; for it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem” (Luke 13:33; cf. 4:24). Nonetheless, the Gospels never record that Jesus identified himself with the eschatological prophet. He consistently indicates that this role belongs to the Baptist.

46. Compare Luke 9:33 and par.; Rev 11:3-6.

זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר צויתי אותו בחרב על כל ישראל חקים ומשפטים
הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהיה הגדול והנורא

Remember the law of *Moses* My servant, my statutes and ordinances
which I gave him in Horeb.

Behold, I am going to send you *Elijah* the prophet before the great and
terrible day of the Lord comes. (Mal 4:4-5)

Typically, the Synoptic tradition draws upon the contemporary expectations for Elijah *redivivus*, "If you are willing to accept it, he is Elijah who is to come" (Matt 11:4). Yet, the further acclamation, "There has arisen no one born of women⁴⁷ greater than John" (Matt 11:11; Luke 7:28), bears allusions to the Deuteronomic traditions concerning Moses, "And there has not arisen a prophet since, in Israel like Moses" (ולא קם) (בצאן אשר אין להם רעה, 34:10).⁴⁸ Furthermore, the Markan description of the Galilean crowds shortly after the Baptist's execution, "they were like sheep without a shepherd" (Mark 6:34; cf. Matt 9:36), is drawn from Num 27:17. In the Old Testament passage, Moses is concerned about who will lead the people after his death and asks the Lord to appoint someone so that the people will not be, "like sheep without the shepherd" (בצאן אשר אין להם רעה). The recent news of John's death in Mark (6:17-29) prior to our saying suggests that some in the crowd were John's followers.⁴⁹ The Evangelist's literary characterization of the Baptist reflects the opinion maintained by some regarding him; namely, that he was a prophet-like-Moses.

The Synoptic tradition, therefore, presents both Jewish opinions regarding the contemporary expectations for the eschatological prophet. Jesus' midrashic testimony concerning John essentially melds Exod 23:30 and Mal 3:1 to fuse the wording and at the same time the opinions identified with those verses to affirm the Baptist's significance. Scholarship has generally overlooked the ingenious method by which Jesus communicates this blended identification once again employing *gezerah shavah*.⁵⁰ The language that pairs our passages together is the shared verbal cluster: שלח...מלאך⁵¹...לפני...דרך. הנה אנכי (הנני) or הנני שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהיה הגדול והנורא. The dominical saying is, thus, not simply a conceptual allusion but a deft exegetical fusion of two passages from the Hebrew Bible that intimates the

47. The phrase "one born of a woman" in an allusion to Moses. See L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society in America, 1910), 2:313.

48. Notley, "The Kingdom," 288-89.

49. Rainey and Notley, *The Sacred Bridge*, 351.

50. Notley, "Jesus' Jewish Hermeneutical Method," 52.

51. Other authorities read מלאכי (see below).

Baptist's prophetic significance. It betrays an accomplished familiarity with the Hebrew Bible—beyond what is generally assumed to be that of the Evangelists themselves—as well as an understanding of the sophisticated hermeneutical methods utilized by the Sages of Israel in late antiquity.

And You Shall Love... (Luke 10:25-37)

This pericope appears in each of the three Synoptic Gospels (Matt 22:34-40; Mark 12:28-34; Luke 10:25-28). Owing to the constraints of this study, however, there are some important tangential questions, ranging from the differences in the Synoptic tradition to manuscript variants,⁵² that we—like the priest and Levite—must pass by. Instead, we want to draw attention to two points that are particularly germane to this study. The first pertains to the place of our episode within the landscape of emerging Second Temple Judaism, while the second is specific to Luke's account: the citation of the biblical passages within the larger structure of his narrative. These two points are related, and when considered together can bring fruitful results.

The exchange between Jesus and the *νομικός* in Luke 10 serves as a window to developing socio-religious ideas that belonged to what Flusser called “a new sensitivity within Judaism.”⁵³ These advances emerged in the wake of the tragic events of the Antiochan persecutions in the second century BCE. Differing from the earlier prophetic charge of God's judgment upon a sinful nation during the Assyrian and Babylonian assaults, the martyrs in the Hasmonean conflict were not accused of being unfaithful. On the contrary, they were executed because they refused to accede to Antiochus' demands that they transgress the divine commandments.

Difficult questions of theodicy were thrust upon the nation. In their hour of peril where was God to defend the righteous when they suffered for righteousness's sake? Was he powerless to deliver them? Or was he himself somehow complicit in the injustices of their suffering. The cry of a generation is heard in the words of Taxo:

52. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (ICC; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), 3:242; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 880; K. J. Thomas, “Liturgical Citations in the Synoptics,” *NTS* 22 (1975–76): 205–14.

53. David Flusser, “A New Sensitivity in Judaism and the Christian Message,” *HTR* 61 (1968): 107–27.

See, my sons, behold the second punishment has befallen the people; cruel, impure going beyond all bounds of mercy—even exceeding the former one. For which nation or which province or which people, who have all done many crimes against the Lord, have suffered such evils as have covered us? (*T. Mos.* 9:2-3)

Of course, the problem of evil is an old and intractable one, and we will make no attempt at it here. Instead, our narrow interest is the creative approaches that emerged from this troubling time. The dictum of Antigonus of Socho (175 BCE) represents the challenge to the old, simplistic model of reward and punishment, reflected in the Old Testament presentation in which service to God assumed just compensation; namely, that God only blesses the righteous and punishes the wicked. In light of the current suffering of the righteous, Antigonus exhorted: “Do not serve your master with thought of reward but serve him with no thought of reward. And let the fear of Heaven be upon you” (*m. Aboth* 1:3).

The stark reality that the wicked continued to live their lives seemingly unpunished necessitated new solutions. Nickelsburg noted that it is just during this time that we find major developments concerning the notion of resurrection.⁵⁴ To wit, if just recompense could not be found in this world, it was certain to be found in the next. Moreover, rather than the easy, superficial conclusion that delay in divine judgment upon the wicked possibly indicated God’s impotence or injustice, more profound reflection concluded that the momentary escape of the wicked in fact demonstrated a sublime, undeserved divine mercy towards the undeserving. The ripples from this new thinking were widespread. The theme of unmerited benevolence is even heard at the center of Jesus’ parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matt 20:1-16) in which the landlord answers the complaints by some regarding his largesse, “Do you begrudge me my generosity?” (Matt 20:15). In the new calculus of divine mercy, the last will be first and the first last.

Similar perceptions of divine mercy granted to these undeserving surface in rabbinic Judaism: “Greater is the day of rainfall, than the day of resurrection. For the latter benefits only the pious, whereas the former benefits the righteous and sinners alike” (*b. Ta’anit* 7a). The antiquity of Rabbi Abahu’s sentiment is affirmed by Jesus’ statement: “For he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust” (Matt 5:45).⁵⁵ The relevance of these developments on our

54. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

55. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:554–56.

pericope is two-fold: first is the elevation of love over fear (of recompense), as the right impetus in the service of God. The charge to love God was exemplified in the biblical command found in Deut 6:5: *ואהבת* *ואהבת לרעך כמוך* *אני יהוה*. Equally important, the new emphasis upon divine mercy called for altruistic love on the part of those who bear God's image. Jesus' statement about rainfall and the unmeasured benevolence of the Creator was intended to be a model for the faithful, "Be merciful, even as your Father is merciful" (Luke 6:36; cf. Matt 5:48).⁵⁶

Expressions of altruistic love became the highest demonstration of Judaism in the Second Temple period. This second charge was likewise epitomized in a single passage from Lev 19:18: *ואהבת לרעך כמוך אני יהוה*. Rabbi Akiba deemed the verse to be "the great precept in the Law" (y. *Ned.* 9:4; *Gen. Rab.* 9:4), an estimation not distant from the question of the *νομιμός* in Matt 22:36. James likewise calls it "the royal law" (Jas 2:8), and Paul asserted, "For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'" (Gal 5:14; cf. Rom 13:9).⁵⁷

By the New Testament period there were already indications that the comparative pronoun *כמוך* should be understood to refer to the subject, i.e. "You shall love your neighbor *who is like you*," rather than the predicate, "You shall love your neighbor *as you love yourself*."

Rabbi Hanina, the Prefect of the Priests (1st c. C.E.), says: An oath from Mount Sinai has been sworn on this saying ("Love your neighbor as yourself") upon which the whole world depends: If you hate your fellow man *whose deeds are evil like yours*, I the Lord am judge to punish that same man and if you love your neighbor whose deeds are proper like you own, I the Lord am faithful and merciful towards you" (*Abot R. Nathan* B 26).

This interpretation recognized universal human frailty that necessitates divine mercy for all and precludes harsh judgment, a man against his neighbor: "Judge not, and you will not be judged; condemn not, and you will not be condemned; forgive, and you will be forgiven" (Luke 6:37). This intricate triangulation of God, the individual, and his neighbor is closely identified with the teaching of Jesus, but in fact it advances upon

56. See *Mekilta of R. Ishmael* on Exod 15:2: "O be like him! Just as he is gracious and merciful, so be thou also gracious and merciful"; cf. *Sifre* on Deut. 11:2; *b. Sota* 14a; *b. Shab.* 133b; *b. Sukk.* 30a.

57. J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 288–92; R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 241–43; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 678–79.

the conclusions of the preceding generations. Already in Ben Sira (175 BCE) we hear a similar triangulation with an allusion to Lev 19:18b (in italics):

Forgive your neighbor the wrong he has done,
and then your sins will be pardoned when you pray.
Does anyone harbor anger against another,
and expect healing from the Lord?
If one has no mercy toward another *like himself*,
can he then seek pardon for his own sins? (Sir 28:2-4).

Likewise, the combination of Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18 is not original with the New Testament.⁵⁸ It is heard in *Jub.* 20:2, 7; 36:4-8; *T. Iss.* 5:2; *T. Dan* 5:3; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2:63; *Sib. Or.* 8:480-82. The Jewish portion of the *Didache*, which comprised the treatise of the Two Ways,⁵⁹ presents the Double Commandment together with the familiar variant of the Golden Rule: “The Way of Life is this: ‘First, thou shalt love the God who made thee,’ second, ‘thy neighbor as thyself’: and whatsoever though wouldst not have done to thyself, do not thou to another” (*Did.* 1:2).⁶⁰

In our consideration of the sublime ideas that are conveyed in the Double Commandment, we should not overlook the mundane, individual literary components that make up the conceptual complex. The unifying thread for the exegetical combination of our two verses is not merely a conceptual interplay but a verbal analogy. Deuteronomy 6:5 and Lev 19:18 are two of the three occasions in the entirety of the Hebrew Scriptures in which a command begins **ואהבת**.

Recognition of the exegetical ingenuity inherent in the combination is important to appreciate fully the literary structure of the balance of our

58. S. Ruzer, “The Double Love Precept,” in Notley, Turnage, and Becker, eds., *Jesus’ Last Week*, 81–106.

59. It is likely more than coincidence that the Double Commandment epitomizes “the Way of Life” in the *Didache* in the same way in Luke’s Gospel the Double Commandment serves to answer the question, “What should I do to inherit eternal life?”

60. H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 156–58. The negative formulation of the Golden Rule (Lev. 19:18b), which is also attributed to Hillel the Elder (*b. Shab.* 31a), represents a summary of the second half of the Decalogue. Compare the *Targum Ps-Jonathan* on Lev 19:18: “You shall not take vengeance, and shall not keep enmity against the children of your people, but you shall love your neighbor, for what is hateful to you, do not do to him. I am the Lord.” See David Flusser, “The Decalogue in the New Testament,” in *The Ten Commandments in History and Tradition* (ed. B. Z. Segal; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985), 219–46 (226–27).

pericope. We noted that the biblical citations are two of the three occasions in the Hebrew Scriptures in which a command begins *וְאָהַבְתָּ*. The third appears in Lev 19:34 regarding the foreigner: *וְאָהַבְתָּ לּוֹ כַּמּוֹךְ*. Is it possible that what we possess in the story—which was intended to answer the question, “Who is my neighbor?”—is a narrative midrash upon the remaining biblical command to love. It was intended to communicate to the *νομιμός* that the obligation to love extends beyond one’s community to include the stranger, even one whose community was at enmity with his own. It can hardly be a coincidence that the central character of the story belonged to a people who, according to the historical reports, were hostile towards the Jews of Roman Judea.⁶¹

What might be the objections to such a reading? To our knowledge no other Jewish sage exploited the triple commandment to love. However, as Flusser noted, “Jesus went further and broke the last fetters still restricting the ancient Jewish commandment to love one’s neighbor.”⁶² His is the only voice among his contemporaries who challenged his hearers, “Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you.” It seems apt that such a unique, breathtaking advance should be undergirded with a novel exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures. If so, once again we witness a report preserved by Luke that is both independent of his Synoptic counterparts and structured upon an ingenious exegesis of the Hebrew text that contributes to our understanding of Jesus’ full engagement with emerging Jewish thought in his day.

Jesus and Caiaphas (Luke 22:66-71)

Finally, the questioning of Jesus before the Temple leaders is a poignant example of the thrust and parry of scriptural exchange that undergirds this tragic narrative. According to Matthew, the questions by Caiaphas stem from an accusation by two witnesses, “This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days” (Matt 26:61). Their testimony is likely a conflation of two separate statements.⁶³ The first is drawn from Jesus’ warning about Jerusalem’s future (e.g. Luke 21:6).⁶⁴ The second expresses the Jewish expectation of the Messiah’s

61. R. T. Anderson, “Samaritans,” *ABD* 5:943. See the reports by Josephus, *Ant.* 18:29-30, 85-89; 20:118; *J.W.* 2:232; cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 12:54.

62. David Flusser with R. Steven Notley, *The Sage from Galilee: Rediscovering Jesus’ Genius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 60.

63. Flusser with Notley, *The Sage from Galilee*, 143-44.

64. See C. A. Evans, “Predictions of the Destruction of the Herodian Temple in the Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Scrolls, and Related Texts,” *JSP* 10 (1992): 89-147 (94).

role in the building of the Temple, which is already heard in Zech 6:12: “Thus says the Lord of hosts, ‘Behold, the man whose name is the Branch: for he shall grow up in his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord.’” Use of the moniker, “the Branch,” has its origins in the description of the descendant of David, “There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots” (Isa 11:1). The Qumran scrolls preserve evidence that this title remained in use to express hope for a royal Messiah called the Branch of David (e.g. 4Q161 f8 10:17; 4Q174 f1 2i:12; 11Q14 f1i:13).

Indeed, it was the expectations related to this second scriptural component that gave rise to the central question of the inquiry, “If you are the Christ, tell us” (Luke 22:67). Matthew and Mark present variations on this interrogation. Both follow the question whether Jesus thought himself to be “the Christ” with an appended epithet, Matthew’s “the son of God” and Mark’s “the son of the Blessed.”⁶⁵ On the other hand, Luke reports a subsequent statement, which serves as a minor agreement with Matthew, in which Caiaphas refers to Jesus by the title “the son of God.” The meaning of the epithet is to be found in the Lord’s promise to the seed of David, “I will be his father and he will be my son” (2 Sam 7:14), and later echoed in the royal enthronement hymn of Ps 2:7, “You are my son; today I have become your father.” These verses are repeated in various Christian *testimonia* (John 1:49; Heb 1:5; Rev 21:7).⁶⁶ Of added significance, in 4Q174 (the *Florilegium*) 2 Sam 7:14 is interpreted with Isa 11:1 (a verse which we have stated has particular relevance to the interrogation): “[I will be] his father and he shall be my son (2 Sam. 7:14). He is the Branch of David...” (4Q174 f1 2i:11).⁶⁷

As we noted, Luke does report the title “son of God,” but he structures the exchange differently. Rather than the conflated expressions that appear in his Synoptic counterparts, Luke reports that Jesus is first asked simply, “If you are the Christ, tell us” (Luke 22:67). In his response he advances, “But from now on the son of man shall be seated at the right hand of power” (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως, Luke 22:69).⁶⁸ His answer to Caiaphas’ question is an allusion to Ps 110:1: “An utterance of the Lord to my Lord: Sit at my

65. For Mark’s periphrastic title, see *m. Ber.* 7:3.

66. See C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1957), 28–60.

67. D. Flusser, “Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam. VII,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998), 93–8.

68. The addition of τοῦ Θεοῦ is the Evangelist’s attempt to clarify what is meant by τῆς δυνάμεως.

right hand...” (נאם יהוה לאדני שב לימיני). Jesus’ mention of the “son of man” at the Lord’s right hand may also suggest the presence of Ps 80:17 (MT 80:18): “But let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, the son of man whom thou hast made strong for thyself!”⁶⁹ His periphrastic reference to God by “Power” (δυναμεις = גבור) is likely drawn from Isa 9:6 (MT 9:5), where an anticipated son is called, “Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God” (פלא יועץ אל גבור). The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls assists us now to understand how these lines were read in the first century. We hear in 1QH^a 11:11 of the anticipated birth of “a Wonderful Counselor with his Power” (פלא יועץ עם גבורתו), clearly an allusion to Isa 9:6, but like Jesus’ words from Luke 22:69 reading גבור to be a hypostatic circumlocution for God.⁷⁰

These verses belong to a midrashic complex that describes the appointment of a human figure who will execute divine judgment. Flusser noted, “The one like a man who sits upon the throne of God’s glory, the sublime eschatological judge, is the highest conception of the Redeemer ever developed by ancient Judaism.”⁷¹ In the context, Jesus’ response is perhaps the clearest affirmation of his sublime self-awareness.

Nevertheless, our primary interest here is the use of Scripture to underpin the rhetorical exchange between Jesus’ answer and Caiaphas’ second question. The high priest—a Sadducee—had no interest in a conversation about the judge of the End of Days. His concerns were more immediate, or if you will, political (cf. Luke 23:2). What were Jesus’ earthly intentions? It appears that Caiaphas was familiar with the redemptive scriptural complex from which Jesus drew his answer. He may have also recognized Jesus’ deft hint to Isa 9:6 with the elliptical mention of גבור. In any event, the chief priest’s second question borrowed language from another passage belonging to the same complex.

He pressed, “Are you the Son of God, then?” a biblical allusion to Ps 2:7, which is exegetically related to Psalm 110 but possessing a stronger identification with the national hopes for a royal messiah. Flusser has already brought attention to the verbal link between Psalm 110 and Psalm 2.⁷² The term יְלִדְתִּיךָ in Ps 110:3 is an identical *consonantal* correspondent to Ps 2:7 (יְלִדְתִּיךָ), and these are the only two

69. P. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša’* (CBQMS 10; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 136 n. 21; Flusser, “At the Right Hand of Power,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 304.

70. Flusser, “At the Right Hand of Power,” 302.

71. Flusser and Notley, *The Sage*, 115.

72. Flusser, “Melchizedek and the Son of Man,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 192.

places in the Hebrew Bible where the consonantal form appears. Later, the Masoretes attempted to demythologize Psalm 110,⁷³ which was used by Christians for their claims about Jesus (e.g. Heb 6:20; 7:17; *1 Clem.* 36:2-3). Thus, the Masoretic tradition vocalizes the term to read nominally, “your childhood” (יְלִדְתִּי). However, both the LXX (γεννησας) and the Vulgate (*genui te*) indicate that there existed pre-Masoretic circles who read the term as a verb + suffix, “I have begotten you” (יִלְדֵתִי), with the same sense as Ps 2:7.

The antiquity and Jewish provenance of this reading is attested by a Jewish legend. As is well known, some ancient interpreters identified the human redeemer in Ps 110:1 to be none other than Melchizedek himself, reading Ps 110:4, “You are a priest forever, according to my words, O Melchizedek!”⁷⁴ The identification of the human figure in 110:1 to be Melchizedek combined with the reading of יִלְדֵתִי in 110:3 doubtless is the genesis for the Jewish legend concerning the miraculous conception of Melchizedek reported in *2 Enoch* 71–72.

Recognition of the verbal components in the scriptural complex help us to understand that Caiaphas’ question was not intended to determine whether Jesus was making a claim to deity. Instead, the high priest’s question alludes to the biblical verses used by contemporary Jews to express hope for the advent of a redeemer. In essence the question continues the earlier charge, “If you are the Christ, tell us!” What is striking in the Lukan report is the exegetical sophistication and intimate familiarity with the intricacies of the Hebrew Scriptures demonstrated by Jesus and Caiaphas. These insights into their exchange become comparably blurred in the accounts of Matthew and Mark—highlighting the importance of reading Luke independently and not merely through the prism of his Synoptic counterparts, as if his is merely a third-hand theological tract.

The four occasions examined in this study indicate that further research is needed concerning the interpretive methodology of Jesus. It is clear that his exegesis is not based on a Greek or Aramaic translation, but upon the Hebrew Bible. While such an assessment will be met with a

73. Note that the human figure in Ps 110:5 (אֲדֹנִי) who sits at the Lord’s right hand was clearly intended to be identical with אֲדֹנִי introduced in 110:1, but the Masoretes have vocalized the term to identify him with YHWH (אֲדֹנִי). By so doing they have attempted to remove the role of a human figure in the execution of divine judgment.

74. Reading על־דברתי as a defective form of על־דברותי: “according to my words.” This is certainly the understanding of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb 7:3), who attributes an eternal priesthood to Melchizedek. Only in Ps 110 is the king of Salem associated with such an honor.

jaundiced eye by those who claim Jesus knew only Aramaic (or Greek), it is important to repeat that this observation accords with what we know of Jesus' contemporaries. We have no record of any first-century Jewish sage—particularly among those who lived and taught in the Land of Israel—whose exegesis is founded upon any version of the Bible other than the Hebrew Scriptures.

Finally, the exegetical style attested in these pericopes betrays a sophisticated knowledge of the Scriptures—on par with Israel's Sages. Equally important, their content is not divorced from the emerging world of Jewish thought during the Second Temple period—quite the contrary. The scriptural interpretation in the Third Gospel preserves evidence concerning both the expectations for a messianic forerunner in the figures of Moses and Elijah, as well as the developing ideas of Jewish humanism that surfaced in consequence of the national crisis in the second century BCE. The value of taking into account the original language of the discourse—Hebrew—can hardly be overstated in understanding the sense and purpose of the biblical allusions that undergird these ideas. Indeed, our aim throughout this modest study has been to demonstrate the importance of the Hebrew language and a thorough knowledge of the contours of emerging Jewish thought in order to grasp better both the method and meaning of Jesus' exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures.

INTERTEXTUAL WISDOM:
LUKE 12:13-34 AND THE SAPIENTIAL CONVERSATION
ON DEATH AND POSSESSIONS*

Matthew S. Rindge

The land of a certain rich person produced fruitfully. And he began to converse with himself, saying: “What shall I do, for I do not have [a place] where I will gather together my crops?” And he said, “This I will do: I will pull down my barns, and I will build larger ones, and I will gather together there all my grain and goods. And I will say to myself, “Self, you have many goods laid up for many years; rest, eat, drink, enjoy.” But God said to him, “Fool! On this night they are demanding your life [back] from you; and the things you prepared, whose will they be?” (Luke 12:16b-20).¹

Luke’s parable of the “Rich Fool” (12:16-20) contains a citation of Qoh 8:15 (LXX), a likely allusion to—or echo of—Sir 11:14-19, and several parallels with *1 En.* 97:8-10.² To be specific: three of the four rich man’s intentions in Luke’s parable (*ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου* [rest, eat, drink, enjoy]) (12:19) are the same three Greek verbs in Qoh 8:15 (*φαγεῖν, πιεῖν, εὐφρανθῆναι* [eat, drink, enjoy]).³ Luke’s parable shares

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1. My translation is based on the Greek text in NA²⁷.

2. For 12:21 as a secondary addition to the parable’s original form (12:16-20), see Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. John Marsh; Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 178; Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (2d ed.; trans. S. H. Hooke; Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972), 48, 106; cf. Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, vol. 1, 1888; vols. 1–2, 1899; repr., 1910), 2:614.

3. Codex Bezae retains only the first of these four imperatives, omitting “eat, drink, enjoy.” Some combination of these words occurs in *Epic of Gilgamesh* 10.3; Tob 7:10; *1 En.* 97:8-9; Euripides, *Alc.* 788-89; and Menander, *Frag.* 301. The MT also uses the infinitive for the three verbs.

with Sir 11:14-19 a similar plot and four specific lexical parallels: a rich person with goods (ἀγαθά) speaks in the first person about resting (ἀναπαύω) and feasting (φάγομαι) yet is unaware of the time of his death, an event which will separate him from his goods.⁴ Luke's parable shares with *1 En.* 97:8-10 several plot similarities and a few lexical parallels: both depict a wealthy (πλουτέω, πλοῦτος / πλούσιος) person (persons in *1 Enoch*) who has many possessions (ὑπάρχοντα), and who "stores up" (θησαυρίζω) "many goods" (ἀγαθὰ πολλά). In each case, there is an announcement of some type of divine judgment, the death of the wealthy person(s), and a separation between the wealthy and their riches.⁵

Although these parallels have not been ignored, scant attention has been given to the multiple ways in which Luke's text appropriates, reconfigures, and illustrates these Jewish intertexts. Adolf Jülicher is one of the first to identify Qoh 8:15 as a parallel to Luke 12:19, yet he fails to mention why or how this parallel is significant for understanding Luke's parable.⁶ He establishes a pattern in which the identification of a parallel text is presented as meaningful in its own right.⁷ Yet citing information is not tantamount to illumination, nor does it constitute legitimate interpretation. Rather than thinking of intertextuality primarily (and

4. So Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes, Introduction, and Commentary* (AB 39; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1987), 239; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich and God's Judgment in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel according to Luke," *NTS* 25 (1978–79): 324–44; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (X–XXIV): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 973; Stephen I. Wright, "Parables on Poverty and Riches," in *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 217–39 (222); Arland J. Hultgren (*The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 105) suggests that Luke's parable might be "inspired" by Sir 11:18-19.

5. My translation (of the Greek text) of *1 En.* 97:6–107:3 is from the Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus in Campbell Bonner, ed., *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (London: Christophers, 1937; repr., Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968).

6. Jülicher (*Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:611-12) notes that both share the same three verbs in common (ἐσθίω, πίνω, εὐφραίνω); he also mentions the similarity with Tob 7:10 (φάγε, πίε καὶ ἡδέως γίνου).

7. Abraham J. Malherbe ("Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament," *ANRW* 2.26.1:275–76) speaks of citing parallels "without allowing the exposition of those books to be substantially influenced by the parallels." His critique of the "uncritical use of parallels" (regarding Hellenistic moral philosophers and the New Testament) is apropos to readings of Luke's parable.

myopically?) in terms of “parallels,” “allusions,” “echoes,” or “evocations,” I propose using “conversation” as a fruitful and generative model for understanding and construing the intertextual relationships between Luke and these three Jewish intertexts.

The present study argues that Luke’s parable of the “Rich Fool” intentionally participates in a Second Temple (largely sapiential) conversation regarding the interplay of death and possessions. At the heart of this contested conversation, to which the three intertexts in Luke’s parable belong, are concerns regarding the meaningful use of possessions given death’s inevitability, uncertain timing, and potential imminence. Before analyzing how Luke’s parable participates in and reconfigures this broader conversation, I will delineate a few of the principal perspectives that shape and contribute to this contested conversation.

1. The (Sapiential) Conversation on Death and Possessions

Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) consistently proposes the enjoyment of one’s possessions (specifically food and drink) in light of the myriad uncontrollable facets of death.⁸ Chief among these uncontrollable elements are the inability to determine the recipient of one’s inheritance (Qoh 2:18-21; 5:12-13), the common destiny in death of the just and wicked (8:14; 9:1-3), the inability to take goods beyond death (5:14-15), the impossibility of predicting how—or whether—one will be remembered after death (8:10), and death’s destruction of one’s entire being (9:5-6, 10). For Qoheleth, death is sovereign and omnipotent. One is impotent in its grasp, and this failure to control any facet of death results in an effort to exert a modicum of control over what one can: eating, drinking, and enjoyment in the present moment.

Seven of Qoheleth’s recommendations to enjoy goods are explicitly rooted in his perception of death as the ultimate loss of control (Qoh 2:1-26; 3:11-22; 5:9-6:2; 8:8-15; 9:1-10; 11:7-12:8). In a world whose defining characteristics are fragility and uncertainty, enjoyment is the only meaningful use of goods. Although death’s uncontrollable nature renders life meaningless (הבל / ματαιότης), Qoheleth finds in these

8. For a fuller treatment of this issue in Qoheleth, see Matthew S. Rindge, “Mortality and Enjoyment: The Interplay of Death and Possessions in Qoheleth,” *CBQ* 73 (2011): 265–80. On death in Qoheleth, see Shannon Burkes, *Death in Qoheleth and Egyptian Biographies of the Late Period* (SBLDS 170; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999). On enjoyment in Qoheleth, see Eunmy P. Lee, *The Vitality of Enjoyment in Qohelet’s Theological Rhetoric* (BZAW 353; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

concrete acts the possibility of meaning. Qoheleth's consistent focus on enjoyment reflects an interest in meaningful living. The integral link between death and the enjoyment of goods suggests that Qoheleth considers meaningful living to be dependent on one's ability to face, and reflect on, one's mortality.

Underscoring the fragility of this enjoyment is, however, the reminder that the ability to enjoy goods lies not in one's own power but in God's hands (Qoh 2:24-26; 3:13; 5:17-18; 6:2). Because enjoyment is a divine gift, its presence or longevity (when it does occur) cannot be guaranteed. Like a vapor, it cannot be captured or contained. Efforts to manipulate it as a vehicle with a predetermined result are therefore futile (2:1-26). This ephemeral nature highlights the need to enjoy goods presently when they are presented as a gift.

God is integral to Qoheleth's understanding of enjoyment. God's character functions as a warrant in six of the seven recommendations for enjoyment (Qoh 2:24-26; 3:13; 5:17-18; 6:2; 8:15; 9:7; 12:7). Since God gives goods and the opportunity to enjoy them, enjoyment is one of the primary ways in and through which one can experience the Divine. God, although uncontrollable, provides the opportunity, even if fleeting, to experience meaning in a world that is otherwise meaningless.

Ben Sira, by contrast, proposes a variety of ways in which possessions might be used meaningfully given death's inevitability, unpredictable timing, and potential imminence. Death's uncertain timing (Sir 14:12) and the inability to take goods with one beyond death (14:4) lead Ben Sira to endorse not only enjoyment but also generosity (14:8). Ben Sira cites death's potential imminence, uncertain timing, inevitability (14:12b, 17), and the inability to take goods beyond death (14:15-16) as warrants for enjoyment (14:11a, 14, 16a), giving gifts to God (14:11b), and sharing generously with friends (14:13). On the other hand, and in contrast to Qoheleth, death's potential imminence and the inability to take goods beyond death limits the extent of one's enjoyment of goods (11:19-21).

The association of death with a postmortem divine judgment leads the author(s) of the Epistle of *I Enoch* to reject enjoyment as a meaningful use of goods (*I En.* 102:8-11). The operating assumption of the Epistle is that those with wealth will be judged harshly after death, and spend their postmortem existence in torment (94:6-9; 97:8-10; 98:3; 102:8). In a notable contrast to Qoheleth and Ben Sira, the Epistle of *I Enoch* proposes no constructive way in which possessions can be used meaningfully.

Moreover, the positions defended in the Epistle are antithetical to several of the core tenets of Qoheleth. The righteous and the wicked, the Epistle avers, do *not* share the same fate after death (*1 En.* 102:4-11; 103:3-4; *contra* Qoh 8:14; 9:1-3). Nor does death represent an elimination of one's being (*contra* Qoh 9:5-6, 10). The spirits of the pious "do not perish" but will "come to life and rejoice and be glad." The righteous will experience "good things and joy and honor" (*1 En.* 103). Such rewards are "in place of their labors," intimating that those who labor do so not in vain and will, moreover, receive a reward for their toil (103:3; *contra* Qoh 2:11, 18-21; 5:14-15; cf. 1:3; 2:22-24; 4:4, 8). The memory of the righteous does not perish (*1 En.* 103:4; *contra* Qoh 2:16; cf. 1:11). What happens to the righteous after death is, therefore, preferable to one's experience during life (*1 En.* 103:3-4; cf. Qoh 9:5). Finally, the Epistle of *1 Enoch* insists that death should *not* provide a warrant for enjoyment (*1 En.* 102:8-11; *contra* Qoh 2:24-25; 3:12-13; 5:17; 9:7-10).

I am not asserting that the Epistle of *1 Enoch* is replying directly to Qoheleth but rather that these texts participate in a broader Second Temple conversation concerning the meaningful use of possessions in light of life's fragility and death's uncontrollable facets.⁹ That the Epistle's participation in a broader cultural conversation regarding the interplay of death and possessions played a significant role is suggested by some of the similarities between *1 Enoch* and Ben Sira.¹⁰ It is

9. Two Qoheleth fragments found at Qumran allow for the possibility that *1 Enoch* was aware of (at least some of) the content of the latter. Frank Moore Cross ("The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran," *JBL* 74 [1955]: 147-72 [153, 162]) dates 4QQoh^a between 175 and 150 BCE, a date that matches the same twenty-five-year period that George W. E. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36, 81-108* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 26) gives for the inclusion of *1 Enoch* into the broader Enochic corpus. On this Qumranic fragment of Qoheleth, see James Muilenberg, "A Qoheleth Scroll from Qumran," *BASOR* 135 (1954): 20-28. Eugene Ulrich ("Ezra and Qoheleth Manuscripts from Qumran [4QEzra, 4QQoh^{A,B}]," in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* [ed. Eugene Ulrich et al.; JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992], 139-57) cites the first century BCE as the earliest date for 4QQoh^b.

10. See Randal A. Argal, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994); Benjamin G. Wright III, "Putting the Puzzle Together: Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira," in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills; SBLSymS 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 89-112.

possible, moreover, that Wisdom of Solomon 2–5 functioned in this conversation as a mediating text between Qoheleth and *I Enoch*.¹¹

This conversation on the interplay of death and possessions is not limited to sapiential texts. The *Testament of Abraham* displays a thoroughgoing interest in the meaningful use of goods given death's inevitability. Although sharing with the Epistle of *I Enoch* a belief in a divine postmortem judgment (*T. Abr.* 11:1-12; 12:1-15; 13:4-11; 14:2-3), the *Testament of Abraham* diverges from the former by proposing hospitality and the construction of a will or testament as meaningful uses of possessions.

Three of the four references to Abraham's hospitality (1:1-5; 4:1-7; 17:7; 20:15) establish a causal relationship between this practice and how one will both experience death and be treated in the afterlife. In light of death's inevitability, the *Testament of Abraham* recommends the construction of a will/testament so that one's goods will be distributed to others. On five occasions, Abraham is informed of his impending death and instructed to make distribution (ποιέω + διάταξιν) of his property (1:4-5; 4:11; 8:11; 15:1, 7). Providing an inheritance, regarded by Qoheleth as a meaningless enterprise, functions in *Testament of Abraham* as a way of exerting control in response to the loss of control represented by death.

The diverse and often conflicting perspectives in these texts reflect a contested intertextual conversation regarding the interplay of death and possessions. Second Temple Jewish texts propose six specific options for using possessions meaningfully given death's inevitability and uncertain timing: enjoyment, generosity, giving to God, hospitality, alms, and providing an inheritance. The table on the following page identifies the ways in which each of these recommendations for the use of possessions is rooted in a specific perception of death. The interest in the interplay of death and possessions, far from limited to Jewish texts, also pervades many ancient Egyptian texts and some Greco-Roman authors such as Seneca and Lucian.¹²

11. It appears that Wisdom of Solomon responded to (and rejected) many of the central claims made in Job and Qoheleth. The "act-consequence" notion, repudiated in Job and Qoheleth, is embraced and defended in Wisdom of Solomon (1:8, 12; 2:18; 3:1, 10; 5:15; 19:13).

12. On death and possessions in Egyptian texts, see Matthew S. Rindge, "Illustrating Wisdom: Luke 12:16-21 and the Interplay of Death and Possessions in Sapiential Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2008), 132–50. For my treatment of death and possessions in Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* and Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, see Rindge, *Jesus' Parable of the Rich Fool*, 123–57.

<i>Death</i>	<i>Enjoyment</i>	<i>Generosity</i>	<i>Gifts to God</i>	<i>Alms</i>	<i>Hospitality</i>	<i>Will/Inheritance</i>
Uncertain aspects of inheritance	Qoheleth					
Death is inevitable	Ben Sira	Ben Sira	Ben Sira			<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
All return to dust	Qoheleth					
“Can’t take it with you”	Qoheleth; Ben Sira	Ben Sira	Ben Sira			Ben Sira
Common fate of just and wicked	Qoheleth					
Death destroys all	Qoheleth					
Death’s uncertain timing	Ben Sira	Ben Sira	Ben Sira			Ben Sira
Possibility of delaying death					<i>Testament of Abraham</i>	
Death as judgment				Ben Sira		
Postmortem judgment—different fate for just/wicked					<i>Testament of Abraham</i>	

2. Participating in the Sapiential Conversation on Death and Possessions

Luke's parable and its immediate literary context (12:13-34) participates in this contested conversation by evaluating the relative merits (and meaningfulness) of these six sapiential options for the use of possessions. Four of these six sapiential recommendations regarding the use of possessions in light of death appear in Luke's parable and its immediate literary context. Enjoyment, recommended throughout Qoheleth,¹³ and in Ben Sira (Sir 11:19a-b), is the chief goal envisioned by Luke's rich man (Luke 12:19). The motif of inheritance is explicitly raised in the dispute preceding the parable (12:13-15), and is alluded to in God's question to the rich man regarding the future ownership of the man's goods (12:20b).¹⁴ The giving of alms, frequently recommended in Ben Sira,¹⁵ is enjoined in the discourse following the parable (12:33). The option of giving to God is framed in Luke's language of "being rich toward God" (εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν, 12:21), and creating "an unfailing treasure in heaven" (12:33).¹⁶ Luke 12:13-24 evaluates each of these options by framing them within a broader purview of life's fragility, and death's inevitability and potential imminence.

a. Enjoyment

The legitimacy of enjoyment as a meaningful enterprise is a contested issue in discussions of the interplay of death and possessions. On the one hand, enjoyment is promoted as the fitting response to the uncertainties associated with death; it is Qoheleth's primary recommendation in light of the uncontrollable aspects of death.¹⁷ Syriac Menander joins Qoheleth in proposing enjoyment because of the inability to use goods after death (Sy. Men. 368–376).¹⁸ Egyptian texts recommend enjoying possessions in

13. Qoh 2:24-26; 3:12-13, 22; 5:17-19; 7:14; 8:15; 9:7-10; 11:7-12:7.

14. Cf. J. D. Derrett, "The Rich Fool: A Parable of Jesus Concerning Inheritance," *Heythrop Journal* 18 (1977): 131–51.

15. See, e.g., Sir 3:14, 30; 7:10; 12:3; 16:14; 17:22, 29; 25:2; 29:8, 12; 31:11; 35:2; 40:17, 24. Victor Morla Asensio ("Poverty and Wealth: Ben Sira's View of Possessions," in *Der Einzelne und seine Gemeinschaft bei Ben Sira* [ed. Renate Egger-Wenzel and Ingrid Krammer; BZAW 270; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998], 151–77 [163]) identifies alms as the "social aim of wealth in Ben Sira."

16. The two other sapiential options for the use of goods, generosity and hospitality, are not explicitly addressed in 12:13-34.

17. Qoh 2:24a; 3:12, 22a; 5:17; 8:15; 9:7-10; 11:8-9.

18. Tjitze Baarda, trans., "The Sentences of the Syriac Menander," in *OTP*, 2:583–606.

light of death's inevitability, its uncertain timing, negative depictions of the afterlife, and the inability to enjoy goods after death.¹⁹ Lucian approves of eating (ἐσθίω) and drinking (πίνω), and he associates such activity with the happiest of deaths (*Par.* 57). He faults those who fail to enjoy their goods (*Char.* 17; *Cat.* 8, 17; *Tim.* 13–14). Other texts, however, critique enjoyment, frequently associating it with luxury, indulgence, or gluttony.²⁰ For instance, *I Enoch* associates “eating and drinking” with sinners (102:8–11); Seneca and Diogenes critique enjoyment, especially in its extreme forms.²¹

Luke 12:13–34 joins such texts in evaluating the relative merit and meaningfulness of enjoyment. The rich man's stated intention (Luke 12:19) appears to endorse Qoheleth's recommendation to eat, drink, and be merry (Qoh 8:15; cf. 5:17).²² The man's plan (12:19) also echoes the general admonitions regarding enjoyment that both pervade Qoheleth (2:24–25; 3:12, 22a; 5:17; 8:15; 9:7–10; 11:8–9) and appear in Ben Sira (14:14–17).

However, the relationship in the parable between death's inevitability and the enjoyment of possessions is fundamentally different from that in Qoheleth and Ben Sira. In these latter two texts, death functions as the principal warrant for enjoying one's possessions. Qoheleth and Ben Sira recommend enjoyment *because of* their respective understandings of death (e.g. its inevitability, uncertain timing, and destruction of a person's being). Egyptian texts likewise recommend enjoying possessions because of the numerous uncertain and uncontrollable aspects of death.²³

The plans of Luke's rich man, however, are not (ostensibly) rooted in any particular perception of death. On the contrary, he intends to enjoy life despite any regard or acknowledgment of his own mortality. He

19. On death's inevitability, see *The Dispute between a Man and His Ba* (*AEI* 1:165, 168); *Statue of Nebneteru* (*AEI* 3:18–22); *Instruction of Ankhsheshonq* 8.7–8, 13–14; on death's uncertain timing, see *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (*AEI* 1:157, 160); on negative depictions of the afterlife, see *Stela of Taimhotep* (*AEI* 3:62); on not being able to enjoy goods after death, see *Petosiris* (inscription 127; *AEI* 3:52); *Tomb of King Intef* (*AEI* 1:196–97).

20. The Harper's song from the tomb of Neferhotep explicitly repudiates the exhortation to enjoy life (*AEI* 3:115–16).

21. Diogenes, *Ep.* 39; Seneca, *Ep.* 9.20; 51.5, 8; 74.14–15; 95.33; 110.10; 114.23.

22. I disagree with Georg Eichholz (“Vom reichen Kornbauern [Luk. 12, 13–21],” in *idem, Gleichnisse der Evangelien: Form, Überlieferung, Auslegung* [Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971], 179–91) who disregards Qoheleth's statements on enjoyment as apt parallels to the parable, since he claims the two texts understand death differently (187).

23. See n. 19.

evinces no awareness of his inevitable death, and this lack of consciousness regarding his mortality constitutes a sharp contrast both with sapiential texts such as Qoheleth and Ben Sira and the declaration of his death in the divine address (12:20a). In drawing the man's attention to his imminent demise, God's voice functions as a reminder of the insistence throughout sapiential texts on death's inevitability.

Furthermore, the character in Luke's parable only *anticipates* an enjoyable future. That this future never materializes demonstrates his detachment from the present and his *investment* (economically and psychically) in the future. Indeed, seven of the eight verbs the man uses are in the future tense (ποιήσω,²⁴ συνάξω,²⁵ ποιήσω,²⁶ καθελῶ,²⁷ οἰκοδομήσω, συνάξω, ἐρῶ).²⁸ The focus in God's speech on the imminence of the man's death is a stark contrast to the man's imagined future existence of many years.

Two elements in God's speech underscore the present imminence of the man's death. The demanding of the man's life (ἀπαιτοῦσιν), in contrast to the man's imagined actions, is a present activity. Moreover, this act will occur (or is already occurring) "on *this* (ταύτῃ) night" (12:20a).²⁹ God's speech not only shatters the man's assumption that he wields control over his destiny, but also tears him away from an imaginary future and into the reality of the present.³⁰

The man's failure to act in the present diverges from Qoheleth, for whom one's present was one of the few (if only) guarantees in life. The man fails to heed the warning, pervasive in sapiential texts, that the future lies outside the sphere of one's control.³¹ Qoheleth recommends enjoying goods in the present because of the uncertain nature of the future (Qoh 3:22). Ben Sira's rich man intends to eat from his goods

24. It is possible to consider this first use of ποιήσω as an aorist subjunctive.

25. Some variants (W*, Λ, f¹³) have instead the aorist active infinitive συνάξει.

26. This word, along with much of 12:18 (including οἰκοδομήσω), is absent in P⁴⁵. Minuscule 33 only has the first letter (π) of this word.

27. P⁴⁵ lacks the first four letters of this word.

28. The exception is ἔχω (12:17). Five verbs in 12:19 are in the present tense, but all of these occur in the man's imagined future.

29. Jülicher (*Die Gleichnisreden*, 2:612) cites the present tense of ἀπαιτοῦσιν as evidence for the "picture (*Vorstellung*) of the immediate execution (*Vollzuges*)" of the rich man.

30. For Jacques Dupont (*Les beatitudes 3: Les évangélistes* [Paris: Gabalda, 1973], 3:185), the man's "*erreur fatale*" is his failure to have reckoned with the "present life." Dupont connects the man's failure to give alms with this detachment from his present.

31. See, e.g., Jas 4:13-16; Seneca, *Ep.* 99.9.

“now” (עַתָּה / הַעַתָּה), rather than in a distant, imagined future (Sir 11:11a-b). Qoheleth later advises enjoying goods in one’s youth since old age curtails one’s ability to do so (Qoh 11:8-9; 12:1-5). The divine announcement of the man’s death (Luke 12:20) illustrates this sapiential emphasis on the inability to predict the future with any degree of certainty.

Luke’s rich man plans to enjoy his goods, but never does so, thereby illustrating the sapiential critique of planning for an uncontrollable future. Seneca faults people whose life looks “forward to the morrow... such persons do not live, but are preparing to live. They postpone everything” (*Ep.* 45.12-13).³² Seneca’s reflection is applicable to the rich man in Luke’s parable: “...life finds us lingering and passes us by as if it belonged to another, and though it ends on the final day, it perishes every day” (45.13). For Seneca, the person who delays life in this manner “cannot stand prepared for the approach of death if he has just begun to live” (23:10-11). The rich man embodies Seneca’s observation that some people “only begin to live when it is time for them to leave off living” (23.10-11). Lucian critiques those who collect riches but die before being able to enjoy (ἀπολαύω) them (*Char.* 17). In light of sapiential texts, the man’s planned enjoyment is inadequate because it is postponed, not actualized, and is not a response to any apparent awareness of his own mortality.³³

b. Inheritance

As with enjoyment, Luke’s parable and its immediate literary context also participates in a contested Second Temple (primarily sapiential) conversation regarding the legitimacy and meaningfulness of an inheritance. On the one hand, many texts endorse the development of a will or testament for the purpose of ensuring the transfer of one’s goods to another. Proverbs considers leaving an inheritance to one’s heirs to be the act of a good person (Prov 13:22).³⁴ The *Testament of Abraham* presents the construction of a will, and distribution of one’s possessions as a meaningful act, given the potential imminence of death (*T. Abr.* 1:4-5; 4:11; 8:11; 15:1, 7). Ben Sira offers advice on issuing an inheritance

32. I follow the English translations in Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* (trans. Richard M. Gummere; LCL; 3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925).

33. In light of Luke’s broader literary context, the rich man’s enjoyment is inadequate because it is envisioned as a solitary act apart from community. For a Lukan endorsement of communal enjoyment, cf. Luke 15:23, 24, 29, 32.

34. According to the MT. The LXX reads: “A good person will inherit sons of sons.”

(Sir 9:6; 22:23; 33:23; 42:3) and proposes commitment to one's testament as a meaningful act in the face of death's uncertain timing (Sir 11:20).³⁵ Giving an inheritance is likewise considered a proper use of possessions in many ancient Egyptian texts.³⁶

Qoheleth and Lucian, on the other hand, highlight the fragile and undependable aspects of an inheritance. Whereas Qoheleth focuses upon the inability to control who would inherit one's goods (Qoh 2:18-21; 5:12-13), Lucian's *Dialogues* draw attention to the uncontrollable aspects faced by potential heirs of an inheritance. Greed causes characters in the *Dialogues* to scheme to inherit the property and riches of wealthy individuals. Such greed leads to the deaths of those schemed against and the schemers themselves.³⁷ Plutarch inveighs against the practice of misers providing inheritances to heirs because such wealth, rather than being enjoyed, is perpetually preserved (φυλάσσω, *Cupid. divit.* 7). Plutarch also, echoing a similar concern in Qoheleth, mentions the likelihood of one's inheritance being taken by "some outsider, an informer or tyrant" (*Cupid. divit.* 7).

Luke's interest in this contested Second Temple conversation regarding an inheritance is evident not only in ch. 12 but also in two parables (15:11-32; 20:9-16). Luke 12 juxtaposes an individual seeking his share of an inheritance (12:13) with a man about to die who (apparently) has not left an inheritance to anyone (12:20). The former episode (12:13-15) does not appear to identify any potential benefit of an inheritance. As in Lucian's *Dialogues*, Luke depicts a case in which an inheritance engenders a familial conflict (cf. *Dial. mort.* 21.1; 22.7).

The fraternal dispute in Luke 12 over the inheritance reflects a concern that appears elsewhere in Luke. Conflict over an inheritance is a chief source of the elder brother's disdain regarding the father's treatment of his younger brother (Luke 15:11-32). In another parable, the desire for an inheritance is the primary motive for the murder of the intended recipient of the inheritance (Luke 20:9-16).³⁸

35. For this argument, see Rindge, *Jesus' Parable of the Rich Fool*, 75-77.

36. See, e.g., the Memphite Theology (*AEL* 1:52-53); the Story of Sinuhe (*AEL* 1:231).

37. *Dial. mort.* 15.1-2; 16.1, 3-4; 17.1; 18; 21.1, 3. Scheming to acquire an inheritance is the central preoccupation of four successive dialogues (*Dial. mort.* 15, 16, 17, 18).

38. Lucian speaks of the greed of heirs resulting in failed murder plots (*Dial. mort.* 17.4; cf. 21.3).

Jesus' response to the brother's request to divide the inheritance signals a reluctance to participate in the fraternal dispute (12:14).³⁹ Implicit in Jesus' rejoinder is a lack of enthusiasm for pursuing one's share of inheritance as a meaningful enterprise. Like Lucian's *Dialogues*, Luke appears to identify greed (πλεονεξία) as the motive for the brother's question for his share of the inheritance (12:15; cf. *Dial. mort.* 15.1; 16.3; 21.1).

Luke's parable depicts a man who apparently has not prepared a testament or will. This neglect is implied in the question God puts to the rich man: "the things you prepared—whose will they be?" (12:20c).⁴⁰ Like Abraham in the *Testament of Abraham*, Luke's rich man demonstrates no acknowledgement of the potential imminence of his death, nor does he enact any plans for his demise such as constructing a testament or will. If, as in the *Testament of Abraham*, establishing a testament necessitates facing one's mortality, then the rich man's apparent lack of one might suggest that he has neglected to reflect upon—and therefore face—the inevitability and uncertain timing of his own death.

Luke 12:13-34 represents one of many (sapiential) views regarding the legitimacy of establishing an inheritance as a meaningful act, given death's inevitability. The transference of an inheritance through a will appears in Luke 12 as a potentially meaningless use of possessions. It is bankrupt in its ability to provide meaning because the amassing of goods fails to enhance life (12:15). Luke's Gospel joins Lucian in highlighting the conflict inheritances produce. It leads to fraternal strife (12:13; cf. 15:11-32) and murder (20:14). Luke thus differs from the *Testament of Abraham*, in which the making of a testament was presented, in addition to hospitality, as a primary way of finding meaning within the context of the uncontrollable facets of death. Luke 12:13-34 proposes alternative uses of possessions as more meaningful, in light of death's inevitability and potential imminence.

39. μεριστήν is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament. For textual variants related to this term, see Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (4th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1994), 135.

40. So John R. Donahue (*The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], 178), who sees God's final question (12:20b) as an *inclusio* with the question posed to Jesus in 12:13.

c. Alms

Luke evaluates alms—endorsed repeatedly in Ben Sira—by affirming them as the most meaningful use of possessions in light of death’s inevitability (12:33). Jesus concludes his discourse following the parable by calling people to sell their possessions (πωλήσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα) and give alms (δοτε ἐλεημοσύνην). This proposal represents an antithetical alternative to the rich man who collects, gathers, and saves—“for himself” (ἐαυτῷ) and not for anyone else—instead of selling and giving (12:21).

Luke’s awareness of alms as an ideal use of possessions is evident elsewhere in Luke–Acts (Luke 11:41; Acts 9:36; 10:2, 4, 31; 24:17). The Gospel uses the technical term for alms only twice (ἐλεημοσύνη, 11:41; 12:33), but there are important links between these two instances. Jesus prescribes alms as the antidote to the greed (ἀρπαγή) and wickedness (πονηρία) of the Pharisees (Luke 11:41; cf. 11:39). This proposal is a precedent for Luke’s subsequent recommendation of alms (12:33) as an alternative to greed (12:15). These parallels reflect and reinforce, furthermore, a specific belief that one’s greed can be overcome by the act of giving alms.

The recommendation regarding alms in Luke 11:41 may also be intended as an antidote to the deadness of the Pharisees’ lives, an accusation implicit in Jesus’ description of them as unmarked graves (τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ ἀδηλα, 11:44). In the statement that precedes the parable, Jesus notes that one’s life (ζωή) does not consist in the abundance of one’s possessions (ὑπαρχόντων, 12:15). Luke’s use of ζωή and not βίος is significant here, given that every use of ζωή in Luke is linked with the use of possessions (10:25; 12:15; 16:25; 18:18, 30).⁴¹

41. The first occurrence of the term, in 10:25, highlights how hospitality and generosity are integral ingredients in loving one’s neighbor, and therefore, in inheriting eternal life and living. Immediately preceding the parable of the Rich Fool, Jesus declares that one’s life does not consist in the abundance of possessions (12:15). In the parable of Lazarus and the rich man, the latter is told that he received his “good things” during his life and that Lazarus did not (16:25). Jesus’ answer to the rich ruler’s question of what must be done to inherit eternal life is that he must sell everything and give to the poor (18:18, 22). Those who have left homes or families for the kingdom of God will receive much more, both in this age and in “eternal life” (18:30). It is perhaps equally significant that none of the occurrences of the term in Acts are linked to the use of possessions (Acts 2:28; 3:15; 5:20; 8:33; 11:18; 13:46, 48; 17:25).

These direct associations between life and the use of possessions invite us to consider that Luke depicts his rich man as having begun to die long before the announcement of his imminent biological death. God announces the end of his βίος (12:20), but there is a sense in which his ζωή had already begun to die. An unspoken implication of 12:15 is that the abundance of one's possessions might lead to a living death. This reading is compelling, given the link between the rapacity of the Pharisees (11:41) and the description of them as "unmarked graves" (11:44).

Luke's rich man is indeed depicted as less alive than his possessions, the latter of which engage in more activity than the man himself (Luke 12:16). Seneca's frequent reference to the "living dead" is relevant here, as is his attribution of such a premature death to luxury (*Ep.* 122.3, 4, 10; 82.3-4). It is significant, moreover, that Jesus instructs a person to sell the very thing (ὕπαρχοντα, "possessions") in which the abundance of life does not consist (12:15, 33). Whereas an abundance of possessions does not lead to life (and can even contribute to a living death), giving alms functions as a potential vehicle of life, both for the recipient and the giver.⁴²

In light of sapiential texts, the man's folly consists primarily in his failure, given death's uncertain timing and potential imminence, to enact any of the six sapiential recommendations for the use of possessions.

3. Appropriating and Reconfiguring the Sapiential Conversation on Death and Possessions

Luke 12:13-34 not only participates in a Second Temple intertextual conversation (by evaluating six sapiential options for using possessions), but also reconfigures elements of it by appropriating certain motifs and adapting them to his own theological, existential, and ethical concerns. I will now briefly analyze one example of Luke's appropriation (the twin folly of saving for the future and ignoring death's inevitability and uncertain timing) and two examples of his reconfiguration (the dilemma of an appropriately acquired surplus; and the role of anxiety in the interplay of death and possessions).

a. Saving for the Future and Ignoring Death's Uncertain Timing

The rich man intends to store his goods for the future, understanding enjoyment as a *consequence* of this storage, but not the *reason* for storing his goods (12:18-19). Storing the land's yield can be read as an

42. In Luke–Acts a causal relationship exists between giving alms and how one is treated by God. See especially Acts 10:2, 4, 31; cf. 9:37-42.

attempt to abide by sapiential instructions that extol the virtues of saving one's goods for the future.⁴³ In light of such advice, the man's plans are a prudent effort to prepare for the future.

Storing his goods for future use is, however, deficient in light of sapiential texts that discuss the interplay of death and possessions. Such texts never propose saving for the future as a meaningful use of possessions. Some of these texts explicitly criticize the practice. Lucian disparages those who "guard" (φυλάσσω) their gold since money is not needed in the afterlife (*Dial. mort.* 1.3). He also faults those who guard (φυλάσσω) their wealth instead of enjoying (ἀπολαύω) it (*Tim.* 13-14). Papyrus Insinger similarly favors enjoying goods over saving them (17:6-20).

Even texts with antithetical views about death and its aftermath agree in not proposing the saving of goods as a meaningful option. Each of the six sapiential options for utilizing possessions has the potential to provide meaning (even in light of death) because of the *gift* that is given to oneself, God, or another. Goods that are saved are not gifts. They are *potential* gifts, but as long as they remain in storage, this potential remains unrealized.

The rich man's storage of goods may indicate his unwillingness to confront his own death. Lucian faults those who fail to reflect upon their mortality and inevitable death.⁴⁴ Diogenes emphasizes the need to practice (μελετάω) how to die (*Ep.* 39.3, 13), and Seneca repeatedly stresses the importance of facing one's inevitable demise.⁴⁵ Each day is to be regarded as one's last (*Ep.* 12.8-9; 93.6). Adopting this perspective would seem to preclude the saving of goods for the future.

Sapiential texts also insist that an awareness of death's inevitability should inform one's use of possessions. Syriac Menander stresses that riches are used properly when done so in the consideration of the end of one's life (*Sy. Men.* 322-27). Ben Sira seems to assume that remembering the end of life will encourage giving to the poor and being generous with others (*Sir* 7:32-36). A failure to face one's mortality, on the other hand, prevents one from using possessions meaningfully. Lucian identifies the belief that one will live forever as the reason that some hoard money rather than giving it to their heirs (*Dial. mort.* 22.7). Forgetting about one's own mortality results in being possessed by one's

43. *Sy. Men.* 380-81; *P. Ins.* 5.15; 6.23-24; 7.1-6.

44. See, e.g., *Dial. mort.* 3.2; *Char.* 17, 24; *Men.* 12.

45. *Ep.* 4.3-6, 9; 24; 58.23; 63.16; 67.8-10; 69.6; 70.9; 74.30; 76.28-29; 77.14-15, 19; 78.5-6; 80.5-6; 92.35; 93.12; 104.25, 33; 117.21; 120.14-15.

mortal goods (*Sy. Men.* 12). Luke's rich man is owned by what he owns, and being possessed by his possessions may be due to his failure to contemplate his mortality.

Having wealth can also cause one to neglect one's own mortality. People who are doing well (εὖ πράττωσιν), Lucian avers, do not consider the myriad ways that death might meet them (*Char.* 17).⁴⁶ He claims that reflecting upon one's mortality would lead people to alter certain behaviors regarding their possessions.⁴⁷ Thinking of one's inevitable death, and the impossibility of bringing possessions into the afterlife, enables people to cease their "vain toil" for possessions (*Char.* 20). The man's plans in the parable evince no such awareness of his potential demise. Seneca also maintains that an insatiable hunger for wealth makes it difficult for one to contemplate one's eventual death (*Ep.* 70.17-18). Craving wealth also causes people to attempt (unsuccessfully) to prolong their life (*Ep.* 120.17).⁴⁸

In light of such texts, the man's foolish use of goods is a consequence of his failure to face his inevitable death. In contrast to the neglect of his mortality, the parable insists through God's speech that death is an inevitable and unavoidable event, the timing of which is frequently unpredictable.⁴⁹

b. The Dilemma of an Appropriately Acquired Surplus

Many Jewish, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman sapiential texts criticize the unjust acquisition of wealth.⁵⁰ Although differing on many points, such texts find common ground on castigating those who procure wealth

46. Such people mistakenly think their goods will be theirs forever (*Char.* 17).

47. A person building a house would not continue if he knew that he will die as soon as the roof is complete (*Char.* 17).

48. The discourse following the parable (12:22-34) also links one's anxiety over possessions and an attempt to prolong one's life (12:22-26). Yet this discourse insists on the unavoidability of death. Flowers and grass perish (12:28), and one cannot prolong the length of one's days (12:25).

49. For François Bovon, *L'Évangile Selon Saint Luc 9,51-14,35* (CNT Deuxième Série IIIb; Geneva: Labor et fides, 1996), 257, the parable is an invitation to "remember that you must die." Dupont, *Les béatitudes*, 3:113, identifies the man's ignorance (*oublier*) of death as one reason for his folly. Eichholz, "Vom reichen Kornbauern," 187, identifies the man's refusal to face death as his "crucial error." Luke Timothy Johnson (*The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* [SBLDS 39; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977], 153), notes that the man's fault is due in part to his failure to consider the possibility of his imminent death.

50. See, e.g., *1 En.* 97.8-10; Prov 15:27; Ps 49; Jer 17:11; The Instruction of Amenemope (6-7); Stela of Merneptah (*AEL* 2:76); Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sentences* 5-6.

unjustly.⁵¹ In the Epistle of *I Enoch*, God punishes such people (97:8-10). The evaluation of wealth in such texts is often dependent, as it is in Ben Sira, upon whether it was acquired justly or not (cf. Sir 13:24a).⁵²

Luke's parable provides, however, no explicit indication that the rich man procured his goods through unjust means.⁵³ On the contrary, the man's goods are produced naturally from the land (12:16).⁵⁴ Neglecting to attribute the man's wealth to unjust acquisition is significant, given the prevalence of this motif in sapiential texts. It is therefore possible that Luke's parable addresses a distinct, albeit related, question. If wisdom texts generally agree that the unjust acquisition of goods is abhorrent, what about the *proper* acquisition of goods? How is one to utilize goods and possessions that have not been procured unjustly? Luke reconfigures this sapiential motif regarding the unjust appropriation of goods by displaying a concern instead with what to do with possessions that are *appropriately* or *justly* acquired.

The specific dilemma that faces the man in the parable is that of an appropriately acquired *surplus*.⁵⁵ In particular, how does one respond to a surplus of goods given the inevitability and uncertain timing of death? In Luke's parable, God is shown to demonstrate an interest in the man's use

51. Walter T. Wilson (*The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* [CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005], 80) identifies this motif (the "theme of wealth unfairly acquired") as one that "belongs principally" to wisdom texts. As examples he cites Job 20:15; Prov 11:28; 13:11, 22; 28:8, 21-22; Wis 5:8; Sir 5:8; 13:24; 14:9; 21:4; 40:13.

52. So Benjamin G. Wright III, "The Discourse of Riches and Poverty in the Book of Ben Sira," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers* (2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 2:559-78 (564); cf. James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (rev. ed; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 147.

53. So Martin Luther King Jr., "The Man Who Was a Fool," in *Strength to Love* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 25-33; Eichholz, *Gleichnisse*, 183; Bovon, *Saint Luc*, 253; Halvor Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom: Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 1988), 88; Allen Verhey, *Remembering Jesus: Christian Community, Scripture, and the Moral Life* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 270.

54. So Moxnes, *Economy*, 83.

55. Observations regarding the man's surplus frequently involve tendentious speculation. Mary Ann Beavis ("The Foolish Landowner: Luke 12:16b-20)," in *Jesus and His Parables: Interpreting the Parables of Jesus Today* [ed. V. George Shillington; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997], 55-68 [64]) maintains that the rich man plans to store the goods in order to drive up the price of grain. Joel Green (*The Gospel of Luke* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 490-91) thinks the man keeps his surplus so as to avoid saturating the market, and to receive a "higher price when the market is not glutted."

of a surplus of goods that he receives as a gift (12:20-21). Underscoring this interest in the issue of a surplus is the use of *πλεονεξία* (12:15), a term that denotes pursuit of a superfluous quantity.⁵⁶

The extravagance of the man's surplus appears in his need to tear down his existing barns because they cannot adequately contain the produce of his field (12:16-17). Jesus' contention, immediately preceding the parable—that one's life does not consist in the abundance (*περισσεύειν*) of possessions (12:15)—also points to a concern for a surplus.⁵⁷

Jesus' statement (12:15) implies that a person's life consists in something other than a surplus of goods. The discourse following the parable contends that one's life consists not in maintaining a surplus but in selling one's goods and giving them in the form of alms (12:33). One is to sell possessions (*ὑπάρχοντα*), the very thing in which one's life does not consist (12:15), and give the proceeds to others. One's own surplus can thereby be transformed into that which meets life's basic necessities for the needy.

Luke 12:21 draws attention to the motif of a surplus by likening (*οὕτως*) the rich man to one who "stores up for oneself (*θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ*) and is not rich (*πλουτῶν*) toward God" (12:21). An implication of this theological assessment in 12:21 is that the question of what to do with a surplus of goods represents an existential, ethical, and theological dilemma. The existential nature of this quandary is a consequence of drawing attention to the sapiential texture of 12:13-34. The surplus provides an opportunity for the man to consider how to use his goods meaningfully, especially in light of death's inevitability and uncertain timing.

The ethical opportunity that the surplus represents becomes explicit with the proposal of alms as a constructive alternative to the socially destructive consequences of *πλεονεξία*. Finally, the failure to (plan to) share his goods with others is understood as a theological choice (12:21).

To be rich toward God is to share one's goods in the form of alms with those most in need. The God with and to whom one is rich is the God described in the subsequent discourse, one whose care and provision enables one to give alms without worrying or being anxious.

56. See LSJ, 1415–16; Gerhard Delling, "πλεονέκτης, πλεονεκτέν, πλεονεξία," *TDNT* 6:266–74.

57. The subsequent reference to Solomon (12:27) might also evoke in readers/hearers the surpluses required for the king's luxurious lifestyle.

c. Anxiety and the (Illusory) Control of Possessions

Luke reconfigures the sapiential conversation on death and possessions by identifying anxiety as an integral component in the intersection of possessions and death's inevitability and uncertain timing. Anxiety receives significant attention in the discourse addressed to the disciples (Luke 12:22-34). The term *περιμνάω* ("worry, be anxious") occurs three times (12:22, 25, 26), and *μετεωρίζομαι* ("be anxious about") appears once (12:29). The importance of anxiety is indicated more pointedly by the way in which it governs the entire discourse (12:22-34).⁵⁸

When read in light of Luke 12:22-34, the rich man's response to the land's fruitful production can be understood as a manifestation of anxiety. So, too, can the brother's interest in obtaining a share of the inheritance be regarded as a consequence of anxiety (12:13-15). Anxiety is embodied in specific practices related to possessions and in these instances is manifest in the pursuit of an inheritance and the plans to build larger barns and store goods for the future. The rich man's plans to store his goods, moreover, evince a failure to trust in Jesus' subsequent characterization of God as one who will provide for his needs. This failure to trust in divine care is one reason that the rich man's plans constitute poverty vis-à-vis God (12:21b).

Anxiety is a motif in sapiential discussions of death and possessions. Ben Sira links anxiety (*μέριμνα*) to the accumulation of wealth (*χρημα*; Sir 31:1-3). Lucian identifies worrying (*φροντίζω*) over acquiring an inheritance as a cause of premature death (*Dial. mort.* 16.4). Syriac Menander also sees undue anxiety as a cause of death (*Sy. Men.* 385-93).

58. The concept appears in the discourse's initial instruction ("Do not worry..."; 12:22), and the proceeding section (12:23-28) consists of warrants to buttress this command (12:22). This pattern is repeated: an order not to worry (12:29) is followed by a rationale supporting the command (12:30). Proceeding these two sets of commands/warrants are alternatives to pursue instead of worry (12:31-34). The importance of anxiety for Luke 12:4-34 is indicated, furthermore, by the attention given at the outset of this discourse to the fear (*φοβέομαι*) of being killed (12:4-5). In his attempt to alleviate such fear (12:6-7), Jesus employs a similar *qal wahomer* strategy utilized later in the discourse on anxiety (12:24, 27, 28, 30). In both instances Jesus contends that God cares for birds (sparrows/ravens) and that people surpass (*διαφέρω*) birds in value to God (12:7, 24). Implicit in this comparison is that God's care for people will surpass that shown to the birds. Each subsection in the discourse on anxiety concludes with reminders not to worry (12:25, 29). Among the reasons not to be anxious is the inability of anxiety to prolong life (12:25) or to effect change in other areas of one's life (12:26). One should not worry (about eating and drinking), since God ("the Father") is aware of such needs (12:29-30). The striving of nations after such things indicates ignorance about God's awareness of their needs (12:30).

Seneca frequently links anxiety with the pursuit of luxury (*Ep.* 14.18; 42.7; 115.16; 119.15). He claims that anxiety stymies enjoyment (*Ep.* 14.18), and he posits a proportional relationship between one's "daily" worry and the measure of possessions a person acquires (*Ep.* 115.16). In Papyrus Insinger, God gives the "impious" person wealth so that he should worry daily (15.19). Other Egyptian texts eschew worry, recommending enjoyment instead.⁵⁹

Luke 12:13-34 makes two important contributions to this (largely sapiential) conversation. First, it identifies the fragility and uncertainties of life (of which death is one significant aspect) as a potential threat to one's sense of control. Life's fragility produces and fuels anxiety, which in turn stymies one's ability to live meaningfully. Anxiety hinders meaningful living, since it leads to the pursuit and amassing of possessions, an activity that (as noted above) not only fosters relational alienation but also fails to engender life (ζωή, 12:15).

Second, Luke 12:13-34 suggests that almost any effort to secure control through the use of possessions is a futile enterprise.⁶⁰ In Luke 12, planned enjoyment is seen not as an alternative to anxiety (*contra* Seneca) but as another possible symptom of it. Anxiety functions within this framework as the sole fruit of the otherwise fruitless quest to exert control over one's life, either through the attempt to postpone death or through specific uses of possessions.

Luke's proposal of alms as a solution to anxiety is noteworthy precisely because this use of possessions most closely represents a relinquishing of the attempt to control life through one's possessions. In sharp contrast to the many methods whereby one might collect and accrue goods as a means of securing control, Luke upholds a use of goods (alms) that requires (a literal) letting go of control. Luke presents this precise use of goods as the vehicle through which one can store up treasure in heaven, thereby securing one's future relationship with God. As in Ben Sira, storing up riches does not "guarantee security" (Sir 11:10-11, 18-19, 20-21a, 23-24). One rather achieves future security by relinquishing control of one's goods in the present. Releasing control is not, as in Seneca, an attitudinal detachment from possessions, but rather a concrete act of selling and giving away one's goods to the poor.

59. Statue of Nebneteru (*AEL* 3:18, 21-24); Inscription of Wennofer (*AEL* 3:56-57); cf. Ptahhotep (11; *AEL* 1:66).

60. Johnson, *Literary Function*, 153, writes: "Possessions are what men use to preserve their life, to gain security against threat. But Jesus rejects this. The 'self' is not secured by possessions, and there is no correspondence between an increase in possessions and the state of a man's life."

4. Conclusion

Situating the parable within a primarily sapiential conversation marks a methodological departure from most readers who interpret Luke's parable through a "prophetic" lens. Such readers conclude that the story is a simple critique of avarice.⁶¹ These readings neglect, however, the similarities, allusions, and resonances between Luke's parable and sapiential texts. Reading Luke's parable in concert with sapiential discussions on death and possessions yields different insights than when the parable is read through the primary lens of prophetic texts. Reading the parable as a sapiential narrative draws attention, for example, not only to avarice but also to issues such as the meaningful use of possessions given the uncontrollable aspects of death and the fragility of life.

This study has sought to employ an intertextual method that not only observes citations, allusions, echoes, and evocations, but also seeks to move beyond such observations. I have attempted to show that Luke 12:13-34 and its intertexts are participants in a contested (largely Second Temple sapiential) conversation encompassing diverse and conflicting perspectives. Doing so broadens the scope of enquiry from analyzing Luke's relationship with this or that specific intertext to identifying Luke's specific voice in this conversation, how he contributes to it, and how he appropriates and reconfigures it for his own unique purposes.⁶² For this intertextual model, metalepsis is simultaneously helpful and also too limiting.⁶³ For whereas metalepsis broadens the object of analysis

61. So, e.g., Cyprian, *De dominica oratione* 4.20; Cassian, *Institutes* 7.30; Cyril of Alexandria, *The Gospel of Saint Luke* 360; Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 141; John Dominic Crossan, *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge, 1992), 83; Donahue, *Gospel*, 177, 179; Abraham J. Malherbe, "The Christianization of a *Topos* (Luke 12:13-34)," *NovT* 38 (1996): 123-35 (132).

62. For another example of this model, see Matthew S. Rindge, "Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule: Daniel 2 as a Reconfiguration of Genesis 41," *JBL* 129 (2010): 85-104.

63. John Hollander describes metalepsis as a literary reference to a "precursor text," the understanding of which is dependent upon the reader's knowledge of the broader literary context in which the precursor text appears (*The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981]). Richard Hays defines metalepsis as "a rhetorical and poetic device in which one text alludes to an earlier text in a way that evokes resonances of the earlier text beyond those explicitly cited" (*The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 2, emphasis original); cf. *idem*, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 14-21).

from a specific precursor text to the broader literary context of such a text, the intertextual model utilized here presses beyond the broader literary context of a precursor text to focus upon the types of conversation(s) in which such texts are participating and to which they contribute. Scholars of early Judaism and early Christianity would be well served by future projects that delineate and reconstruct the myriad types of intertextual conversations that permeated the Second Temple period.

JESUS SAID “KEEP THE COMMANDMENTS”
AND THE RICH MAN ASKED, “WHICH ONES?”:
THE DECALOGUE AS A LAW SUMMARY
IN THE STORY OF THE RICH MAN

Diane Hakala

In the New Testament (NT) story of the rich man (Matt 19:16-22; Mark 10:17-22; Luke 18:18-23),¹ a man of some wealth stops Jesus to inquire about how to obtain eternal life. Jesus’ response includes a series of commands, five of which are generally thought to be from the Decalogue: murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and honouring father and mother (Exod 20:12-16; Deut 5:16-20). The list in Mark also includes the command “do not defraud” (μὴ ἀποστερήσης) and in Matthew “love your neighbour as yourself” (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν, Lev 19:18b). One of the key points in the story is that despite the rich man’s claim to have observed these commands, he is still “lacking.” The cause of this deficiency is much debated. Was it the commands that were inadequate to obtain eternal life, or the rich man’s observance? Regardless of the answer, it is important to understand which commands are intended. Does Jesus’ response refer only to the five or six specifically mentioned, or to a longer list for which the few are a part? And, if the latter, which list; the Decalogue or some other? These questions are not new and for centuries the broad consensus has held that the referent of the commands in the rich man story is the “second table” of the Decalogue, those addressing duties toward humanity, as distinguished from the “first table,” pertaining to duties toward God. According to this perspective, the command to honour parents is assumed to be part of the second table. However, other commentators have identified the command to honour parents with the first table, suggesting that both tables of the Decalogue are represented in the story. Thus, the commentaries exhibit two somewhat contradictory positions. In addition, the position of the commandment to honour parents has confounded commentators; and, though most offer some solution, there is little agreement.

1. Known variously as the story of the “rich young man,” after Matthew’s νεανίσκος (19:20), and “rich ruler,” after Luke’s ἄρχων (18:18).

Determining which tables are represented in the rich man story from the commentaries alone is difficult, because identification of the tables is often treated as a matter of fact rather than interpretation, with little supporting evidence or argument. The primary aim of the present study, then, will be to examine the historical backdrop of the traditions of the two tables in hopes of explaining (if not resolving) the inconsistency. To anticipate the conclusion, at least in part, the composition of the two tables appears to have shifted historically. Though earlier Jewish tradition had the commandment to honour parents on the first table, over time Christian writings began to position it on the second, possibly influenced by the arrangement of the commands in the rich man story. In addition, the arrangement seems similar to others found in Jewish texts that have, ostensibly, Gentiles in mind and may represent “catechetical” or “apologetic” texts, perhaps inspired by the Jewish “Two Ways” tradition.

Beyond its potential interest for the history of interpretation, this discussion may also have some import for the analysis of the commands intended in the rich man story. This study will affirm the idea that both tables of the Decalogue are intended in the rich man story, whether the first table is actually embodied in the command to honour parents, or whether, as Calvin argued, the first is only intimated in the second (1 John 4:20).² The contention of this study, that the first table is present in the command to honour parents, challenges the position held by some that *only* the second table is found in the rich man story and the NT with the first having been omitted. Of those who espouse this view, some aver that the Decalogue has been merged or re-interpreted in terms of the socio-ethical commands of the second table.³ Others describe the commands present in the NT accounts of the Decalogue as “moral”⁴ or “less distinctively Jewish,”⁵ apparently implying that the commands of the first table are “non-moral” and perhaps “ceremonial” or “distinctively Jewish.” Though this characterisation of the first table may apply to the

2. J. Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845), Matt 19:6-22; W. Hendriksen, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), 725.

3. K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im alten Testament. Teil 1, Markus und Parallelen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 417–21; R. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (Vienna: Herder, 1976), 139.

4. M. Thompson, *Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1–15.13* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 125.

5. J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (2 vols.; Dallas: Word, 1988), 2:778.

Sabbath command, it appears unsuitable for the prohibition of “idolatry,” which is still valid for Christian Gentiles (1 Cor 8). Still others suggest that texts such as the Jewish Pseudo-Phocylides and the Christian *Didache* also contain only commands from the second table,⁶ but these expositors seem to ignore the presence of commands from the first, such as the prohibition of other gods (Ps.-Phoc. 8) and idols (1 Cor. 8; *Did.* 5.1). If, as argued here, the command to honour parents is likely part of the first table, then it would also weigh in against these views.

This essay will attempt to develop the historical argument by addressing three points concerning the presence of the Decalogue and its tables in the story of the rich man: (1) commands and tables of the Decalogue; (2) the possibility of a catechetical pattern; and (3) additional contextual indicators. In section 1, it will be suggested that historically in Judaism at the time of the NT the only extant division of the tables had the command to honour parents on the first. However, Philo characterized the commandment to honour parents as having attributes of the second table, and this seems to have laid the groundwork for the command’s later shift in Christian literature to the second table by the fourth century CE. In section 2 it will be argued that the unusual position of the commandment to honour parents after commands of the second table possibly reflects a catechetical pattern found in ancient Judaism. In some cases, the tradition links the command to honour parents with the first commandment to honour God, and treats the two together as a summary of the first table. A similar combination can be found in other Jewish and Christian literature. Finally, section 3 will briefly consider three additional contextual matters in the story of the rich man, including Lev 19:18b in Matthew, reference to the two-fold law summary in Luke, and a possible allusion to the Shema in Mark and Luke.

1. Commands and Tables of the Decalogue

a. The Commands

One of the difficulties in identifying the commands in the story of the rich man as Decalogue commandments is the paucity of information about the Decalogue and its history in the Old Testament (OT). The OT provides only the limited description: the “ten words” (עשרת הדברים,

6. H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002), 162–65; D. Flusser, “The Ten Commandments and the New Testament,” in *The Ten Commandments in History and Tradition* (ed. B.-Z. Segal; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1990), 219–46.

Exod 34:28; Deut 10:4; 4:13),⁷ which were never called “commands” (ἐντολαί), were written on “two stone tablets” (שְׁנֵי לַחֶת אֲבָנִים, Exod 31:18; 34:1, 4; Deut 4:13; 5:22; 9:10-11; 10:1, 3; 1 Kgs 8:9),⁸ and were written “on two sides, one side and the other” (לַחֶת כְּתָבִים מִשְׁנֵי, Exod 32:15).⁹ The epithet “ten words” does not occur with the texts commonly understood to be its exposition (Exod 20:2-17; Deut 5:6-21). However, the description of the texts as the two tablets in Deut 5:22, along with the identification of the two tablets elsewhere as the “ten words” (Exod 34:28; 4:19; 10:4), is sufficient for most to conclude that the passages in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 are the same “ten words.” Furthermore, debate continues over partial lists in the prophets are allusions to the Decalogue.¹⁰ Scholars have long attempted to recover the original forms of the Decalogue and the two stone tablets.¹¹ However, the various methods of enumeration found in literature after the third century BCE seems to suggest that if an “original” division had been known, it was evidently forgotten or ignored.

Adding to the complexity is that in the NT the phrase “ten words” never appears, raising the question of whether the partial lists in the story of the rich man and elsewhere (cf. Matt 5:21, 27; 15:19; Rom 13:9; Jas 2:11) have been drawn from the Decalogue. Hays has developed seven criteria for evaluating an allusion; by the standard of “volume” (repetition of words or syntactical patterns), the allusion to the Decalogue in the rich man story appears to be quite strong.¹² The volume of the Decalogue commands in the three accounts is strong, because the vocabulary and

7. LXX δέκα λόγοι (Exod 34:28; Deut 10:4) and δέκα ῥήματα (Deut 4:13).

8. LXX δύο πλάκας λιθίνας (Exod 31:18; 34:1, 4; Deut 4:13; 5:22; 9:10-11; 10:1, 3; 1 Kgs 8:9).

9. LXX (δύο) πλάκες λίθιναι καταγεγραμμέναι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν αὐτῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἦσαν γεγραμμέναι.

10. Possible allusions often discussed are Isa 33:15-16; Jer 7:9; Ezek 18:5-9, 10-13, 15-18; Hos 4:2; Mic 5:8; Ps 15; Job 31.

11. For discussion, see J. J. Stamm, *The Ten Commandments in Recent Research* (2d ed.; London: 1967); E. Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments in New Perspective: A Traditio-Historical Approach* (London: SCM Pres, 1968); B. S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1974), 385-439; W. Zimmerli, “Das zweite Gebot,” in *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), 550-63; J. S. DeRouchie, *A Call to Covenant Love: Text Grammar and Literary Structure in Deuteronomy 5-11* (1st Gorgias ed.; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2007).

12. The seven “tests” are (1) availability, (2) volume, (3) recurrence, (4) thematic coherence, (5) historical plausibility, (6) history of interpretation and (7) satisfaction. See R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 30-32.

ordering corresponds closely to that of the Decalogue in Exod 20:12-16 and Deut 5:16-20 (Figure 1). The five commands include: murder (φονεύσεις), adultery (μοιχεύσης), theft (κλέψης), false witness (ψευδομαρτυρήσης) and honouring mother and father (τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα).

<i>LXX Deut 5:16-20^a</i>	<i>Matt 19:18-19^b</i>	<i>Mark 10:19^c</i>	<i>Luke 18:20</i>
¹⁶ τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα...	¹⁸ τὸ	τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας·	τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας·
¹⁷ οὐ μοιχεύσεις	οὐ φονεύσεις,	μὴ φονεύσης,	μὴ μοιχεύσης,
¹⁸ οὐ φονεύσεις	οὐ μοιχεύσεις,	μὴ μοιχεύσης,	μὴ φονεύσης,
¹⁹ οὐ κλέψεις	οὐ κλέψεις,	μὴ κλέψης,	μὴ κλέψης,
²⁰ οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις ...	οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ¹⁹ τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.	μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα.	μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα.
^a LXX Exod 20:12-16 is similar except for the order οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ φονεύσεις. ^b The order μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ μοιχεύσης occurs in the MT of Exodus and Deuteronomy. ^c The order μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ μοιχεύσης is reversed in several MSS of Mark including amongst others Alexandrinus and K M N U W Θ Π f ¹³ 21 lat sy ^h ; Cl.			

Figure 1

However, it is also evident that there are a number of differences.¹³ Some include: (1) the rich man story has fewer than ten commands; (2) the commands prohibiting false witness and honouring parents are an abbreviated form of those in Exodus and Deuteronomy; (3) both Matthew and Mark have additional non-Decalogue commands;¹⁴ (4) the prohibitions of murder and adultery in Matthew and some MSS of Mark

13. Figure 1 is representative of only the more important MSS. For a complete list, see the apparatus in the critical editions.

14. Matthew has the additional command “love your neighbor as yourself” (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν, Lev 19:18b) and Mark, “do not defraud” (μὴ ἀποστερήσης).

agree with the Masoretic Text (MT),¹⁵ as against the order, adultery/murder in some MSS of Mark, Luke and LXX Deuteronomy;¹⁶ (5) the commands in Matthew have the future indicative form of the LXX, but Mark and Luke use the subjunctive aorist; and finally, (6) in the synoptic accounts the commandment to honour parents appears after false witness. This last difference is of particular interest because it is not found in extant biblical versions of the Decalogue. The possibility of this order being a catechetical one will be discussed below. However, the question here is whether the commands from Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 are strong enough to be heard as the Decalogue.

The series in Mark and Luke have the introductory phrase τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας and in Matthew the neuter article τὸ, a device often used to introduce a well-known saying.¹⁷ H. Loehr has argued that the Decalogue could be such a text. He posits that the Decalogue was likely taught or recited in the home, temple, and synagogue and contends that it played a significant if not prominent role in Second Temple Judaism.¹⁸ Conversely, F. E. Vokes suggested that the variations in the story of the rich man indicated that the Decalogue was not “sacrosanct,”¹⁹ raising the question for some whether the Decalogue was in fact intended in some texts.²⁰ However, U. Kellermann in a more comprehensive study concluded that a number of Jewish writings included the Decalogue in the form of all ten words (the Nash Papyrus; *tefillin* from the Dead Sea; Philo, *Her.* 169-73; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.89-92); Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 11.1-13; 44.6-7), and as partial lists (*Pseudo-Phocylides* 3-8; *Pseudo-Menander*

15. The order φονεύσεις/μοιχεύσεις occurs in MT Exod 20/Deut 5, Samaritan Exod 20/Deut 5 as well as in all extant Qumran MSS (4Q129; 4Q134; 4Q139; XQ3 [XQPhyl 3]; 4Q41), Josephus, *Ant.* 3.90; *Did.* 2.7; Vulgate; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.3, 6.16; *Apostolic Constitutions* 6.2; Clementine, *Hom.* 7.4.3-4; *Rec.* 6; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 2; *Targ. Onq. Neof.*, Ps.-J. Exod 20:12-14 and Deut 5; *Mekhilta R. Ishmael Beshallah* 1 (Exod 13:17-22); *Bahodesh* 8 (Exod 20:12-14).

16. See also the Nash Papyrus; Philo, *Her.* 173; Rom 13:9; Jas 2:11; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.12.5; Theophilus, *Autol.* 2.36; 3.9; Augustine, *Let.* 55.12.

17. W. W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar* (new ed.; London: St. Martin's, 1895), 208, section 955.2; D. B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament with Scripture, Subject and Greek Word Index* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 238.

18. H. Loehr, “Jesus and the Ten Words,” in *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus* (ed. T. Holmén and S. E. Porter; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 4:3135-54, 2136-40.

19. F. Vokes, “The Ten Commandments in the New Testament and in First Century Judaism,” *Studia Evangelica* 5 (1968): 146-54 (152).

20. R. J. Banks, *Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 161-62.

170-71 and *4 Macc.* 2.1-13).²¹ Furthermore, the order of Decalogue commands seems relatively stable, with the exception of the prohibitions of murder, adultery, and theft. However, these occur in only three variations and two predominate.²² The use of *μὴ ἀποστερήσης* may be interpretive.²³ Thus, it seems that despite differences in versions of the Decalogue and the rich man story, and though the volume may have been dampened, the Decalogue could still be heard.

b. Distribution of the Tables

Most commentators concur that the commands in the rich man story are from the Decalogue. However, they disagree about which table is represented. The majority, which includes, amongst others, Calvin,²⁴ Pesch,²⁵ Marshall,²⁶ and Berger²⁷ argue further that the commands in the story of the rich man are from the second table of the Decalogue. The commandment to honour parents is in this view assumed to be on the second table. On the other hand, others, including D. Hagner,²⁸ C. Evans,²⁹ and J. Marcus,³⁰ state that the commandment to honour parents is from the first table. Four of the most prominent traditions of the divisions and tables of the Decalogue in ancient Jewish and Christian texts are outlined in Figure 2: Philo (*Her.* 169-72; *Decal.* 51) and

21. U. Kellermann, “Der Dekalog in den Schriften des Frühjudentums,” in *Weisheit, Ethos und Gebot: Weisheits- und Dekalogtraditionen in der Bibel und im frühen Judentum* (ed. H. G. Reventlow; Biblisch-Theologische Studien 43; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 147–226.

22. MT Exod 20 and Deut 5—murder, adultery and theft. LXX Deut 5—adultery, murder and theft. LXX Exod 20—adultery, theft and murder. Of these, the last occurs only rarely in both Jewish and Christian literature.

23. The command *μὴ ἀποστερήσης* may be an attempt to “fill-in” the prohibition of coveting as in Mal 3:5. See M. D. Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: A. & C. Black, 1991), 241; A. Yarbro Collins and H. W. Attridge, *Mark: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 478. The addition may also relate to wealth of the rich man in the narrative; see J. R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark* (Leicester: Apollos; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 310–11.

24. J. Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne* (1536), 2.8.12.

25. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 139.

26. I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1978), 684–85.

27. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*, 394.

28. D. A. Hagner, *Matthew* (2 vols.; Dallas: Word, 1995), 2:557.

29. C. A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 96.

30. J. Marcus, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (2 vols.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 2:727.

Josephus (*Ant.* 3.89-92, 138), the rabbinic tradition (*Mek. de R. Ishmael*, *Yithro*, *Bahodesh* 8 on Exod 20:12-14; *y. Sheq.* 6.1), Ambrosiaster (*Quaest. Vet. Novi Test.* 7.2), and Augustine (*Quaest. Hept.* 2.71.1-2; *Faust.* 15.7; *Let.* 55.11.20).

<i>The “Ten Words”</i>	<i>Philo/ Josephus first BCE– second CE</i>	<i>Rabbis^a third–fifth CE</i>	<i>Ambrosiaster fourth CE</i>	<i>Augustine^b third– fourth CE</i>
I am the Lord your God...	----- First Table ----- 1			
Do not have other gods...	1	2	1	
Do not make for you an image or any idol...	2		2	1
Do not take the name of the Lord in vain...	3	3	3	2
Remember/observe the Sabbath day...	4	4	4	3
Honour your father and your mother...	5	5	5	4
Do not murder	----- Second Table ----- 7/6			
Do not commit adultery	6/7	6	6	5
Do not steal	8	7	7	6
Do not bear false witness...	9	8	8	7
Do not covet your neighbour’s wife		9	9	8
Do not covet your neighbour’s property	10	10	10	9
				10
^a The range of third–fifth reflects the earliest range suggested for the collections of <i>Mekhilta de R. Ishmael</i> and <i>Talmud Yerushalmi</i> . This arrangement is also found in Codex Vaticanus in its presentation of Exod 20:2-17 and Julian, <i>Against the Galilaeans</i> 152C. ^b In <i>C. du. ep. Pelag</i> 3.10, there is evidence of Augustine using a second numbering scheme, one similar to Ambrosiaster.				

Figure 2

The first tradition is represented by the first-century Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, who are the earliest extant witnesses to an explicit enumeration and distribution of commands on two tables, a format that continues in many modern Protestant churches. Philo and Josephus number the commands "do not have other gods" and "do not make for you an image" as the first and second respectively. They also view the tables as having five commands on each with the commandment to honour parents being the fifth and final commandment on the first table. A similar distribution of five on each table can be found in Christian texts of the second and third centuries CE, including Irenaeus (*Haer.* 2.24.4), Tertullian (*Pud.* 5), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.16).

The second tradition listed in Figure 2 is a rabbinic division of the commandments and the tables, as found in texts from the third-century *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* and the fifth-century Palestinian Talmud;³¹ it is one which is still used in some Jewish congregations. Unlike Philo and Josephus, the first commandment is identified as "I am the Lord" and the second is "do not have other gods" and do not make for you an image..." (*Mek. de R. Ishmael, Yithro, Beshallah* 1 on Exod 13:17-22; *y. Ber.* 1.5). Though this division of the first two commands is typical of rabbinic texts, the enumeration can also be found in non-Jewish presentations of the Decalogue in Codex Vaticanus (Exod 20:2-17) and in Julian (*Against the Galilaeans* 152C). Though the numbering differs, like Philo and Josephus, rabbinic tradition has five commands on each table with the commandment to honour parents on the first (*Mek. de R. Ishmael, Yithro, Bahodesh* 8 on Exod 20:12-14; *y. Šeq.* 6.1).³²

The final two traditions in Figure 2 are those which have the commandment to honour parents on the second table. The third column is Ambrosiaster's tradition (*Commentary on Ephesians* 6.2),³³ whose

31. *Mekilta de R. Ishmael* is dated to the second half of the third century CE by H. L. Strack and G. Stemmerger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), 279. Strack and Stemmerger also suggest a date for the final redaction of the Palestinian Talmud as the first half of the fifth century (p. 189). An enumeration that seems to consider "I am the Lord," "do not have other gods" and possibly "do not make for you an image" as the first command may be found in another early midrashic collection, *Sifre Numbers* (§112), which is dated by Strack and Stemmerger to the middle of the third century CE (p. 292).

32. However, three additional arguments are noted in *y. Šeq.* 6.1, the possibility of ten, twenty and forty on each table.

33. The text *Quaestiones Veteri Novi Testamenti* was first attributed to Augustine, but scholarship beginning with Erasmus (1527) attributes it to the fourth century Pseudo-Ambrose or Ambrosiaster. See J. D. Boeft, "Ambrosiaster," in *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World* (Boston: Brill, 2002), 1:572.

numbering is like that of Philo, but whose division of the tables resembles Augustine. Similar views of the tables are found in Gregory of Nyssa (*Life of Moses* 48). Calvin attributes a similar enumeration to Origen,³⁴ but most assume that he was referring to *Homilies on Exodus* 8.2, which refers only the division of commands, but not the tables. The fourth tradition is Augustine's, whose distribution of the tables is today found in modern Lutheran and Roman church practices. Like Ambrosiaster, the tables are divided so that the commandment to honour parents appears on the second table. Though Augustine occasionally numbers the commands like Ambrosiaster, he also combines, like the rabbis, the commands "do not have other gods" and "do not make for you an image." Yet, unlike the Rabbis, Augustine divides the commandment on coveting into two commands: the prohibition of coveting the neighbour's wife, counted as the ninth, and the prohibition of coveting the neighbour's property, the tenth.

In sum, it appears that before the NT, the extant division of the tables was five on each. Calvin seems to allude to this when he says that though Josephus was incorrect, he was consistent with his time. Rabbinic tradition also attests to the tradition in later Judaism. The alternative tradition, that the commandment to honour parents was part of the second table, is not extant before the fourth century CE.

c. Characterisation of the Tables

In the second-century BCE *Letter of Aristeas* (24; 131), the law is described with the terms εὐσεβεία ("piety") and δικαιοσύνη ("justice"/"righteousness").³⁵ This two-fold division of the law is applied in Philo to the Decalogue, which he considered to be a law summary (*Spec.* 2.63; *Her.* 168-73). Many have noted the close association between the two-part summary of the law in the NT: "love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul and mind" and "love your neighbour as yourself" (Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18b; Matt 22:37-40; Mark 12:30-31; Luke 10:27).³⁶ Notably, though Philo does not quote Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18b directly, he comes

34. Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, 2.8.12.

35. Other possible second-century BCE allusions occur in *Jubilees* (20.2; 36.7-8) See also Josephus, *J.W.* 2.139 and *4 Macc.* 5.24. Several allusions have also been suggested in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, though these are questionable, because they are thought to have Christian redaction: *T. Dan* 5.3; *T. Iss.* 5.2; 7.6; *T. Zeb.* 5.1 and *T. Jos.* 11.1.

36. D. C. Allison, "Mark 12.28-31 and the Decalogue," in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. C. A. Evans and W. Stegner; JSNTSup 104/SSEJC 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 270-78; Flusser, "The Ten Commandments."

very close when he describes piety and justice with the words φιλόθεος ("love of God") and φιλανθρωπός ("love of humanity"), both expressions highlighting the keyword "love" (*Abr.* 208; *Decal.* 110; *Spec.* 1.248).³⁷ One further connection between the NT examples and Jewish tradition is the possible organisation of Torah reading and study on the Sabbath (*Spec.* 2.62-63; cf. Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.175; Acts 15:21). Philo explains that this study is organized around the two "heads" (κεφάλαια) of piety and justice (*Spec.* 2.62-63). Similarly, Paul appears to associate Torah reading with the tables of the Decalogue (2 Cor 3:15).³⁸ This two-fold division and characterisation of the tablets according to love of God and love of neighbor is picked up by later Christian commentators after the NT by both those who argue that the commandment to honour parents is on the first table (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 4.16.3)³⁹ and those who consider it part of the second (Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* 1.47-48; Augustine, *Reply to Faustus* 4.15.7; Aquinas, *De decem parae* 4.11; Calvin, *Institutes* 2.8.52-53).⁴⁰

As part of his portrayal of the nature of the commands on each table, Philo also characterizes the commandment to honour parents, describing it as "on the borders" μεθόριος between the two tables, sharing attributes with both. In common with the commands of the first table, parents imitate and participate with the divine in creating children. And yet parents have in common with the second table the attribute of mortality (*Her.* 172; *Decal.* 106; *Spec.* 2.225), though it renders them inferior to the preceding four commands of the first table (*Spec.* 2.261). A similar link may be encountered in the *Letter of Aristeas* 228, where honouring parents is closely associated with the love of friends. The source of this connection may be the prophetic tradition, though allusions to the Decalogue in the Prophets remain a matter of debate (Isa 33:15-16; Jer 7:9; Ezek 18:5-9; Hos 4:2; Mic 6:8), and the commandment to honour parents does not appear in these lists.⁴¹ Thus, from the characterisation

37. The further question of whether the double love commandment in the NT also summarizes the tables of the Decalogue will be examined in section 3 below.

38. D. Flusser has posited the tantalizing notion that there were homilies on the second table of the Decalogue that may have been connected with the "Two Ways." This will be taken up below.

39. Tertullian, *Pudicitia* 5, uses a similar division of "spiritual" and "corporeal."

40. Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* 1.47-48, divides the commands according to εὐσέβεια and "right moral actions," including the demand to love the neighbour.

41. G. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909). For discussion of the Decalogue in the prophetic tradition, see Y. Hoffman, "The Status of the Decalogue in the Hebrew Bible,"

of the commandment in Jewish writings, it seems to have been a small step for the commandment to honour parents to be seen as part of the second table. The task remains now to examine whether this was the case in the story of the rich man. One key may be the unusual arrangement of commands in the story of the rich man.

2. The Possibility of a Catechetical Pattern

The position of the commandment to honour parents in the story of the rich man has troubled commentators, primarily because it is difficult to explain why it varies from the order presented in the MT and LXX. Those who do address the issue offer a range of explanations, some of which overlap, and often with the added caveat, stated or implied, that there is no “convincing” solution.⁴² What will be argued below is that the unusual position of the command to honour parents in the rich man story may reflect a catechetical pattern found in early Jewish tradition and that this pattern may reveal an interpretation of the commandment as part of the first table. One feature of the rich man story that seems to support this hypothesis is the rather striking fact that the placement of the command to honour parents after the other commandments from the Decalogue never varies: the order occurs in all three synoptic accounts of the rich man story and in all the MSS of all the Gospels.⁴³ This aspect becomes especially conspicuous when compared with two variations already mentioned, the order of the prohibitions of murder and adultery on the one hand and Mark’s *μὴ ἀποστερήσης* on the other, which are not consistent in the Gospels or the MSS. Put simply, if the position of the commandment to honour parents is “out of order,” it is notable that there is no hint of it in the textual record.

Four kinds of rationale for the unusual position of the commandment to honour parents are typically found in the commentaries. One is that the synoptic author(s) changed the order for narrative emphasis, perhaps hearkening back to Jesus’ dispute with the rabbis regarding *korban*, where it seems to be suggested that the practice in some sense violates

in *The Decalogue in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. H. G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman; New York: T&T Clark International, 2010), 32–49 (43–44).

42. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke* (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 2:1199; Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 685; J. Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34* (Dallas: Word, 1993), 886.

43. In Matthew, the commandment is not last, because it is followed by Lev 19:18b.

the commandment to honour parents (Matt 15:1-9; Mark 7:1-13).⁴⁴ A difficulty with this view is that the dispute with the rabbis does not occur in Luke, which can be resolved by inferring that the Lucan author copied the list of commands from Mark or Matthew without regard for the narrative. Thus, though the position of the command to honour parents may refer to an earlier part of the narrative in Mark and Matthew, it is not the case in Luke.⁴⁵ A second explanation for the order of honouring parents in the rich man story is suggested by B. H. Branscomb who argued that the command was a "later" addition, perhaps similar to that of *μὴ ἀποστερήσης* in Mark and Lev 19:18b in Matthew.⁴⁶ However, if the command was added later it seems extraordinary that there are no variants in the textual record. Yet a third explanation may be inferred from comments by R. Grant and others, that Christian paraenesis treated the Decalogue with considerable selectivity and flexibility.⁴⁷ To be sure, there are variations from the biblical versions of the Decalogue in many Christian texts, but space here does not permit either examination or explanation. However, as will be shown, the position of the commandment to honour parents after the commands of the second table seems to be an oft-repeated pattern.

A fourth explanation for the position of the commandment to honour parents in the story of the rich man is that the sequence is an example of Jewish catechesis or paraenesis. Early proponents of this view were

44. R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 386–87. Collins and Attridge, *Mark*, 479; H. Jungbauer, *Ehre Vater und Mutter: Der Weg des Elterngelots in der biblischen Tradition* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 283. Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 2:725.

45. Luke does not include Lev 19:18b. The order of the commandments—adultery and murder—do appear in some MSS of Mark.

46. B. H. Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1937), 182; Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 685; Flusser, "The Ten Commandments," 223–24; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 3:44 n. 38. E. Waaler, *The Shema and the First Commandment in First Corinthians: An Intertextual Approach to Paul's Re-reading of Deuteronomy* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 228 n. 4.

47. R. M. Grant, "The Decalogue in Early Christianity," *HTR* 40 (1947): 1–17 (14). Bauckham cites a number of examples of the Decalogue being used in this free way, including Rom 13:9. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96–97; *Did.* 2; *Barn.* 19; Aristides, *Apol.* 15.3–5; Theophilus, *Autol.* 2.34–35; 3.9; Justin, *Dial.* 12.3. See also Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.12. R. J. Bauckham, "Sabbath and Sunday in the Post-Apostolic Church," in *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation* (ed. D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 251–98 (267–68 n. 106).

A. Seeberg and G. Klein in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴⁸ Seeberg in particular argued for the existence of a fixed Jewish catechism for Gentile converts that was based on a “two ways” text.⁴⁹ One of the characteristics of the form was the placement of the commandment to honour parents in last position.⁵⁰ The theory was much maligned because both Seeberg and Klein depended on texts from the third to ninth century CE to explain a Jewish mission from the second century BCE. Moreover, evidence for an active Jewish mission was, at best, scant.⁵¹ Furthermore, the “fixed” form seemed in many cases to be forced.⁵² However, Seeberg’s observation that the position of the commandment to honour parents occurs after other social commands may have merit. There are two possible examples from early Jewish literature. The first is Pseudo-Phocylides 3-8:⁵³

48. A. Seeberg, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit* (Leipzig: Diechert, 1903); A. Seeberg, *Die beiden Wege und das Aposteldekret* (Leipzig: Diechert, 1906); Klein, *Der älteste christliche*; E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter: The Greek Text* (London: Macmillan, 1946); P. Carrington, *The primitive Christian Catechism: A Study in the Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940); R. F. Collins, *Christian Morality: Biblical Foundations* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 66; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Lund: G. W. K. Gleerup, 1968), 62.

49. This catechism had been developed from the Decalogue, the Golden Rule and the “two ways” material in the final chapters of Deuteronomy, “way of life”/“way of death.” This is also found in Jer 21, Ps 34, and Wisdom texts like Prov 6 and Sir 37.

50. Seeberg, *Die beiden Wege*, 7-10. He cites Athenagoras, *On the Resurrection of the Dead* 23; Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 1.2; and Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 3.12.

51. Perhaps the best example occurs in Josephus of the conversion of Adiabene, though it has its detractors (*Ant.* 20.17-28). Additional evidence is the NT comment about the Pharisees seeking converts (Matt 23:15). A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament: exegetisch, religions- und formgeschichtlich untersucht* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1936), 113-20. For critiques of Seeberg and Klein, see S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1959), 4-8; J. E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 13-18; Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*, 389 n. 1, 420.

52. Seeberg had originally thought that in the Two Ways text, the prohibition of adultery always preceded murder. However, he himself notes that the alternate order, murder/adultery, is found in a number of catechetical texts, including the *Didache* 2.1; 3.2; 5.1 and Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 4.16; see Seeberg, *Die beiden Wege*, 8.

53. ET W. T. Wilson, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (New York: de Gruyter, 2005), 73.

- Line 3 Neither commit adultery nor rouse male passion.
- Line 4 Neither contrive deceptions nor defile your hands with blood.
- Line 5 Be not unjustly rich but earn a living from licit means.
- Line 6 Be satisfied with what you have and refrain from what belongs to others.
- Line 7 Do not tell lies, but always say things that are true.
- Line 8 First of all honour God, and thereafter your parents.

The second is set within a description of capital crimes in Josephus' *Contra Apion* 2.190-217:⁵⁴

²¹⁵ The penalty for most transgressors is death, whether a man commits adultery, or rapes a girl, or dares to make a sexual assault on a male, or submits to the assault as the passive partner. Even in the case of slaves, the law is similarly inexorable.

²¹⁶ If anyone is fraudulent even in measure or weights, or in a sale that is unjust and deceitfully conducted, or if he steals another's property, or picks up what he did not put down, the punishments in all these cases are not commensurate with others', but greater.

²¹⁷ For in the case of a crime against parents or sacrilege against God, even if someone [merely] intends it, he dies instantly...

The two examples are interesting for a number of reasons. First, scholars have long noted the correspondences between these two texts and Philo's *Hypothetika*, not the least of which is the fact that all three seem to be apologetic in intent, even if only ostensibly addressing a Gentile audience.⁵⁵ Second, in the three texts, the command to honour parents (or not commit sacrilege in the case of *Contra Apion*) is closely linked to the command to honour God, a connection also evident among the "unwritten laws" (ἄγραφοι νόμοι), and the traditions and morality of Greek culture sometimes perceived as divinely inspired (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4.4.19-20; Pseudo-Isocrates, *Demon.* 16).⁵⁶ The two commands are also closely associated in Jewish texts, such as Philo's

54. ET J. M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 10:294-95.

55. Another commonality is the command to leave the mother when taking the young from a nest (Deut 22.6), which occurs in all three texts. See Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sentences* 85; Philo, *Hypothetika* 7.14 [in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.7.9] and Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.213. This particular command also appears in Rabbinic texts, and is also linked with the commandment to honour parents (*m. Hul.* 12.1; *Mekhilta Bah.* 8; and *b. Kid.* 30b).

56. For other Greek and Jewish examples, see P. W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: With Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 116-17; Wilson, *Sentences*, 82-83.

Hypothetika (7.2), and may have their source in Lev 19:3.⁵⁷ In a number of them, including Pseudo-Phocylides, the two commands are often conflated into a single command, in the general form “honour God first and then parents” (Philo, *Spec.* 2.235; Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.206; *Syr. Men.* 2.9-10; *Syr. Men. Epit.* 2-3; *Jub.* 7.20). Philo and Josephus seem to underscore this close association by depicting the combination as a “law” (Philo, *Spec.* 2.235; Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.206).

Finally, several interpreters of Pseudo-Phocylides, including Bernays, Seeberg, van der Horst, and Wilson have suggested the possibility that lines 3-8 form a short summary of the Decalogue.⁵⁸ Though the commands in Pseudo-Phocylides are out of order—and as Niebuhr has highlighted are only the order of the commandments prohibiting adultery and murder, and their placement at the beginning as in Exodus and Deuteronomy may strengthen the allusion.⁵⁹ In addition, Seeberg, van der Horst and Wilson have also argued that line 8 of Pseudo-Phocylides may be a summary of the first table. Philo also seems to summarize the first table in this way (*Decal.* 51). Something similar may be said about *C.Ap.* 2.215-17, which may allude to the tables of the Decalogue when it follows allusions to the second table commands of adultery and theft with the first-table combination of honouring parents and God. Perhaps strengthening the correspondence is that this section of *Contra Apion* seems to serve as a conclusion to the larger section, 2.190-217, which Vermes has portrayed as Josephus’ “summary of the law.”⁶⁰ Another example of the command to honour God first and then parents possibly functioning as a summary of the first table occurs in the *Sibylline Oracles* (3.594-96), though it appears before the references to the sexual sins, adultery and pederasty.⁶¹

⁵⁹⁴ ...and they honour only the Immortal who always rules,
and then their parents. Greatly, surpassing all men,

⁵⁹⁵ they are mindful of holy wedlock,
and they do not engage in impious intercourse with male children...

57. K.-W. Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese: katechismusartige Weisungsreihen in der frühjüdischen Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 19.

58. The connection was first made J. Bernays, *Ueber das Phokylideische Gedicht. Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Litteratur* (Berlin: Hertz, 1856); Seeberg, *Die beiden Wege*, 25–26; van der Horst, *Sentences*, 112; Wilson, *Sentences*, 72.

59. For arguments in support, see van der Horst, *Sentences*, 110–17; Wilson, *Sentences*, 73–83; Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese*, 17.

60. G. Vermes, “A Summary of the Law by Flavius Josephus,” *NovT* 24 (1982): 289–303.

61. ET from *OTP*, vol. 1.

Notably, Berger objects to the above analysis, because of his firm view that the command to honour parents is part of the second table. Thus, he views the Decalogue in Pseudo-Phocylides to be only lines 3-7, with line 8 beginning a new section.⁶² In support, he argues that the *Letter of Aristeas* 228 links honouring parents with friendship.⁶³ However, his view that line 8 of Pseudo-Phocylides is not part of the Decalogue paraphrase seems to run counter to a similar correspondence between the social commands and the commands to honour God and parents found in *Contra Apion* and the *Sibylline Oracles* 3. Furthermore, if, as Berger argues, the command to honour God is one of the "main commands" (*die Hauptgebote*) and the command to honour parents is a summary of the social commands, then, when combined, as in the *Sibylline Oracles*, they would represent a summary in themselves. This raises the question of why it is necessary to provide a short list of social commands, if they are already summarized.

The question, then, is whether the position of the commandment to honour parents in the NT story of the rich man in any way reflects the order found in Ps.-Phocylides and *Contra Apion*. After all, the situation in the rich man narrative is not exactly the same as the Jewish texts, because the command to honour parents appears without the command to honour God. However, other texts seem to suggest at least the possibility that the commandment to honour God and that of honouring parents could be interchanged. For example, in Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 44.7 (a Jewish text from the first century CE), God is said to state, "whereas I have told them to love father and mother, they have dishonoured me, their Creator."⁶⁴ The passage seems to imply that dishonouring God is equivalent to dishonouring parents. Philo states a similar idea; parents are servants of God and those who dishonour the servant dishonour the master (*Decal.* 119). Clement of Alexandria also describes the fifth commandment to honour parents as referring to God as Father and Lord (*Strom.* 6.16). Rabbinic tradition regards the two commands as equivalent, linked through the key words, "honour" and "fear" (*Mek. Yithro Bahodesh* 8 on Exod 20:12-14; *Pes. Rab.* 23/24).

62. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*, 420. Niebuhr argues that the Decalogue may be echoed, but suggests that lines 3-8 are closer to Lev 19; cf. Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese*, 15-31, esp. 18-20; van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache*, 163.

63. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*, 287.

64. H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: With Latin Text and English Translation* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1:167, 2:2016.

Thus, it is possible that the position of the command to honour parents in the story of the rich man may have been an adaptation of a Jewish catechetical pattern that was associated closely with an adaptation of the first commandment, expressed as honouring God. Further, it may be possible to see a correlation between the tradition of two tables of five and the association of the commandments to honour God and parents. Perhaps, as the human attribute of parents came more to the fore, and the distinction between the divine and the human became more predominant, the command to honour parents became interpreted as part of the second table. The group of commands in the story of the rich man may have had influence on this transition, especially since other commands of the first table are not mentioned.

3. Additional Contextual Indicators

Thus far it has been argued that the commandment to honour parents in the story of the rich man may have represented the first table as indicated by the historical division of the tables and the possible catechetical pattern described above. There are also three contextual indicators to be considered. First, and contrary to the thesis presented above that the command to honour parents is part of the first table, the Matthean account includes Lev 19:18b, which also occurs in Matthew 22 as the second half of the two-fold love command, and linking it closely with the other commands in the rich man story. Though the text does not define Lev 19:18b as a summary as Paul does (Rom 13:9),⁶⁵ one possibility is that the Matthean author understood the commands in the rich man story to be part of the second table. However, another possibility may be that reference to Lev 19:18b and the second table point to the entire law as in the well-documented summaries of the law attributed to Hillel (*b. Shab.* 31a; *ARN* 15) and Akiba (*Sifra* 19.18), which epitomize the entire law with the Golden Rule and Lev 19:18b. Though Matthew may strengthen the view that the second table is in view, another reference in Luke's account hints that both tablets of the Decalogue are present. The question posed by the rich man, "good teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life" (διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω) is virtually the same as the lawyer's enquiry in Luke's presentation of the two-fold summary of the law (Luke 10:25).

65. Rom 13:9—"The commandments, 'You shall not commit adultery, You shall not kill, You shall not steal, You shall not covet,' and any other commandment, are summed up in this sentence, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.'"

Perhaps then, for Luke, Jesus' response to the rich man in Luke 18, includes both parts of the NT law summary, the love of God (Deut 6:5) and the love of neighbour (Lev 19:18b) as found in Luke 10. A third possible allusion in the expression εἷς ὁ θεός ("God is one") may either be the Shema⁶⁶ or the first commandment⁶⁷ (Mark 10:18; Luke 18:19). A similar reference is found in Mark 2:7 perhaps strengthening the volume of the reference, at least in Mark. However, the phrase εἷς ὁ θεός does not correspond exactly to LXX Deut 6:4, κύριος εἷς ἐστίν and is presented in the rich man story as part of a longer statement about the good, οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός ("no one is good except God alone"). On its own, the phrase is less convincing as an allusion to the Shema or the first table, though it becomes more likely in light of other references. The above analysis has suggested that Matthew and Luke have slightly different perspectives on the contents of the material in the rich man story: the second table in Matthew and perhaps the two-fold law summary and both tables in Luke. Though it is possible that Matthew viewed the commands in the rich man story as referring *only* to the second table—in effect omitting the first—given other Jewish tradition about the Lev 19:18b as a summary of the *entire* law, it seems more probable that Matthew considered the commands of the first table to be assumed in the second.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, in the story of the rich man it seems likely that both tables of the Decalogue are represented in the commandments. In Judaism at the time of the NT, the command to honour parents appears to have been part of the first table. References in Irenaeus and Tertullian indicate that the tradition of it being part of the first table continued in Christianity. The interpretation that the command to honour parents was part of the second table emerged as predominant in the fourth century in Christian writings. In addition, early Jewish evidence seems to link closely the command to honour parents with honouring God. Sometimes the combination seems to summarize the first table and, together with commands of the second table, the entire Decalogue. In both Jewish and Christian examples, the commands to honour God and honour parents seem to

66. Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 2:725. Bauckham and Thiselton have seen a similar connection in 1 Cor 8. R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 97; A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 629.

67. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 139.

have been used interchangeably. The close association of these two commands does not occur in cases where the command to honour parents is counted with the second table. Rather, in these texts, emphasis is placed on the divine or human nature of the two tablets. Finally, the conclusion of this essay that honouring parents was part of the first table in the rich man story argues against the position held by some that the NT in general had only commands of the second table. Early Jewish writers such as Philo treat the two parts of the law as inseparable and early Christian writers continued to include commands of the first table in their Decalogue lists.

When Jesus said “Keep the commandments,” the rich man asked “Which ones?” The answer from this study is the entire Decalogue. This study raises further questions beyond its scope. How, for example, are Christians to view Sabbath observance, which receives negative comment in the NT, but which is still squarely on the first table? Moreover, while the Decalogue was considered a law summary in ancient Judaism, it is somewhat unclear to which law it referred in the rich man story: to the Mosaic Law, the “moral” law, or a new law of Christ? These questions have not gone unnoticed by theologians, though it may be added that for Christianity, like Judaism before it, the Decalogue and the law were not static traditions, but ones that continued to be interpreted.

10

THEY SHALL LOOK UPON THE ONE THEY HAVE PIERCED: INTERTEXTUALITY, INTRA-TEXTUALITY AND ANTI-JUDAISM IN JOHN 19:37

Ruth Sheridan

One of the most dramatic moments in the Gospel of John occurs soon after Jesus has been crucified. In complete control of his own death, Jesus “hands over the spirit” (19:30)—that is, he relinquishes his last breath.¹ Outside of Jesus’ control, “the Jews” request that Pilate have the legs of the crucified men broken to hasten their death, so that their bodies might be removed before the beginning of the Sabbath (19:31). Pilate assents, and Roman soldiers break the legs of the two men crucified with Jesus (19:32). But when they come to Jesus and see that he is already dead, one of the soldiers takes his spear and pierces Jesus’ side with it (19:34a). What happened next produces some comment by the author: “and immediately there came out [from Jesus’ body] blood and water. He who saw it has borne witness—his testimony is true, and he knows that he is telling the truth, so that you also may believe” (19:34b-35). Two explicit scriptural citations are then adduced by the author to provide a kind of meta-commentary to this incident, in the typical *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* formulaic construction that emerges from John 12:38 onwards whenever Scripture is cited.² The author comments, “For these things (*ἐγένετο γὰρ*

1. Different interpretations of this verse abound; in accord with the interpretation above, see Donald Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of John* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1991), 119–20. Other scholars think the verse should read, “and he handed over the Spirit”—as in Jesus breathed out the Holy Spirit on the cross: e.g. Francis J. Moloney, *John* (Sacra Pagina 4; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1998), 508–509; James Swetnam, “Bestowal of the Spirit in the Fourth Gospel,” *Biblica* 74 (1993): 556–57. This latter reading strains under the weight of other “spirit” passages in John that speak of the promised gift of “the” spirit, and narratively realize that gift (cf. 14:16-17, 25-26; 20:22).

2. For more on this formulaic construction, see Alexander Faure, “Die alt-testamentlichen Zitate im 4 Evangelium und die Quellenscheidungshypothese,”

ταῦτα) took place that the scripture might be fulfilled (ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ), ‘Not a bone of his shall be broken.’ And again another scripture says (ἐτέρα γραφή λέγει), ‘They shall look on him whom they have pierced’” (19:36-37). The intensity of this passage (19:30-37) depends not only on its dramatic force and its condensed compression of events, but on the fact that two different citations from Scripture are clustered upon the same events. This is unusual, even in the Johannine passion narrative which contains a quick succession of scriptural “fulfilment” texts (cf. 19:24, 28, 36, 37).³

In this essay I claim that the dramatic force of these statements and Scripture quotations can be accounted for by pointing out their rhetorical function within John’s polemic against the Jews (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) as a testimony (see 19:35) against “those who pierced him.” I will begin with a thorough textual and grammatical analysis of this reconfiguration of Zech 12:10 in vv. 36-37, as well as a number of problems about the interpretation of the citations, bringing into the discussion the relevance of other Gospel texts for a proper understanding of John 19:37 (especially 8:12-29). I then look at the rhetorical function of “testimony” within John 7–8 and explore its intra-textual resonance with John 19:36-37.

The Scriptural Texts Cited in John 19:36, 37

The twin scriptural texts cited in John 19:36-37 comment, first, upon the fact that Jesus legs were *not* broken (19:36) and, second, that Jesus’ side was pierced by the soldier’s lance (19:37). Most scholars understand the referent of the first “scripture” to be to Exod 12:10 or 12:46, where it is stipulated that the paschal lamb is not to have its bones broken.⁴ In this reading, the Johannine Jesus is presented as the perfect paschal sacrifice, the true “lamb of God” (cf. 1:29, 35), who is slain at the time of Passover (cf. John 18:28, 39; 19:14). The referent of the second “scripture” is understood by scholars to be Zech 12:10, a prophetic text that promises that the inhabitants of Jerusalem will look upon the one they have

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 21 (1922): 99–122; Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium* (WUNT 2/83; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996); Ruth Sheridan, *Retelling Scripture: “The Jews” and the Scriptural Citations in John 1:19–12:15* (BibInt 110; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 15–22.

3. To my knowledge there is no published monograph on the use of Scripture in the Johannine passion narrative.

4. Cf. material cited in Moloney, *John*, 506.

pierced in deep regret and mourning.⁵ A third event is commented upon, not with a text from Scripture, but with the author's own testimony. The piercing of Jesus' side was not to hasten his death, but to elicit a stunning flow of "blood and water" (19:34a). It is not clear whether the author refers to himself as a witness of this event, or to another figure.⁶ But the use of the phrase "his testimony is true" in 19:35 is strikingly reminiscent of Jesus' own claims to true self-testimony in John 5 and 8. The Torah's requirement of two witnesses to uphold the validity of a claim is reconfigured in John 8:17, with Jesus presenting himself as his own witness, together with his "father" (i.e. God). In like manner in 19:35, the "truth" of the author's testimony about the flow of "blood and water" is presented only on the basis that *one* man *saw* it, that it is "true" (ἀληθινῇ) and moreover, that *he knows* it is true. The purpose of his testimony is so that "you also (ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς) may believe (πιστεύσητε)"—a phrase almost exactly replicated in the purpose statement of the entire Gospel (20:31, ἵνα πιστεύσητε).

The reference to the blood and water that flowed from Jesus' dead body on the cross has drawn forth much scholarly speculation. For example, Bultmann claimed that the "ecclesiastical redactor" of John's Gospel was responsible for the addition "and out came blood and water" in 19:34b, since these referred symbolically to the sacramental rites of baptism and Eucharist.⁷ Brown even cites two pages of references focusing on the medical issues of the flow of blood and water.⁸ Scholarly attention to this aspect of the text has possibly obscured interest in other points, such as that three events in John 19:34-37 are related by two distinct forms of witness (scripture and eye-witness testimony): (1) the flow of blood and water from Jesus' side produces a repetitive and insistent eye-witness commentary by the author; (2) the piercing itself

5. Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (AB 29; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1970), 2:938; Maarten J. J. Menken, "The Textual Form and the Meaning of the Quotation from Zechariah 12:10 in John 19:37," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 494-511.

6. Brown thinks the eye-witness figure is the one referred to by ἐκεῖνος, but that this figure differs from the Beloved Disciple (or narrator) who writes about him (see *John*, 2:937).

7. Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray et al.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 677; also see Moloney, *John*, 506. Taking a less sacramental spin is Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John* (trans. K. Smyth et al.; London: Burns & Oates, 1982), 294. He considers the "blood" to signify Jesus' "saving death" and the "water" to signify the "Spirit and life."

8. Brown, *John*, 2:946-47.

receives comment from the citation of Zech 12:10, and (3) the fact that Jesus' legs were not broken is commented upon with reference to Exod 12:10, 46. Yet while the reference to Jesus' blood and to the ritual of the paschal lamb in Exodus 12 might have some incipient connection, the piercing of Jesus' side and the proof-text from Zechariah do not appear to have a clear relationship. Nevertheless, John 19:37 ("they shall *look upon* him whom they have pierced") contains a hint that some sort of visual testimony, or eye-witnessing, is taking place in this citation of the prophetic text. But this raises several further questions, such as: What is the identity of those doing the "looking" and the identity of those doing the "piercing" in John 19:37? Are they the same or are they two different groups? How does the piercing of Jesus' side guarantee that this group will look upon him and what form will this "looking" take? And there is, of course, the more troubling technical question of the form of the textual citation in John 19:37. Before exploring questions of rhetorical meaning, I will attend to issues around the textual form of the citation in 19:37.

Problems: Textual Form

It is unanimously noted in the scholarship that the citation of Zech 12:10 in John 19:37 does not exactly match any extant form of the "Old Testament."⁹ That is, it is not a verbatim rendering of any known form of the Bible. Almost all of John's other scriptural citations can be traced to a form of the LXX, as Bruce Schuchard has demonstrated.¹⁰ But John 19:37 stands out inasmuch as it deviates sharply from the LXX versions, approximating more closely to the sense of the MT. It could be supposed that the author reproduced his own Greek translation of the Hebrew text, perhaps from memory.¹¹ John 19:37 also bears some similarities to later Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible (Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus), but again, the correspondence is not exact.¹²

9. See Menken, "The Textual Form," 494.

10. Bruce G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture: The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John* (SBLDS 133; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

11. So C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), 123; M.-J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon saint Jean* (6th ed.; Ecole Biblique; Paris: Gabalda, 1936), 502; J. Heer, *Der Durchbohrte: Johanneische Begründung der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung* (Rome: Herder, 1966), 126, cited in Menken, "Textual Form," 503 n. 31.

12. Menken, "Textual Form," 494.

The Greek of John 19:37 reads, ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν (“they shall look upon him whom they have pierced”; NA²⁷). The first verb is in the future (“they shall look”) and the second is in the aorist (“they have pierced”). The object of both verbs appears to be ὃν (“the one whom”), and they have identical implied subjects (the plural “they”). The force of the preposition εἰς is also noteworthy, since it takes the accusative and therefore denotes motion, space or directionality, as if the subject of the verb looks *into* Jesus (perhaps into his pierced side?) or upward towards Jesus (perhaps as he is raised and crucified?).¹³ The LXX text of Zech 12:10b reads, καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ’ ὧν κατωρχήσαντο καὶ κόψονται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν κοπετὸν ὡς ἐπ’ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ ὀδυνηθήσονται ὀδύνῃν ὡς ἐπὶ πρωτοτόκῳ. The differences between the LXX version and John 19:37 are strange: instead of ὄψονται the LXX uses the future middle of ἐπιβλέπω, which carries the nuance of attentive gazing upon an object, usually with care or compassion. On the other hand, John’s use of ὀράω has a cognitive nuance, suggesting recognition, knowledge or perception (cf. John 1:50).¹⁴ Instead of looking upon one they have “pierced” (John’s ἐξεκέντησαν), the LXX has the subjects looking upon “me” (με), “because they have mocked me” (ὧν κατωρχήσαντο)—employing the aorist middle of κατορχέομαι. The nuances of this verb are quite sinister, with connotations of dancing in triumph over someone, or treating someone spitefully.¹⁵ Both key verbs in LXX Zech 12:10b are markedly different from John 19:37. What is more, John 19:37 omits reference to personal pronoun με, which in the prophetic text appears to indicate the divine voice speaking through the prophet, such that the one who is “mocked” is also the one who speaks—i.e. God. The LXX version goes on to state that those who have “mocked *me*” will also “lament for *him*” (ὀδυνηθήσονται) as over a firstborn child—some pronoun confusion that derives from the translation of the HB as we shall see in a moment. The mourning felt by the subject of the mocking and the “looking” in the LXX version is tempered by the fact that God promises to “pour out a spirit of compassion” upon them (12:10a) and by the fact that the “looking” itself connotes a kind of compassionate gazing upon the mocked one, probably signalling regret on the part of those who did the mocking.

13. More on this below, when I consider John 8:24.

14. K. Dahn, “ὀράω,” in *NIDOTTE* 3:511. Already in the time of Homer, verbs of seeing derived from the stem *op-* had taken on the meaning of understanding, experiencing and participating; ὀράω in the LXX generally means to become aware (Gen 27:1), and can be used figuratively of spiritual and intellectual perception (Ps 34[33]:8[9]) (p. 513).

15. LEH, s.v. The other Greek versions use ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, “the one they pierced” (Theodotion, Aquila).

The MT version of Zech 12:10b (as it has come down to us) reads, *והביטו אלי את אשר-דקרו*, which can be translated, “And they shall look on me, whom they have pierced.”¹⁶ The NRSV adopts this translation (“and they shall look on the one whom they have pierced”) with a note that the Hebrew text is literally “on me” rather than “on the one.” The divine promise to pour out a spirit of “compassion and grace” upon the “house of David” and “those who dwell in Jerusalem” is found in the MT, as it is in the LXX version of Zech 12:10a. It is followed immediately by *והביטו* (from the root *נבט*, “to look upon, behold,” in the perfect third person common plural). The stem of the verb is the Hiphil, which produces a causative nuance. The particle *אלי* is taken by the translators of the NRSV as the preposition *אל* with the first-person singular suffix *י* attached to it, thus meaning “towards me.” The object marker *את* then introduces the relative pronoun *אשר*, which is connected with the *maqef* to *דקרו*—the Qal perfect third person common plural from the root *דקר*, meaning “pierce/pierce through.” The verbs “to look” and “to pierce” are thus found in the MT, as they are in the Greek text of John 19:37, whereas the LXX has “to gaze” and “to mock” respectively. The MT continues with *וספדו* (“and they shall mourn”) *עליו* (“over him”) “as one mourns for an only child.” The verb *והמר* (“and weep bitterly”) then occurs again in relation to the same pronoun (*עליו*).

This is not the only possible translation. The particle *אלי* can be vocalized differently to produce a different meaning. Instead of reading a *patach* under the *lamed* to give the preposition with the first person suffix (lit. “towards/upon me”), the word can be “vocalized” with a *shewa* under the *alef*, which is a poetic expression of the preposition *אל*—with no indication of the first person (see Job 3:22; 5:26; 15:22; 29:19). The poetic preposition would stand beside the direct object marker *את* so that the “one whom they pierced” is the object of the “looking” (*והביטו*). The translation would be, “they shall look upon whom they pierced.” The poetic diction of Zechariah renders this a possibility, although it is instructive that the alternative vocalization occurs only in Job. Even if *אלי* is vocalized in the expected way, there remain problems with the Hebrew syntax.¹⁷ It is debated whether *את* points to the object in the main clause or in the relative clause. If the main clause, then there is a double object—the preposition *אלי* introduces one and *את* the other. Perhaps the word order would make better sense as *את אשר דקרו אלי* or *אשר דקרו אתי* according to Joüon and Muraoka, with the

16. Cf. Menken, “Textual Form,” 498.

17. As Menken notes (“Textual Form,” 498–99).

preposition following the relative pronoun and the verb.¹⁸ Such constructions also appear in Gen 31:32; Num 22:6 and Isa 65:12.¹⁹ The translation in this case would accord with the NRSV: “they shall look upon me whom they have pierced.”

Menken is right to point to the exegetical problems arising from this translation—and these are present in the LXX too—since the prophetic voice is the voice of the Lord, who would thus be the referent of *אֵלֵי*. This is theologically problematic if one renders the preposition with the first person suffix, for it would imply that the Lord is the one who is “pierced”—and Menken assumes this to be an intolerable anthropomorphism for the biblical author. Meyers and Meyers consider the exegetical problems involved, but conclude that there is no need to emend the MT, nor do they think the sense of the text is theologically problematic. They argue that *אֵת אֲשֶׁר* cannot be separated from *אֵלֵי* and that the relative pronoun *אֲשֶׁר* functions like a demonstrative (cf. Mic 6:1). The sense would be that the inhabitants of Jerusalem “pierced” some nameless figure, and that they now “look” to God in remorse because God has been the source of their change of heart.²⁰ The guilty group in question “look” to both the “pierced one” and to God, but God is not equated with the pierced one.²¹

However we explain the genesis of this problematic text, it is worth agreeing with Menken that, despite some inconsistencies, the LXX translated from this version of the Hebrew, retaining the confusion involved in having the divine speaker of the prophecy refer to himself as the one who is “looked upon” (if not “pierced”). The apparent anthropomorphism remains in the translations of Theodotian and Aquila. These Greek versions, like the LXX, have *ἐπιβλέψονται* as the translation of the Hiphil of *נִבֵּט* that we find in the MT. The nuances of these verbal constructions, as noted above, are complex, with the Hiphil producing a translation something akin to “to cause to look upon,” and *ἐπιβλέψονται* connoting a nurturing gaze upon an object. John’s Greek is much plainer.

18. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Subsidia Biblica 14; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1991), # 158m, cited in Menken, “Textual Form,” 499 n. 12.

19. Menken, “Textual Form,” 499.

20. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14* (AB 25C; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 337.

21. Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 337. The pronoun *אֲשֶׁר* is a “guess” at how God and the pierced one are related, and is not a perfect translation, since *אֵלֵי* still has to be kept to refer to God. But Meyers and Meyers still consider their reading preferable to emending the MT, since the MT has “overwhelming versional support.”

According to Menken, John's choice of ὁπαῦν with εἰς relates to the fact that this combination of words was current in early Christian writings concerning the seeing of Christ at his second coming; as such, John was reconfiguring Zech 12:10 with the parousia in view (cf. Mark 9:1; 13:26; 14:16; Matt 5:8; Luke 3:6; 13:28; 17:22; Heb 9:28; 12:14; 1 John 3:2; Rev 1:7; 22:4; cf. *Did.* 16.8; 2 *Clem.* 17.5; Herm. 92:3).²² Menken's argument regarding the form of Zech 12:10 in John 19:37 is therefore, that the evangelist relied upon an early Christian *testimonium* collection—no longer extant—which had translated the Hebrew into Greek with a focus on the second coming of Christ at the eschaton. In this hypothetical *testimonium*, the problem of the anthropomorphism found in the MT and the ancient translations is absent. Menken notes that this is perhaps curious for John, whose high-Christology might have invited a ready appropriation of the blurred boundaries between the Lord and the pierced One (Jesus). Menken takes this as evidence that John did not translate the Hebrew into the Greek, but relied on a ready-made Greek translation of Zech 12:10, where reference to the divine first person pronoun was consistently left out.²³

So far in this essay I have provided an overview of the MT and LXX versions of Zech 12:10, highlighting their textual problems. As should be clear, Menken's research has concentrated on trying to square (1) the obvious verbal differences of the MT and the LXX with John's choice of verbs and (2) the problematic anthropomorphisms retained in the MT, the LXX and ancient Greek versions that might be expected to be retained in John but were not. The fact that the ancient Greek versions of Aquila and Theodotion came closer to John's verbal choices than the LXX, but did not omit the anthropomorphism inherent in the first person pronouns, indicates to Menken that John relied on an independently circulating translation of Zech 12:10 in the Greek, taken up as a *testimonium* in early Christianity, and later exploited for its Christological potential (Jesus conceived of as "the only one" and as the "first-born" son) and its reference to the second coming of Christ. Shortly, I will critique this view of John's textual form, but only after providing a discussion of the rhetorical function of Zech 12:10 in the context of John 19:33-37, and after assessing the meaning of John 19:37 in relation to John 8:12-29.

22. Menken, "Textual Form," 502.

23. Menken, "Textual Form," 504.

Problems: The Meaning of Zechariah 12:10 in John 19:37

One of the perplexing questions in the scholarship and commentary on John 19:37 is the identity of the double-referent “they” in ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. Translated as “*they* shall look upon the one *they* have pierced,” the first question often asked about the meaning of this verse is whether the subject of the “looking” and the subject of the “piercing” are identical, or whether they refer to two distinct groups. The answer to this question also depends upon whether a realized or future eschatology—or a combination of both—is present in this verse. That is, will the “looking” take place in the future, say, at the second coming of Christ, or is the “looking” fulfilled at the moment of the piercing? If the latter approach is adopted, which would accord with a realized-eschatological reading of the verse, the implications would be that there is *one* group in mind, and that the subject of the “looking” is identical to the subject of the “piercing”—and that the “fulfilment” of Scripture mentioned in 19:36 occurred at the crucifixion. If the former approach is adopted, there are two interpretive possibilities. First, the subject of the “looking” is an unspecified group of believers who will look to Jesus in the future, perhaps at the parousia, and be saved; the subject of the piercing is a different group—namely those who actually pierced Jesus with the lance at the crucifixion.²⁴ Second, the subject of the “looking” is the same as the subject of the “piercing,” and this group is sinful humanity broadly understood (“the nations”), who at some future point will “look” to Jesus as their saviour.²⁵

Another issue involved in determining the first referent of “they” in 19:37 (ὁψονται) is the qualitative function of the “looking”—that is, whether it connotes a salvific reality or a condemnatory one. The approach taken in mainline commentaries on this issue is a compromise position which establishes two distinct groups who “look” upon Jesus in the future, one with faith (which warrants salvation) and the other with unbelief (which warrants condemnation). This is a variation of the first interpretive possibility mentioned above, following from a future-eschatological assumption about the temporality of the verb ὁψονται, but it splits the group denoted by the third person plural into two groups delineated by the quality of their “look.” Effectively, this creates *three* groups referenced by the pronoun “they” in 19:37: two groups who will do the “looking” in the future, based either on belief (like the eye-witness

24. Cf. Menken, “Textual Form,” 506–7, among several other possibilities.

25. On this view, see Donald A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 628.

of 19:34-35) or unbelief, and one group who did the “piercing” at the time of the crucifixion.²⁶ Often this reading is supported with reference to John 3:14-18, where Jesus hints at the salvific function of looking at the “lifted up” “Son of Man,” but goes on to say that those who look without faith will be condemned.²⁷ Menken also subscribes to this position, reading John 19:37 against 3:14-18, stating that “all will look on the pierced Jesus,” and that according to John, “they should look with faith, toward their salvation, although there will be people who look with unbelief.”²⁸ In the Gospel, Menken argues, “seeing” Jesus can mean seeing him with faith (6:40; 9:37; 12:21, 45; 14:9) or unbelief (6:36; 15:24). Looking on Jesus as the pierced one (19:37) is a “positive reaction,” aiming at “faith which sees in the crucified Jesus not the human failure but the exalted, glorified Son of Man (3:14-15).”²⁹

As attractive as this compromise position is, and as much as it may resonate with earlier passages in the Gospel, it is ultimately unsatisfactory. The last quote from Menken resembles a Pauline, rather than distinctly Johannine theology. For Paul, the crucified Jesus is a “stumbling block to the Jews and folly to the Gentiles”—an apparently failed, human messiah. But for “those who are called, both Jews and Greeks,” the crucified Jesus is the “power of God” (1 Cor 1:23-24). That may be Paul’s sense of the function of the cross, but it is not necessarily John’s. But the deeper problem with introducing two opposing groups as the subject of the verb ὄψονται is that it unnecessarily confuses the meaning of 19:37. Although it would not be semantically impossible to have one group as the subject of ὄψονται and a different group as the subject of ἐξεκέντησαν, it is more likely that a single subject is the referent of both verbs, when both context and syntax are considered. To argue that there are *two* opposing groups denoted by ὄψονται and a *third* group denoted by ἐξεκέντησαν complicates the sense of 19:37 even more, and stretches its meaning too much. Moreover, Menken’s reading of two distinct groups as the subject of the “looking” and the “piercing” relies on *other* early Christian texts (such as Rev 1:17 and Matt 24:30) where two groups are distinguished—but again, this does not mean that John 19:37 necessarily followed suit.

26. Brown, *John*, 2:955 (Brown advances this view “with some hesitation”); George Beasley-Murray, *John* (WBC 36; Waco, Tex.: Word, 1987), 355; Menken, “Textual Form,” 507.

27. Menken, “Textual Form,” 506–507.

28. Menken, “Textual Form,” 507

29. Menken, “Textual Form,” 508

Yet, if the subjects of both verbs are the same, to whom do they refer? The answer to this might depend upon a prior assumption about the nature of the “looking” in 19:37a. If it is assumed that the nature of the “looking” is salvific, then the subject must be a believer or group of believers, as represented by the testifying figure in 19:34-35. But this would not accord with ἐξεκέντησαν, for why would a believer or group of believers “pierce” Jesus? (It could be this discrepancy which leads Menken and others to posit two separate identities for the two verbs, and to dissociate the actions of “piercing and looking” temporally). On the other hand, the quality of the looking could be ominous, in the sense that “looking” upon Jesus after having “pierced” him produces condemnation, because it carries with it a realization of what was done.³⁰ This makes better sense of the way both verbs function syntactically—the group who has pierced Jesus will also look upon him, and because the “piercing” is a violent act that concludes the crucifixion of Jesus, the “looking” upon Jesus in his “pierced” state connotes a solemn realization. This also makes sense of the associated Scripture text in 19:36—whether the citation in 19:36 is from Exod 12:10 or Psalm 34—because what is realized in the event of “looking” on Jesus is that he was in fact the righteous sufferer (Ps 34), or the paschal lamb (Exod 12) protected by God—the one whose bones were not broken.³¹ This regretful realization occasioned by the “looking” in 19:37a is fully in accord with the wider context of Zech 12:10 in which the subject of the “looking” is also the subject of the “stabbing/piercing” and the subject of the mourning and weeping.

It would be nonsensical for this group to be believers in Jesus, either in the temporal-narrative world of the text or in some projected future time at the eschaton, and this for two reasons: first, because in the Johannine worldview, believers never “look” upon Jesus with regret or sorrow arising from a delayed realization of his true identity, and second, because believers did not pierce Jesus with the lance. If we are to keep one group in mind as the subject of *both* verbs (ὄψονται and ἐξεκέντησαν), then we need to proceed from ἐξεκέντησαν rather than from ὄψονται. While it is certainly the case that the eye-witness of 19:34-35 “saw” the event of the piercing with belief and that he could therefore reasonably function as a representative figure for a group of believers that will do the seeing/looking upon Jesus in the future (ὄψονται, 19:37a),

30. Hartwig Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 748.

31. Cf. Urban C. Von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John* (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 3:316.

his “seeing” has a different function in the narrative, as will shortly be discussed. What is more, this figure was not responsible for the piercing, and it is more probable that those who will look upon Jesus are the same as those who “have pierced” him. The eye-witness figure is, moreover, singular, and so in himself cannot be the subject of the verb ὄψονται which is plural.

The only other possible candidates for the “piercing” are the Roman soldiers (19:32-33) and the Jews who press Pilate to have the crucified bodies removed (19:31). The plain sense of the text suggests that the Roman soldiers are the group indicated by the verb ἐξεκέντησαν in 19:37b: this group of soldiers is referred to by the pronoun “they” twice in v. 33, and “one of them” is directly responsible for taking a spear and piercing Jesus’ side (v. 34). In the narrative, a *single* soldier pierces Jesus’ side. Why, then, did John not modify his source to read, “they shall look upon the one whom *he* had pierced?,” with “he” referring to the Roman soldier? Or if, in an anti-imperial move, John’s citation was meant to suggest that Jesus’ crucifiers—the Romans/Rome—would eventually look upon Jesus, despite the fact that one of their representatives pierced him, why not make that more explicit? Although the action of piercing Jesus’ side is performed by a Roman soldier, the plural ἐξεκέντησαν points to a wider referent. But there are no further clues in the Gospel text that the Romans as a group bore the responsibility for Jesus’ death or that their piercing of Jesus would occasion a “looking” at him that carried with it a cognitive awareness of Jesus’ identity.³²

It is well attested in the scholarship on the Johannine passion narrative that Pilate and the Roman soldiers function as the mere agents of “the Jews” in their plan to execute Jesus.³³ Historically speaking, under Roman law the Jews had no juridical power to execute a person, as John’s Jews assert in 18:31. But in John 18–19 the Jews are characterized as insisting on Jesus’ guilt—not only according to Jewish law—but according to the dictates of Roman law, presenting Jesus as one who sets himself up as “king” (18:33) and as one who therefore threatens to usurp Caesar (19:12). Against the sedition of Jesus, the Jews proclaim Caesar as their only king (19:15b). Meanwhile, John’s characterization of Pilate is highly sympathetic, with the procurator depicted as indecisive about Jesus, even tremulously frightened of Jesus’ foreboding words (19:12). Pilate finds Jesus innocent (18:38b; 19:4, 6b), and even ponders philosophically over the question of “truth” as Jesus poses it (18:38a).

32. See n. 14 on the cognitive nuance of ὁράω.

33. Cf. Adele Reinhartz, *Befriending the Beloved Disciple: A Jewish Reading of the Gospel of John* (London: Continuum, 2001), 62.

When the Jews ask Pilate to have the bodies removed from the crosses ahead of the Sabbath he complies without ado (18:31). Although highly improbable historically, John's narrative presents the Roman authority as subservient to the interests of "the Jews" in the execution of Jesus. Although the Jews do not physically crucify Jesus or pierce his side, they are the instigators of the process of Jesus' execution according to John's narrative. The referent of ἐξεκέντησαν could therefore encompass the Roman soldier and "the Jews" of John 18–19, with the former acting as the agent of the latter.

Other texts in the Gospel also indicate that, in its perspective, the Jews are held responsible for Jesus' execution. Unlike "the Romans" (who are only ever mentioned collectively in John 11:48), the Jews are associated with a plan to see Jesus killed. Their motivation to "kill" Jesus is repeatedly mentioned in the Gospel (cf. 5:18; 7:1, 11). Although they do not succeed in lynching Jesus on two attempts (8:59; 10:31), they resort to planning his execution "behind the scenes" as it were, convening a "Sanhedrin" (συνέδριον, 11:47) to orchestrate his public execution, Roman style. The reader is left in no doubt that Jesus' confrontation with "the Jews" and the Pharisees will lead to a violent end (cf. 2:13–22). More particularly, the Jews are the only group responsible for Jesus' "lifting up"—that is, his crucifixion (8:28). This is important, because Jesus' "lifting up" (ὑψόω, 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34) usually bears positive connotations when framed in the passive ("when I am lifted up"), but negative connotations when expressed in the active voice ("when you have lifted up"). Close attention to the way in which 8:28 relates to its wider narrative context (7:1–8:59) reveals that the Jews will not only be responsible for Jesus' "lifting up," but that their subsequent cognitive awareness of Jesus' identity compels a concomitant belief in Jesus, that, if not produced, will have existential consequences. John 8:28–29 reads,

So Jesus said to them, "When you have lifted up the Son of Man, then you shall know that I Am, and that I do nothing of my own authority, but speak just as the Father taught me. And he who sent me is with me; he has not left me alone for I always do what is pleasing to him."

εἶπεν οὖν [αὐτοῖς] ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Οταν ὑψώσητε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ἂπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐδίδαξέν με ὁ πατὴρ ταῦτα λαλῶ. καὶ ὁ πέμψας με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν· οὐκ ἀφῆκέν με μόνον, ὅτι ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ ποιῶ πάντοτε

Jesus' words in 8:28–29 follow on from two distinct topics: the nature and validity of Jesus' self-testimony in 8:12–20, and the incomprehension produced by Jesus' reference to his unique destiny in 8:21–27. In the first section, Jesus' interlocutors are the Pharisees (8:13), but in the

second section they change to the Jews (8:22). Nevertheless, these two sections are interrelated, with 8:21a linking them together with the words “So he said to them again.” In chs. 7–8, Jesus’ audience shifts repeatedly, but sections such as 8:12-20 and 8:21-27 (28-29) indicate that there is some overlap between the Jews and the Pharisees as characters.³⁴ Jesus’ words to the Jews in 8:28-29 about his “lifting up” recall and reinforce aspects of the two subsections (8:12-20 and 8:21-27), further implying a close connection between the subsections.

In 8:28, Jesus tells the Jews that once they have lifted him up, *then* will they recognize that Jesus is the “I Am” (ἐγὼ εἰμι). When used without a nominal predication, the phrase ἐγὼ εἰμι in John’s Gospel echoes the divine name of Scripture (cf. LXX Isaiah). The idea is not only that Jesus’ “lifting up” will reveal to his crucifiers his true identity—something that has so far baffled them in 8:21b-27—but that Jesus is somehow on par with God the “father,” the one he claims “sent him.” In 8:24 Jesus tells the Jews, “I told you that you would die in your sins, for unless you believe that “I Am” (ἐγὼ εἰμι), you will die in your sins.” The Jews will seek Jesus and will not find him (8:21; cf. 7:34) because his origins and his destiny are radically different from theirs (8:23). The repeated refrain “die in your sins” suggests a finality, a certain pre-ordained condemnation; it is as though Jesus is saying that they refuse to recognize that Jesus is the ἐγὼ εἰμι, and that because of this, he told them that they “would die” (ἀποθανεῖσθε) in their sins. He then adds a condition in the future tense: *unless* they believe that Jesus is the ἐγὼ εἰμι they “will die” (ἀποθανεῖσθε) in their sins. The future time for *recognizing* that Jesus is the ἐγὼ εἰμι will be when they “lift Jesus up” (8:28). But this does not mean that this will also be the time when they *believe* that Jesus is the ἐγὼ εἰμι—that remains only a possibility under threat (“unless”). In short, the recognition (γνώσεσθε in 8:28) of Jesus as the ἐγὼ εἰμι does not equate to a “saving” belief in Jesus as the ἐγὼ εἰμι. That Jesus speaks of the Jews as due to “die in their sins” (8:24) unless they *believe* that Jesus is the ἐγὼ εἰμι might indicate that the *recognition* of Jesus as such when the Jews “lift” him “up” is more condemnatory in tone than salvific. The Jews’ recognition, or knowledge, of Jesus as the ἐγὼ εἰμι upon the cross (8:28) could parallel their “looking” upon Jesus and their piercing him in 19:37—lending further support to the idea that “the Jews” are the intended referent of the verbs (ὀψονται and ἐξεκέντησαν), not believers at the eschaton, as Menken and other previous scholars have suggested.

34. Sheridan, *Retelling Scripture*, 178.

As noted, John 8:28-29 resonates with themes introduced, not only in 8:21-27 (such as belief in the ἐγώ εἰμι) but with themes found in 8:12-20. Jesus, who in his “lifted up” state will be recognized as the ἐγώ εἰμι, will also reveal that he does not act on his own authority but is wholly subservient to the father who sent him: Jesus speaks as the father taught him, and he only does what is pleasing to the father (8:28b-29). This is a major theme that constantly resurfaces across chs. 7–8 of the Gospel. It can be refined into a few overlapping categories. The source of Jesus’ learning and the authority for his teaching derives from God (cf. 7:16-18), Jesus does not speak or act of his own behalf but only in accordance with what he hears/sees from God (8:26, 38, 40; cf. 5:19-20), and Jesus’ self-testimony is valid because it is not Jesus alone who testifies, but the father who testifies with him (8:12-18). The Jews apparently do not only disbelieve that Jesus is the ἐγώ εἰμι, but also that he speaks on God’s authority (8:28). When the Jews have “lifted Jesus up,” the validity of his testimony, as well as that he speaks on God’s authority, will become clear to them (8:28-29).

The notion of valid testimony as Jesus uses it arises from three texts in the Torah that mandate multiple witnesses to an offense or capital crime for the testimony against an offender to hold weight in court (cf. Deut 17:6; 19:15; Num 35:30). Jesus reconfigures this law in 8:17-19 by stating that God—his “father—acts as his second witness, and so anything that Jesus claims about himself (such as that he is the “light of the world” in 8:12) is “valid/true” (ἀληθινῇ). When we return to John 19:33-37, it is evident that the notion of valid testimony/self-testimony—so prominent in John 7–8—is taken up again in relation to the piercing of Jesus’ side. This is something that is regularly overlooked in discussions of the meaning of the Scriptures cited in 19:36-37. After Jesus’ side is pierced, the figure who witnesses the event emphatically claims to be testifying truthfully to it (19:35). Commentators often link this figure’s eye-witness testimony with the flow of blood and water from Jesus’ pierced side, since the figure’s emphatic phraseology (19:35b) hints at the miraculous nature of the event.³⁵

However, it is also possible that the figure claims to be testifying truthfully about the piercing itself. Against the background of John 8:12-29, which expounded upon themes of valid/truthful testimony, multiple witnesses for testimony to be valid, recognition and/or belief in Jesus as the ἐγώ εἰμι, and in Jesus’ “lifting up” at the hands of the Jews, the eye-witness figure’s claim to truthful testimony in 19:35 gains another level of meaning. This figure functions as one who “saw” and “bore witness”

35. See Brown, *John*, 2:948.

(19:35a) to what he might have considered a “criminal” event, that is, the murder of Jesus, who is considered by the Gospel to be the Son of God and “one” with God (cf. 10:33). The eye-witness figure is, in other words, the sole witness to a capital offense, not a legal and just execution. But for his witness (*μαρτυρία*) to be *valid* he cannot be a lone witness, at least according to biblical law.³⁶ That is why he is so insistent upon the “truth” of his testimony (*ἀληθινῇ*, 19:35a). Within himself, he knows the truth of his testimony (*ἀληθῆ*, 19:35b) and this, apparently, ought to suffice to cover the fact that he was a lone witness testifying to the event. His inner knowledge of his own truthful testimony situates him together with Jesus, who self-testified (cf. 8:12-18; ch. 5), but who claimed that his testimony was true because the father was with him.

All of this suggests that John 19:33-37 should be read not only against passages such as 3:14-17, as commentators and scholars have been fond of doing, but against other more subtle passages in the Gospel, such as John 8:12-29.³⁷ In this way, it is possible to get around the impasse that has set in over whether the verbs *ῥψονται* and *ἐξεκέντησαν* in 19:37 refer to believers or unbelievers, and whether the verb *ῥψονται* refers to a present or realized eschatological reality. Standing back from the question of eschatology, and taking *ἐξεκέντησαν* as the priority verb, we can argue that those who “pierced” Jesus, in John’s perspective, were the Jews, who used the Romans as their direct agents. This would accord with John’s near-consistent anti-Judaism, and would sit well with 8:28-29, which refers to the indirect agency of the Jews in “lifting up” Jesus—that is, in executing him—and in their knowledge of Jesus’ true identity in that event. To be sure, the “lifting up” of Jesus is not quite the same as his “piercing,” but the “knowledge” occasioned by his lifting up in 8:28 and the “looking” occasioned by his piercing in 19:37 are conceptually parallel. The intra-textual resonances do not end there: as stated in the introduction to this chapter, the meaning of the Zecharian citation in John 19:37 depends not only on what source text John is understood to have used, but also on the context in which he has placed it. That context includes reference to an eye-witness figure who testifies to the “truth” of the event he sees (19:34-35), to the flow of blood and water from Jesus’ side, and to a closely associated scriptural citation in 19:36, drawn either from Exod 12:46 to depict Jesus as the unbroken paschal lamb, or from Psalm 34, to depict Jesus as a righteous sufferer who is protected by

36. And cf. *m. Rosh ha-Sh.* 3:1; *m. Ket.* 2:9.

37. Brown actually looks at the Tabernacles narrative also, but reads 19:37 against 7:38-39 (*John*, 2:949-50). Thyen briefly touches on 8:28-30 in relation to 19:37 in his commentary [*Das Johannesevangelium*, 748].

God. John 19:37 implies that “the Jews” will recognize Jesus as the ἐγὼ εἶμι (8:28) only when they “lift” Jesus “up.” If this verse plays into the sense of John 19:37 to expand upon the qualitative nature of the “looking” in that verse, then the closely associated scriptural texts of Exod 12:46 and Psalm 34 also function to fill out the nature of their recognition of Jesus: he was not, the argument would have it, a criminal, but a righteous sufferer and a sacrificial or holy victim. Both 8:28-29 and 19:36-37 thus polemicize against “the Jews” over the identity of Jesus.

The close connection between the scriptural allusions in 19:36 and the Zecharian citation in 19:37 give this section of John’s Gospel a unique character when compared with other early Christian/NT texts (in Menken’s hypothetical *testimonium*) that use Zech 12:10. It is possible now to critique several of Menken’s assumptions and arguments about the form and function of the Zecharian citation in John. It is not impossible that the Fourth Evangelist (or the final redactor or anyone who had a hand in the composition of the Gospel) knew Hebrew and used Hebrew sources.³⁸ The fact that John 19:37 omitted reference to the divine personal-pronoun (“they shall look upon *me* whom they pierced”) when he well might have done so is not a sure indication that the author did not access or use the Hebrew text. That the evangelist did not take a chance to pick up on a potentially high-Christological note in the Hebrew and Greek of Zech 12:10, and that he therefore relied on a *testimonium* source no longer extant is an argument from silence. Menken’s seminal study focuses primarily on issues of textual form and he lets his decision about form determine the meaning, or function of Zech 12:10 in John 19:37. That is, he has to place it as a future-eschatological text in the vein of Mark 13:26, Rev 1:7 and Matt 24:30 because he argues that John depended on this *testimonium*. He is also pressed to argue that the subject of the “looking” (ὄψονται, 19:37b) is “everyone”—humanity in general, at the second coming of Christ.³⁹

Yet the eschatology of John’s Gospel is highly realized, in contrast to the future eschatology of passages such as Mark 9:1; 13:26; 14:16; Matt 5:8; Luke 3:6; 13:28; 17:22—other texts that make up Menken’s hypothetical Zecharian *testimonium*. In John, the whole notion of the second coming is pushed into the background by the fact that the Paraclete will function not only as Jesus’ successor, but also as the mediator of his imminent presence (cf. John 14:16-18). Furthermore, it is unclear in

38. Von Wahlde in fact argues that several of John’s scriptural citations were direct translations of the Hebrew, including Zech 12:10; see *The Gospel and Letters*, 3:318.

39. Menken, “Textual Form,” 511.

John's Gospel how seeing the pierced Christ amounts to the second coming. In fact, Jesus *does* reappear with his pierced side in 20:20, 27 and Thomas "sees and believes."⁴⁰ Temporally, this is within the frame of the story of Jesus' life, death and resurrection, not projected forward into the time of the second coming. For these reasons, it can be argued, in contrast to Menken, and as we have done in this study, that the subject of the "looking" in 19:37 is not, broadly speaking, humanity in general, that the quality of the "looking" does not connote a salvific reality conveyed at the second coming, and that John 19:37 it is not thematically in accord with texts such as Rev 1:7. The present study makes three claims on the matter: (1) John's referent in ὁψονται is more specific, referring to "the Jews" who press the Romans to execute Jesus and to hasten his death by breaking his legs (but Jesus is pierced instead); (2) the Jews' "looking" upon Jesus has ominous and condemnatory overtones arising from intra-texts such as 8:28-29 and 8:12-27; (3) the Zecharian text cited in 19:37 is fulfilled at the time of the piercing, not in some future time.⁴¹ This might all imply—or at the very least would not rule out—the possibility that John relied upon the Hebrew source himself rather than a *testimonium* collection.

The only major problem with this reading is that the wider evocative context of Zech 12:10 has little relevance to John 19:37. Whereas in Zech 12:10 those who do the stabbing/piercing are eventually overcome with remorse and receive a spirit of compassion from God, and whereas they mourn and weep for their deed, there is no indication of these emotions and activities in John 19:37.⁴² If the Zecharian Scripture is realized in the present of John's text, not referring to a future eschatology, would there not be some indication of the remorse of the Jews or the Roman soldier who pierced Jesus? The "looking" in Zech 12:10 leads to remorse, expressed as a "looking" toward God in gratitude for God's spirit of compassion and change of heart that he has poured out upon them.⁴³ But in John 19:37 the intra-text, rather than the intertext, seems to have determined the existential significance of both the "looking" and

40. With reference to this Menken says, "Although FG has a focus on realised eschatology the future is not excluded (5:28-29)" (Menken, "Textual Form," 509). So the future looking on the "pierced one" is something that takes place when believers come to look upon "the risen Lord" (509–10). This does not satisfactorily deal with the connection between the "looking" and the "piercing" in 19:37 and the probability that the same subject is implied for both verbs.

41. Cf. Von Wahlde, *The Gospel and the Letters*, 3:316.

42. As noted by Menken, "The Textual Form," 505.

43. Following Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah*, 337.

the “piercing.” The “looking” upon Jesus as the pierced one is also the recognition of Jesus as the ἐγὼ εἶμι (cf. 8:28). For the Jews, their “looking” upon Jesus in 19:37 does not bring with it the requisite belief in Jesus as the ἐγὼ εἶμι—as their continued persecution of Jesus’ followers in the story-world of the Gospel indicates (cf. 20:19). Thus their “looking”—that is, recognition without belief—becomes a verdict of their “death in sin,” as Jesus expresses it in 8:24.

Perhaps the tension over whether the “looking” should be taken in a realized or future eschatological sense sought resolution in the reception-history of the Gospel of John. It is beyond the scope of the present study to introduce all of those texts here, but it would be worth exploring how the implicit anti-Judaism in John 19:37—as it refers to the Jews’ “looking” upon Jesus in the timeframe of John’s narrative—was expanded in the early Christian tradition to refer to the eschatological remorse of, and judgment upon, “the Jews” (that is all Jews as such) for “piercing Christ” (Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1.52.10-12; *Dial.* 32.2). The curious addition to the Zech 12:10 text in these writings is the word φυλή (“tribe”) to refer to the Jews as a whole group responsible for killing Jesus (“piercing” him) and as one group who will mourn over him in regret at the coming judgment. Rather than fit John to the eschatology of Justin—as Menken attempted to do—it would be more reasonable to fit the anti-Judaism of these authors with the worldview already present in the Gospel of John, and to see their reworking of Zech 12:10 as an expansion, perhaps, of John’s own.

Part 3

STUDIES IN THE LETTERS

TOWARD A THEORY OF NARRATIVE TRANSFORMATION:
THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH CONTEXTS IN PAUL'S
SCRIPTURAL CITATIONS

J. R. Daniel Kirk

In approaching the question of a methodology for assessing intertextuality in Paul, I feel compelled to express my sympathy with T. S. Eliot, who famously stated, "there is no method except to be very intelligent."¹ But Frank Kermode invites patience here, responding to Eliot as follows, "When Eliot said that the only method was to be very intelligent he was both exaggerating and saying too little. Method, he meant, is secondary, for first there must be divination. Having divined, you must say something by way of explaining or communicating the experience of that bewildering minute, and then method is useful."² And so it is with our striving after some method for coming to grips with Paul's use of Israel's Scriptures: we see something, we hear something, we understand something. And then we attempt to frame it up before our reading crashes to the ground, in hopes that someone else might begin to see as we see, hear as we hear, understand as we understand.

What I have seen and heard and understood is this: that Paul's biblical antecedents tell or participate in narratives, and that in order to understand Paul's citations we have to come to grips with both the original (i.e. Old Testament) story being told and the way that this story is transformed when inserted into the context of Paul's letters. Our attempts to read Paul will come up short to the extent that we either neglect the narrative flow within which the cited verse occurs in its original Old Testament context, or allow that Old Testament context to be entirely determinative for what the verse means in Paul. The present study is an

1. T. S. Eliot, "The Perfect Critic," in *The Waste Land and Other Writings* (New York: Random House/The Modern Library, 2002), 64–75 (71).

2. Frank Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 137.

offering toward getting a hold of how we might understand that both/and. The original meaning is crucial, and the original meaning is transformed in light of the Christ event.

Toward that end, I will proceed as follows. First, I will give an example of the importance of both Old Testament and New Testament (OT and NT) contexts by way of a reading of Rom 11:26, where Paul cites Isa 59:20. The point here is to lay out the basics of one moment of “divining.” I will move from this into a theoretical model that provides a framework for explaining what I saw in Romans 11. Greimas’s actant theory will help provide methodological, albeit after-the-fact, scaffolding for what I am calling a hermeneutic of narrative transformation. Finally, I will turn in the last section of this study to probe the utility of this model as a hermeneutical method by applying it to Paul’s citation of Ps 68:10 in Rom 15:3.

1. Isaiah 59:20 in Romans 11:26

Paul’s citation of Isa 59:20 in Rom 11:26 is one of the most vexing in the Pauline corpus.³ And its importance matches its opacity. Here we are at the culmination of Paul’s climactic argument in Romans 11, in which he articulates his final hope for Israel.

...a partial hardening has come upon Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in, and thus all Israel shall be saved. Just as it is written, “The deliverer will go forth out of Zion, he will turn aside ungodliness from Jacob, and this is my covenant with them when I take away their sins.” According to the gospel they are enemies for your sake, but according to election, they are beloved for the sake of the fathers. (Rom 11:25-28)⁴

Somehow, the scriptural citations that begin “The deliverer will go forth out of Zion” (Isa 59:20) are supposed to show us that “in this way, all Israel will be saved.”⁵ What, then, is “this way,” and who is this “all Israel” of whom Paul speaks?

3. The reading of Rom 11:26 offered here is worked out more fully in J. R. Daniel Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come *ἐκ Σιῶν* (Romans 11.26)?,” *JSNT* 33 (2010): 81–99.

4. Unless otherwise indicated, the biblical translations are my own.

5. This is, in fact, a composite citation that also includes Isa 27:9; however, in the interests of focusing the argument the latter portion of the citation will be left aside.

When we turn to Isa 59:20 to see if it offers any clues, immediately we are met with a problem. What Paul cites as, “The rescuer will go forth from Zion (ἐκ Σιων),” in the LXX of Isaiah reads, “The rescuer will come for the sake of Zion (ἕνεκεν Σιων).”⁶ What are we to make of this shift?

Robert Jewett represents one of the most popular readings of this passage when he argues that it indicates Jesus’ return to earth from a heavenly Zion at the Parousia.⁷ This option deals well with the change in preposition (the deliverer comes out of Zion to save Israel because Zion is now distinct from that geographical location). It is hard to see, however, how such an interpretation does justice to the sentence that Isaiah 59 is cited to prove. “A partial hardening has happened, until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, and *thus* (οὕτως) all Israel will be saved.” If “all Israel” refers to those who are ethnically Jewish, as Jewett and others maintain, then οὕτως is often, and problematically, understood as “then,” since the means of Israel’s ingathering is the return of Jesus rather than the prior influx of Gentiles. Alternatively, the Parousia claim that follows in the Isaiah citation must be read wholly disconnected from v. 25 as articulating a parallel track of salvation for Israel.⁸

Picking up on the importance of the Gentiles in Romans 11, N. T. Wright has offered an alternative explanation. He suggests that the inclusion of the full number of Gentiles (Rom 11:25) means that Israel is

6. See Kirk, “Why Does?,” 83–84, for a fuller discussion. There I argue that the change is intentional but not an allusion to another particular text. Whether or not the change of prepositions is intentional on Paul’s part, the following argument accounts for how Paul’s rendering of Isaiah’s narrative has been transformed by his experience as an apostle to the Gentiles (Rom 1:5; 11:13), in the face of Israel’s rejection of this message (Rom 9–11).

7. Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 703–4; cf. the comments on this verse in C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979); Richard H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9–11* (WUNT, 2/63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994); *idem*, *The Irrevocable Call of God: An Inquiry into Paul’s Theology of Israel* (WUNT 184; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9–16* (WBC 38b; Dallas: Word, 1988); and Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

8. The ambiguity introduced by attempting to hold together the two verses can be seen in Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 691–92. There, Dunn affirms both that the Gentile mission will be the means of Israel’s ingathering and that the Parousia will be the event by which “all Israel” will be saved, asserting that the ambiguity is Paul’s own. The classic argument for a *Sonderweg* for Israel can be found in Franz Mussner, *Traktat über die Juden* (Munich: Kösel, 1979), e.g., 60.

being polemically redefined as the Jew plus Gentile people of God: “all Israel” will be saved by “the fullness of the Gentiles” coming in, because, Wright argues, “all Israel” means the people of God constituted by both Jews and Gentiles.⁹ Looking to the scriptural citation, he maintains that this is a mixed citation, with ἐκ Σιων pointing us back to Isa 2:3.¹⁰ There, the prophet declares that the nations will be drawn *to* Zion because the law will go forth out of Zion: ἐκ γὰρ Σιων ἐξελεύσεται νόμος καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλημ.

As we will see shortly, the Gentiles are crucial for making sense of this passage, but Wright’s reading is unlikely. First, the claim depends on a shift of merely one word, the change in the preposition. Second, whereas Paul’s citation reads, ἐκ Σιων, Isaiah 2 reads, ἐκ γὰρ Σιων, which substantially diminishes the audibility of such an echo in Greek. The explanation for Paul’s changing the preposition is better sought without reference to a second passage to which he may be alluding.

The more significant challenge to Wright’s reading is that if it is correct then Paul has cited a passage about the deliverance of “all Israel” that, as he puts it, scandalously reinterprets “Israel” and, in the citation, “Jacob,” as referring to Gentiles.¹¹ This interpretation cuts against the grain of the argument in ch. 11. Prior to this point in the chapter, Paul has been wrestling with the fate of ethnic Israel in light of its apparent rejection of the gospel and the success of the Gentile mission. In vv. 1-10 he uses the words Ἰσραήλ (vv. 2, 8) and Ἰσραηλῆτης (v. 1) to speak of the ethnic Israel over whose rejection of the gospel he is mourning. When Paul goes on to place this within the context of his own mission, it is this group that stands in contrast to the Gentiles who are accepting the gospel and through whom Paul hopes to move his flesh to jealousy and save some of them (vv. 10-16). Further, the paragraph leading up to v. 25 consists of a warning to the ingrafted Gentiles not to despise the natural branches of the tree into which they have been engrafted (vv. 17-24). And so when Paul begins v. 25 by saying, “I do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, of this mystery...that a partial hardening has happened to Israel,” we have clear indication that he is continuing to speak of ethnic Israel as partially hardened and the Gentile Romans as

9. N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 249–50.

10. Wright, *Climax*, 250. Wright is followed by Christopher Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion: The Source(s) and Function of Paul’s Citation in Romans 11:26-27,” *TynBul* 59 (2008): 119–34, who notes that Thomas Aquinas also detected an allusion to Isa 2.

11. Wright, *Climax*, 250.

the beneficiaries. If “all Israel” in v. 26 means a polemically redefined Jew plus Gentile people, we must conclude that Paul has not only failed to prepare his readers for such a sense of the words but has given them every reason to reject it. Thus far in the passage, not only has “Israel” referred to ethnic Israel, but the ingathering of the Gentiles has been seen as instrumental in Israel’s ultimate salvation (vv. 11-14).¹²

Further undermining the idea that Paul has here redefined Israel in this way, the verses subsequent to his scriptural citations continue to keep Israel and the Gentiles distinct. Thus we find in v. 23, “According to the gospel, they (Israel) are enemies for your (Gentiles’) sake, but according to election, they (Israel) are beloved because of the fathers.” Wright’s reading sacrifices what the Parousia interpretation has seen more clearly: Paul is, in fact, talking about the salvation of ethnic Israel.¹³

So how are we to take this citation? Here is where we need to step back and take stock of the larger narrative unfolding in Isaiah’s prophecy.

Isaiah 59 addresses Israel as they are failing to live in a manner pleasing to God: “See, the Lord’s hand is not too short to save, nor his ear too dull to hear. Rather, your iniquities have been barriers between you and your God, and your sins have hidden his face from you so that he does not hear” (Isa 59:1-2, NRSV). Because of Israel’s sin, God must come to the place where there is no justice and act to restore justice on his own initiative. God will repay adversaries, requite those who have opposed (Isa 59:15-18). The culmination is YHWH’s own arrival in Zion as deliverer (ובא לציון גואל, MT; ἦξει ἔνεκεν Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος, LXX) to bless those who turn from transgression.¹⁴ It is from here that Isaiah moves to proclaim that in the midst of darkness Israel’s God has shone on it (Isa 60:1-2). That is a summary of ch. 59.¹⁵ The result of this glorification, in turn, is that the kings stream to Zion’s light (Isa 60:3). Thus, the narrative of Isaiah runs from Israel’s sin to God’s glorification of Zion, which in turn draws the nations (and scattered Israel) to the bright and shining city.

12. Cf. Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer?,” 89–94.

13. E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1983), 194–95, rightly sees the purpose of the citation as attempting to show that all Israel is saved by means of Paul’s Gentile mission, as elsewhere in Rom 11. But he maintains that Paul picked a poor verse for supporting his case.

14. The chapter is vexing, and scholarship is rife with attempts to make sense of the redactional history to which the current unit owes its shape. But the canonical form is what concerns us as it would have been Paul’s concern as a first-century reader of the text. My outline of ch. 59 generally agrees with the proposal of Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Westminster John Knox, 2000), 483–91.

15. On the connection from a synchronic perspective, see Childs, *Isaiah*, 494.

Both Isaiah 59 and Romans 11 come from the pens of writers who are wrestling with Israel's unrighteousness and need for deliverance. However, in contrast to the story that Isaiah tells, Paul sees that God is delivering the Gentiles, and that this glorification of the nations will be the means by which God draws in Israel.¹⁶ In other words, the story as Paul is experiencing it, and as he anticipates its resolution, works in the opposite direction from the story we found in Isaiah. Rather than God's salvation of Israel drawing in the nations to salvation, it is God's salvation of the nations that will draw in ethnic Israel.

This dynamic is clearly at work in vv. 11-14 of Romans 11. Paul writes, first, that salvation comes to the Gentiles to make Israel jealous (v. 11). Further, he maintains that Israel's transgression leads to Gentile inclusion, and that this inclusion should be expanded when Israel is fully embraced (v. 12). Finally, he claims to magnify his Gentile ministry to provoke Israel to jealousy and save some of them (vv. 13-14). Throughout this earlier paragraph in ch. 11, Paul prophesies that the means of Israel's reembrace by God is going to be the ingathering of the Gentiles. As we noted above, this argument reappears after the paragraph upon which we are focused (Rom 11:28-32). The narrative Paul tells of his own ministry is one in which glorified Gentiles lead to the salvation of ethnic Israel rather than vice versa.

Returning to his citation of Isa 59:20, then, we find, first, that Paul draws in this OT voice in order to advance this very same narrative: "A partial hardening has happened to Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in, *and thus* all Israel will be saved." Israel will be saved through the salvation of the Gentiles. This is the claim Paul says he is substantiating when he goes on to say, "As it is written, 'The deliverer will go forth out of Zion, he will turn aside impiety from Jacob.'" Isaiah 59-60 speaks of the glorification of Zion that will lead to the ingathering of the nations. But by shifting the preposition from *ἐνεκεν* to *ἐκ* Paul has transformed Isaiah's vision from a problematic, unfulfilled prophecy into a prediction being fulfilled in his own ministry. The deliverer does not come for Zion's sake and then draw the nations to a glorified Israel as Isaiah would have it. The deliverer goes forth out of Zion to the Gentiles, and then Jacob will have its time of purification.¹⁷ Paul's experience of the Christ event, including his own ministry, transforms Isaiah's story into the story of the church.

16. Cf. Kirk, "Why Does?," 86-88.

17. Cf. Kirk, "Why Does?," *passim*.

The upshot is that Paul's is a hermeneutic of narrative transformation. The larger story from that portion of Isaiah is crucial for understanding Romans 11, as it tells of how God's salvation is supposed to unfold in history. But the original context it is not determinative for Paul's usage. Indeed, the prophetic narrative is transformed in its new context by reassigning Israel's role as the glorified ensign of God's saving work to the Gentiles, and reassigning the Gentiles' role of being drawn to the glorified work of God to Israel. The current reality, being experienced in the wake of the Christ event, transforms Isaiah's narrative in light of what is happening in Paul's work and in his churches.

And to this extent the hermeneutic on offer here is in keeping with the broad outlines proposed by Frances Watson when he says, "Paul's rereading of scripture is determined by his single apostolic preoccupation with the Christ-event, which must be interpreted through the lens of the scriptural witness."¹⁸ There is a circular process involved, in which the OT narrative gives shape to what Paul says about Christ, but the Christ-event also causes a significantly transformed rereading of the OT text.

Thus far, the divining. Now I turn to the question of whether we can cast some methodological mold that might enable us to recreate such readings elsewhere?

2. (One Possible) Narrative Theory

A. J. Greimas's actantial model will help provide some theoretical footing for the interpretation offered above.¹⁹ Greimas outlines three general phases of a story, which can also be multiplied to account for a more complex narrative.

The first phase, the "initial sequence," is more of a statement of intention, an expected "story" that does not actually materialize.²⁰ This

18. Frances Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 17.

19. A. J. Greimas, *Sémantique Structurale* (Paris: Larousse, 1966), *idem*, *Du Sens* (Paris: Seuil, 1970); this summary is taken from Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 84–95. Employment of Greimas in this case is by no means to claim either that such a model simply is, objectively, how all or even most stories function. Nor is it to claim that Paul had in mind a mental puzzle whose pieces he was rearranging as he reworked the prophecy of Isaiah. It is intended, instead, to help formalize what it means to say that there are narrative dynamics at work in Isaiah's and Paul's prophecies and to assess how the former has been incorporated into the latter.

20. Cf. Hays, *Faith*, 84–85; Wright, *Climax*, 205.

failed expectation is what generates the dramatic interest that drives the story. For Isaiah 59–60, a simplified initial sequence might read: “God uses Israel to bring all people into his glory,” which can be diagrammed as follows:

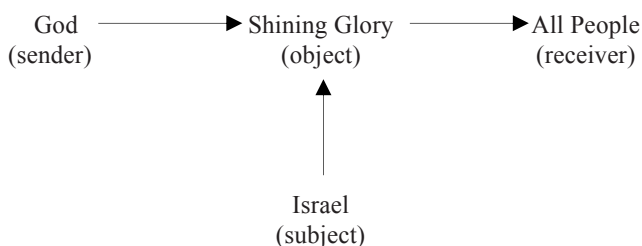


Figure 1. *Initial Sequence of Isaiah 59–60*

In the second step, the topical sequence, the drama of the story unfolds, bringing about the state of affairs necessary to enable the story to resolve.²¹ Often, this will involve the sender bringing about some transformation in the protagonist (the “subject”) so that this subject can accomplish its mission. In Isaiah 59, the topical sequence entails God becoming the deliverer in order to purify Zion.

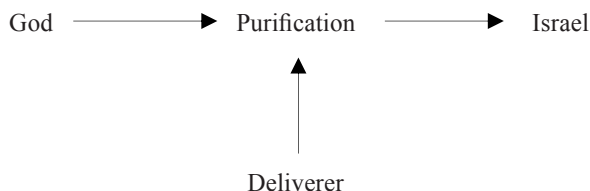
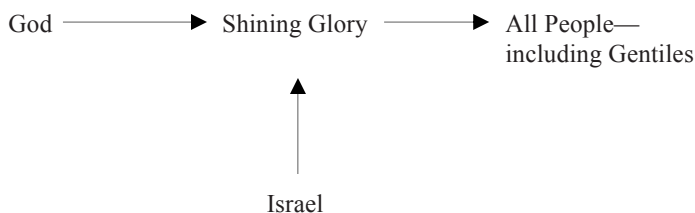


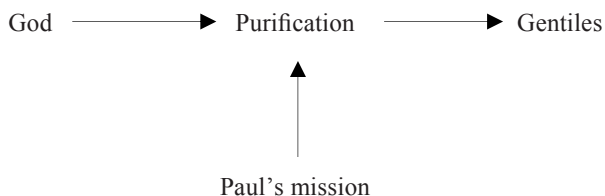
Figure 2. *Topical Sequence of Isaiah 59–60*

In a simplified narrative structure, the final sequence is a third step in which we should have, substantially, a repetition of the initial sequence. With the hindrances to the original storyline now overcome, the sender’s original intentions can be fulfilled. I would suggest that at times we only know the initial sequence once we see the final sequence—often it is only at the end that we know what the point was for the story as a whole. In Isaiah 59–60, after the topical sequence in which God has purified Israel, Israel is now capable of fulfilling its original mission. Thus, God uses Israel to bring all people into God’s glory.

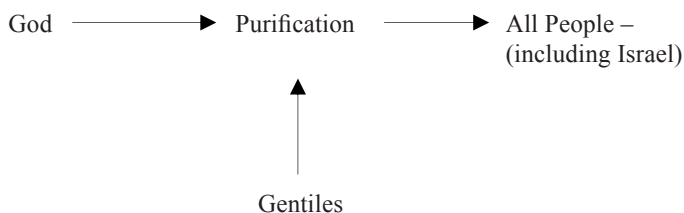
21. Hays, *Faith*, 93–95.

Figure 3. *Final Sequence of Isaiah 59–60*

These diagrams can perhaps help us register afresh the shock of the claims Paul is making, and indeed why the entirety of Romans is given to a defense of God precisely as the God of Israel who has spoken through the scriptures, despite what is unfolding in and around Paul's ministry.²² Paul is experiencing a topical sequence that does not bring about the glorification of Israel through the deliverer, but instead, the glorification of the Gentiles through his mission:

Figure 4. *Topical Sequence of Paul's Mission*

Moreover, the final sequence he anticipates is not that God will glorify the nations through the glorification of Israel, but that Israel will be glorified by the inclusion of the Gentiles:

Figure 5. *Final Sequence of Paul's Mission*

22. Cf. J. R. Daniel Kirk, *Unlocking Romans: Resurrection and the Justification of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 34–83.

Paul's revision of Isa 59:20, then, transforms the verse's narrative by inverting the roles played by Israel and the Gentiles, and, perhaps, by casting Paul's own mission in the role of the deliverer, or, at least, in the role of "helper." This is what I describe as Paul's hermeneutic of narrative transformation.

First, this hermeneutic entails a transformation. Key roles are reassigned such that, in the end, even the subject is being played by the original recipient of deliverance—and *vice versa*. Paul does not cite the verse in keeping with its original context. This cuts strongly against the views of those NT scholars who think that the NT writers, including Paul, cite the OT in keeping with its grammatical-historical interpretation, and also those who would use a "canonical contextual" approach to argue that the whole Bible is the "context" of any given verse, so as to avoid the conclusion that the text has been significantly reinterpreted.²³ Our analysis indicates that such an assessment is unlikely to be sustainable.

Second, Paul is no longer telling exactly the same story. This is so even if Paul is talking about God's act as deliverer to save Israel at the Parousia, such that God or Christ are directly tied to the identity of the deliverer. In such a reading, the purpose of the coming deliverer is to purify Israel as the final sequence in the re-creation of God's people, not as the topical sequence by which Israel will itself fulfill the role of drawing all the nations to God.

Third, however, the original narrative is indispensable. It lays out the terms by which we can understand the role of the new actor. In this case, it seems that Israel's role in being God's means of salvation for the other is being played, throughout Romans 11, by the Gentiles. Once such a surprising reversal of roles becomes evident, it mitigates the likelihood that the citation in Rom 11:25-26 is, as Wright claims, a polemical redefinition of Israel. Wright has correctly keyed into the fact that Israel's role is being played by the Gentiles. However, the way that "all Israel is saved," tied as it is to the entry of the full number of Gentiles, is not that "all Israel" comes to mean Jews and Gentiles, but that Gentiles now play the role of the helper by whom Israel is drawn into God's glory. The deliverer goes forth out of Zion first, and then turns to remove ungodliness from Jacob.²⁴

23. E.g. Greg Beale, *The Erosion of Inerrancy in Evangelicalism: Responding to New Challenges to Biblical Authority* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2008), 87.

24. Cf. Kirk, "Why Does the Deliverer?," 86–88.

In Paul's hermeneutic of narrative transformation, the Christ event, including his own work as an apostle to encompass the nations within it, causes him to reread the OT stories from which he draws his scriptural citations. What are the ramifications of such a description of Paul's hermeneutic? On the positive side of the ledger, it can tell us for sure that the narrative structures within which his citations are found are important but not determinative. In particular, roles are recast, and surprises occur at the level of who is serving as a helper and who is serving as an opponent in bringing the story to its conclusion. Further, it helps us spot certain dead-ends, OT storylines that do not come to their anticipated resolution. We might think, for example, of those alternate possibilities in Second and Third Isaiah, where the Gentiles are subjected to Israel as servants or destroyed.²⁵ Finally, as we have seen here, plotting the narrative sequence of the citation as it occurs in Paul's letter can help guide us in discovering an interpretation of the citation that had not previously been explored and that makes a great deal of sense in the context.

Its limitation, of course, is that it can never be entirely prescriptive. While recognizing narrative transformation might provide us with some new parameters and matrices to aid in the continuing struggle to make sense of Paul's relationship with the scriptures of Israel, affirming a hermeneutic of narrative transformation points us to a particular playing field without necessarily telling us beforehand how the game will unfold. Nonetheless, it does hold promise for opening our eyes to interpretive possibilities we might have missed. We turn now to Romans 15 to assess one such possibility.

3. Romans 15:1-3

Romans 15:1-3 reads as follows, with a citation of Ps 68:10 coming at the end:

We, the strong ones, have an obligation to bear the weaknesses of those without strength and to not please ourselves. Each one of us strong ones should please our neighbor for good, unto our neighbor's edification. For even Christ did not please himself, but just as it is written, "The reproaches of those who reproached you fell upon me."

25. Cf. Christopher Stanley, "'The Redeemer will Come ἐκ Σιων': Romans 11.26-27 Revisited," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 118-42 (127-30).

At first blush, the passage is simple. We might view the commended action, the initial sequence, as Paul's own sending of the strong to bring burden bearing to the weak:

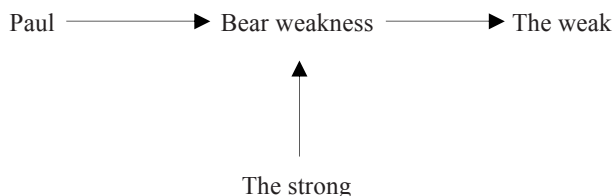


Figure 6. *Initial Sequence of Romans 15:1*

This, he says, is an imitation of Jesus who bore reproach on behalf of another, quoting Psalm 68 (Rom 15:3):

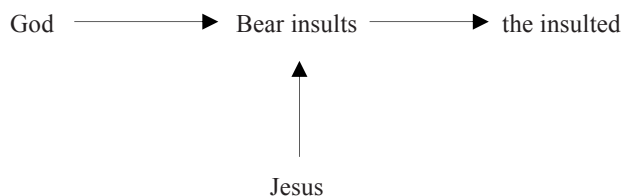


Figure 7. *The Jesus Story in Romans 15:3*

Thus, to imitate Jesus, as the OT envisions Jesus' work, is to play the role of insult-bearer. Christians are called to do what Jesus did, to take his part in the story. And, as they do, they can likely hope for the new life that Jesus himself was given.²⁶

Associating Jesus with the speaker of this psalm, and those who reject or persecute him with the psalmist's enemies, is standard fare. The first part of the verse in question is cited by John immediately after the temple-clearing incident. The disciples, John says, remembered then that it was written, "Zeal for your house consumes me" (John 2:17). Perhaps more to the point, Paul in Romans 11 associates the opponents in this Davidic Psalm with unbelieving Israel of his own day: "Let their table be a snare for them, let their eyes be darkened so that they cannot see, and bend their backs forever" (Ps 68.22-23, LXX; cited in Rom 11:9-10). But the reading I have just given, in which we hear the words of this

26. Richard B. Hays, "Christ Prays the Psalms: Israel's Psalter as Matrix of Early Christology," in *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 101–18.

psalm in the mouth of Jesus, and Paul then holds him up for imitation, is problematized when we examine the context of the verse in the psalm.²⁷ And perhaps here we can begin to see the need for some methodological direction.

In the psalm, the expectation is that God is going to rescue the Davidic king from all his tribulations so that the king can fulfill his charge to be God's instrument by which Zion will be saved, and the cities of Judah rebuilt. God is supposed to be the helper who enables the king to fulfill this task.²⁸ Thus the initial and final sequence should look something like this:

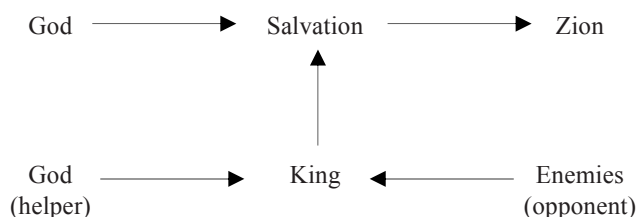


Figure 8. *Initial and Final Sequences of Psalm 68*

In the intermediate stage of the story from which our verse is taken, however, we find instead that the king is absorbing the insults directed to God.²⁹ Thus, the Psalmist suggests that he is living out a counter-narrative, a story in which God's enemies occupy the powerful place of sender, victimizing God himself through the agency of the king:

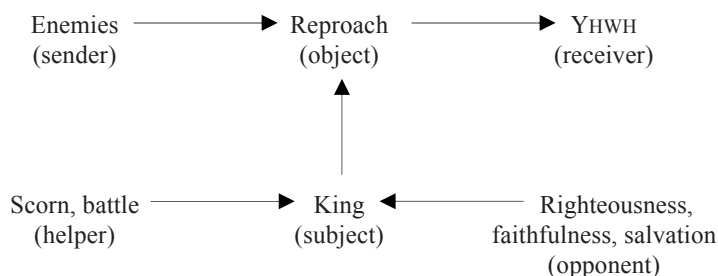


Figure 9. *Counter-Narrative of the Psalmist's Enemies*

27. The difficulties are noted by Scott Hafemann, "Eschatology and Ethics: The Future of Israel and the Nations in Romans 15:1-13," *TynBul* 51 (2000): 161-92.

28. Marvin Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC 20; Dallas: Word, 1990), 192, notes this general flow of the song, which is largely in keeping with the pattern of individual laments of complaint.

29. Cf. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 196.

In this story, what needs to change in order for the intended plot to find its resolution is not for the king to become the pious person he is supposed to be, but for YHWH to change into the kind of sender who provides the help needed to bring his own story to its intended culmination.³⁰ This is a daring move of adopting the interpretive grid of the king's opponents in an effort to move God to act on the king's behalf, one that has ramification for how we read Romans 15. As Scott Hafemann puts it:

Thus, the common attempt to argue for the direct imitation of Christ in this passage cannot be sustained. Nor is it an *a fortiori* argument, as often assumed, since the point of *contrast* between Christ and the "strong" needed to make such arguments is missing. That is to say, Paul does not argue, "If Christ suffered *to the point of death* at the hands of the *unrighteous*, *how much more* should the 'strong' be willing to suffer *mere self-limitation* for the sake of *God's people*."³¹

The narrative that Paul cites is not one in which God has sent a deliverer to bear the scorn of the people, akin to Isaiah 53, it is one in which the deliverer bears the reproach flung upon God himself as God's people act in faithfulness.³² This raises the question, then: What does Paul mean by assigning to Jesus a psalm in which the speaker bears the reproach directed at the other who is not a human, but God? And what does he mean by holding this up as the standard for the Romans' communal practice?³³

One common option is to recognize the referent in the psalm but to maintain that Paul still intends to hold up Jesus as a model for being a faithful protagonist sent by God to bear the reproach directed at one's Christian siblings. This is essentially the route taken by Douglas Moo and Frank Matera.³⁴

30. Walter Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms: A Theological Commentary* (Augsburg Old Testament Studies; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 54, comments on the common tactic of turning the psalmist's problem into "a problem for Yahweh."

31. Hafemann, "Eschatology and Ethics," 165 (italics original).

32. Cf. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 196, 201; James Luther Mays, *Psalms: An Interpretation: A Commentary for Teaching & Preaching* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 231.

33. Though working out the implications in a slightly different fashion, Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), concludes that the logic of God's reception of Gentiles through Christ's faithfulness shapes Paul's admonitions throughout chs. 14–15, and chs. 12–15 more generally.

34. Frank J. Matera, *Romans* (Paideia; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 321; Moo, *Romans*, 868–69.

Another approach, however, is suggested by James Dunn. He recognizes that the psalms of the righteous sufferer were favorite fodder for early Christians due to Jesus' crucifixion, and that Psalm 69 was of particular interest along these lines (e.g. Ps 69:10 in John 2:17; Ps 69:23 in Rom 11:9; and Ps 69:26 in Acts 1:20). But to say that the crucifixion is the reproach Jesus bore is not yet to say whether it is, as the passage is most often read, the reproach that should have fallen on people, or the reproach that Jesus bore for acting in the name of God.³⁵ Dunn suggests, if tentatively, a slight modification to this standard reading of bearing the reproach directed at one's Christian siblings. His interpretation arises from the recognition that God is the one whose scorn the psalmist, and Jesus, bears. Dunn develops this recognition into a suggestion that in the early church the reproaches arising from traditionalist Jews against the Christian movement's claim that the God of Jews and Gentiles has accepted all on the basis of faith is a reproach against the name of God itself. Thus, to bear the weaknesses of the weak is to imitate Jesus in bearing the reproaches of God who has accepted both Jews and Gentiles on the basis of faith. We can extrapolate on Dunn's point by saying that God has created this people, God has put God's name on it. How the community treats one another, especially in the matter of both Jews and Gentiles accepting the other as co-equal members of the family, is indicative of their participation in the scorn heaped on the God of the Christ event.

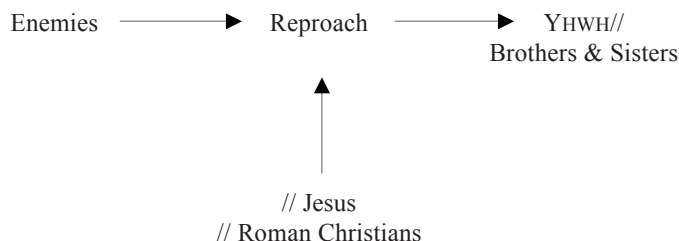


Figure 10. *The Community as God Scorned*

Paul has rewritten the narrative of the psalm by recasting its roles: in a striking turn, not only do Christians occupy the place of Christ as his fellow sufferers. Members of the community also occupy the place of YHWH, bearing his name and receiving here on earth the contempt of those who scorn the Father who has adopted them into His family. This, I am arguing, is the ramification of Hafemann's observation, "Instead of

35. Dunn, *Romans* 9–16, 839.

grounding his command in v. 2 by referring to Christ's regard for others, as we might expect, Paul pointed to Christ's regard for God."³⁶ If the psalmist bears scorn for walking in the righteous ways of God, then the community in Christ bears scorn for doing the same. Generally, we might say, to be baptized into Christ is not only to be made into a little Christ, bearing his image and recapitulating his redemptive suffering (e.g. Rom 8:14-17, 29; cf. 1 Cor 15:49),³⁷ it is also therefore to bear the image of God the father (2 Cor 4:4). Thus, to look in the eyes of a brother or sister is to behold the God who has adopted him or her into God's family.³⁸ Studying the narrative dynamics of the psalm, we discover that the believers' identity with God lies behind Paul's plea to the strong to continue in faithful allegiance to their siblings even when faithfulness to them is the cause of reproach for both.³⁹

In the specific argument of Romans we can press further and suggest that the direct address to the Gentile "strong" continues here. The hints throughout the letter that the Gentiles are developing a superiority complex might well be in play here, as well (e.g. Rom 11:17-25).⁴⁰ If we assign the roles of the psalm with that idea in mind we discover this:

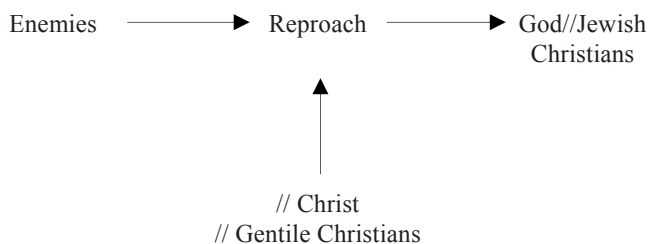


Figure 11. *Gentiles' Imitation of Christ*

36. Hafemann, "Eschatology and Ethics," 168.

37. Cf. Richard B. Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: Community, Cross, New Creation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 25.

38. Such identification with God lies behind not only Paul's extensive use of sibling language (*ἀδελφοί*) to speak of fellow believers, but also the claims he makes to speak for God as Christ's ambassador in 2 Cor 5:20. It is no accident that the latter passage follows the new creation language of 2 Cor 4, where bearing God's image is likened to reflecting the shekinah glory (2 Cor 4:3-6). The image and glory of God is borne by Christ, first, and then by believers. Believers, then, are being renewed not only into the image of Christ but also into the image of God.

39. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 839.

40. Cf. Stowers, *A Rereading*, e.g., 102.

The final admonition to accept one another calls the Gentile believers in Rome to realize, one final time, that God has bound himself inseparably to ethnic Israel.⁴¹ Those who cling to this ethnic identity, even to being “weak in faith” so as to avoid certain foods and to observe certain days, are also those upon whom God has placed God’s name.

In the broader perspective of Romans, the notion that God has declared those in Christ to be the righteous ones has been a cause of God’s own name needing to be defended.⁴² By embracing those in whom God is restoring God’s image through union with Christ, perhaps especially the believing Jews, the “strong” among the Roman Christians receive scorn that is properly not the scorn heaped upon believers but upon God himself. The running issue of the letter, as it defends the name of God in the light of Gentile acceptance of the Messiah sent by Abraham’s God, comes together here as Paul not only invites his non-Torah-observant readers to honor those who keep the Law, but to see such Law-keepers as uniquely aligned with God in the drama of salvation.

Psalm 68:10 (LXX) represents a topical sequence in the psalm, a sequence that is a provocative false-telling of the story of God’s anointed. It is an intervening counter-story that would derail the story as we learn of its initial and final sequence from elsewhere, that God is going to bring salvation to Zion by means of the king. The pleas of the psalm are meant to get help from God, the sender, to deliver the king.⁴³ The true topical sequence, then, is something like this:

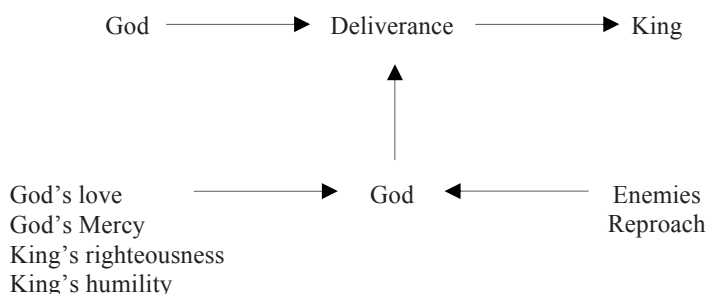


Figure 12. *True Topical Sequence of Psalm 68*

41. Stowers, *A Rereading*.

42. Cf. Hays, *Echoes*; Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*.

43. Brueggemann, *Message of the Psalms*.

With God himself intervening to deliver the king, the king in turn can bring about the salvation of Zion for which God appointed him. In fact, these two things will come about together, as the deliverance of the king will entail the deliverance of Zion. In Romans, a parallel applies, with God delivering Jesus from death at the resurrection:⁴⁴

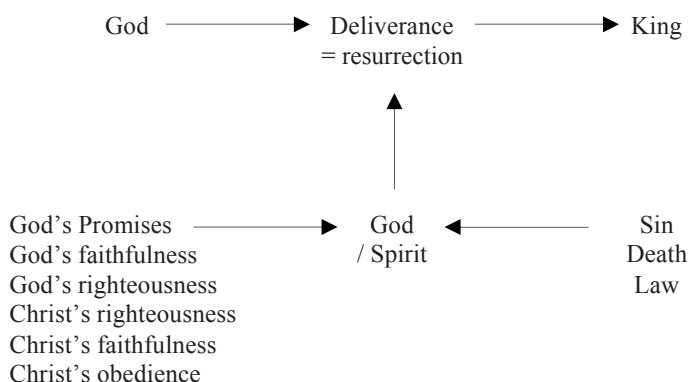


Figure 13. *Topical Sequence of Paul's Christ Narrative*

And this, in turn, is the means by which God brings deliverance (again, not to Zion itself, but) to the nations:

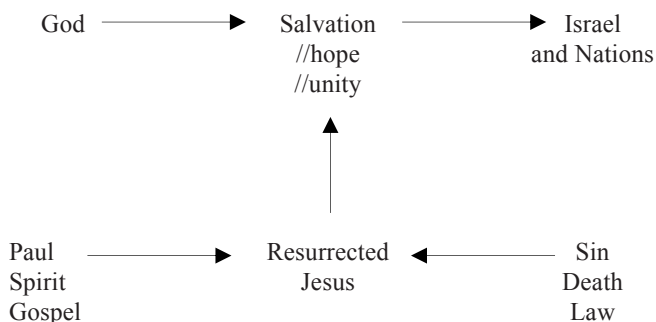


Figure 14. *Final Sequence in Paul's Salvation Story*

Once again we can apply our hermeneutic of narrative transformation to explore other possible ramifications for the Gentiles' being associated with Jesus in this story. For the Gentiles to be willing to play the role of the maligned Christ in the false counter-narrative is to act in faith that

44. Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*.

God will bring them the same deliverance already brought about for Christ. As in Phil 3:10-11, “the resurrection stands as the sign of hope that those who suffer now will finally be vindicated by God.”⁴⁵

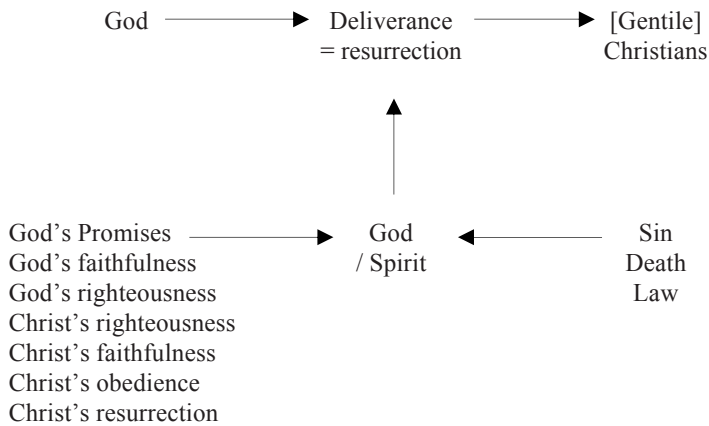


Figure 15. *Gentiles' Topical Sequence*

This deliverance, however, is not for them alone, for it will make them partners in bringing about the salvation, hope, and unity that God has in store for Israel and the Gentiles together:

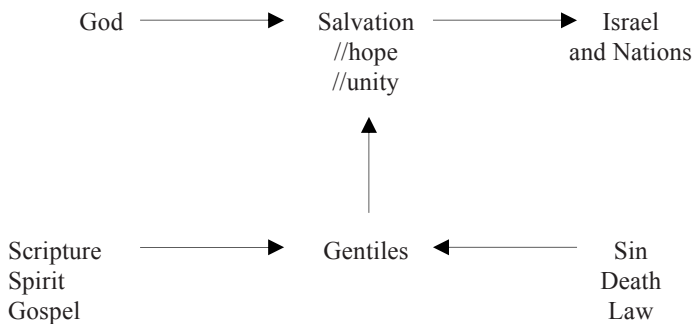


Figure 16. *Final Sequence of Paul's Gospel*

So when we read in Rom 15:4, “Whatever was written in earlier times was written for our instruction, so that through perseverance and the encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope,” we must not separate this from the Christological conditioning given in the previous

45. Hays, *Moral Vision*, 30.

verses, by which the scripture becomes amenable as a source of hope;⁴⁶ we must not separate it from the subsequent prayer that the God who gives perseverance and encouragement makes the people single-minded, so that with one accord and one voice they may glorify God the father. As to the first, Christ's resurrection is a source of hope for those who participate in his suffering. But more than this, by bearing the scorn heaped upon their Jewish brothers and sisters Gentiles play the same role in the story as the death of Christ. This means not only bearing the scorn of God but also bearing fruit in one unified people praising God, which is the ultimate "final sequence" as Paul tells it.⁴⁷

This being Christ for one another as Christ was for God, confirming the promises of God given to the fathers, and becoming Gentiles who glorify God with God's people, is the vision with which the letter comes to its final climactic moment: the Gentiles come to hope in the resurrected root of Jesse—and in this God grants ultimate hope to all people.⁴⁸

Conclusion

Bringing our hermeneutic of narrative transformation with us, we have opened up a suggestive window through which to see an added depth of exegetical possibility in Rom 15:1-4. Although a psalm is not a narrative, and for that matter neither is Paul's letter to Rome, both depend on narrative dynamics. Paul's audience is drawn into the story and encouraged to understand the work of God in light of the Christ event through Paul's transformation of his scriptural text.

In Paul's interpretation of the OT, we discover the following factors at work: (1) Paul's scriptural citations depend on the narrative dynamics at work in both the original OT setting and the new setting of his own letter; (2) the OT narrative dynamics lend contextual interpretive freight to the NT context in which they appear; and (3) the NT context transforms the OT passage, in particular through recasting the roles of the

46. Cf. Hays, "Christ Prays," 113. Hafemann also underscores the importance of hope, but he dissociates the idea of hope too much from both the concrete situation on the ground in Rome and the Christ event itself ("Eschatology and Ethics," 167). In reference to the latter, Paul's christologically defined hope seems to need greater attention, playing a more ultimate role in the ethics of the Christian community than the psalmist's.

47. Cf. Stowers, *A Rereading*.

48. Kirk, *Unlocking*, 49–55; J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul 'In Concert' in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 307, 309, 319.

story in light of Paul's convictions about Jesus, his mission, and his churches. In neither Rom 11:26 nor Rom 15:3 is the OT citation a simple reiteration of the meaning of the verse from its original context. However, the OT narrative structure provides a story that illuminates the NT passage and has the power to transform it. That power, however, works both ways. The NT passage is not constrained by the meaning of the Old, but is transformed by it. And the OT passage is transformed in its new context as well.

12

DOMINICAL SHAME TRADITION IN PAUL: AN ALLUSION (ROMANS 1:16) TO JESUS' USE OF SHAME LANGUAGE (MARK 8:38) FROM THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Yongbom Lee

When expressing his desire to visit Rome and encourage the Roman Christians, Paul writes in Rom 1:14-16:

I am a debtor both to Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish hence my eagerness to proclaim the gospel to you also who are in Rome. For I am not *ashamed of the gospel*; it is *the power of God* for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek (Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτήριαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι).¹

In the Gospel of Mark, immediately after Peter's confession of Christ in Caesarea (Mark 8:27-30), Jesus makes his first Passion prediction (Mark 8:31) and teaches his disciples about what it means to follow him (Mark 8:34-38):

He called the crowd with his disciples, and said to them, "If any want to become my followers, let them deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me. For those who want to save their life will lose it, and those who lose their life for my sake, and for the sake of *the gospel*, will save it. For what will it profit them to gain the whole world and forfeit their life? Indeed, what can they give in return for their life? Those who are *ashamed* of me and of *my words* in this adulterous and sinful generation, of them the Son of Man will also be *ashamed* when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels (ὅς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυθήσεται αὐτόν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων)."

1. I am using NRSV as the primary English translation of the New Testament. All italics are mine for emphasis.

As we can see above, it is remarkable that both Paul and the Markan Jesus distinctively use the verb ἐπαισχύνομαι in the context of public Christian witness.

As John E. Toews comments on Rom 1:16, “The Roman world was an honor–shame culture, not a guilt-forgiveness culture. Society was ordered according to a strict social status ladder that defined a hierarchy of honor. To violate the social order was to be shamed.”² The same was true for the Jewish society and the broader culture of ancient Near East (cf. Luke 15:17-21). Even today, in traditional Asian culture, one’s “saving face” is often considered as more important than “being right/fair.” In particular, there is an important relational concept called “jung” in Korean culture, which is difficult to translate into English. It has a range of meaning, including “love, affection, compassion, respect, and loyalty.” If two people share “jung” with each other, one is expected to demonstrate all these qualities towards the other. If one falls short of that expectation, it brings shame and grief to the other in that relationship. It is interesting to observe that, with respect to God’s forgiveness of sins, Western preachers tend to focus on the *guilt* aspect of sins, while Korean preachers tend to focus on the *shame* aspect of sins.

In recent New Testament scholarship, there have been growing interests in the cultural and sociological understanding of the concept of honor and shame in the world of the New Testament.³ These studies obviously are important and help us to understand better the socio-cultural world of the New Testament. On the one hand, Paul in Rom 1:16

2. John E. Toews, *Romans* (Scottsdale: Herald, 2004), 52. As Cranfield points out: “The negative way in which Paul expresses himself is to be explained not as an instance of understatement (Paul meaning that he is proud of the gospel), but as reflecting his sober recognition of the fact that the gospel is something of which, in this world, Christians will constantly be tempted to be ashamed. We may compare Mark 8.38; Luke 9.26; 2 Tim 1.8. The presence of this temptation as a constant feature of the Christian life is inevitable both on account of the world’s continuing hostility to God and also on account of the nature of the gospel itself, the fact that God has intervened in history for men’s salvation not in obvious might and majesty but in a veiled way which was bound to look to the world like abject weakness and foolishness” (C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985], 16–17).

3. Cf. David F. Watson, *Honor Among Christians: The Cultural Key to the Messianic Secret* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010); Matthew J. Marohl, *Joseph’s Dilemma: “Honor Killing” in the Birth Narrative of Matthew* (Eugene: Cascade, 2009); David Arthur DeSilva, *Despising Shame: Honor Discourses and Community Maintenance in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008); Jerome H. Neyrey, “Loss of Wealth, Loss of Family, Loss of Honor,” in *The Social World of the New Testament* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2008), 85–102.

may have used the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in the general context of the Roman honor–shame culture, having nothing to do with the words of Jesus reflected in Mark 8:38. On the other hand, however, there is an interesting possibility that Paul in Rom 1:16 alludes to the specific dominical saying tradition. As James D. G. Dunn comments on Rom 1:16:

As Barrett has shown, it is likely that some connection between this assertion and the Jesus tradition preserved in Mark 8:38//Luke 9:26 should be recognized. Paul herein shows awareness of the tradition of Jesus' teaching and includes it within his own understanding of "the gospel"—the post-Easter interpretation of the "Christ-event" being consciously formulated in continuity with the proclamation of Jesus. This also means that Paul quite deliberately makes his own what must have been a shared affirmation among other early Christian communities who expressed their solidarity precisely in terms of their confidence in and loyalty of Jesus. As Michel had already pointed out, this likelihood of a firm connection between 1:16 and the tradition of Mark 8:38//Luke 9:26 confirms that the *οὐκ ἐπαισχύνομαι* should be taken in the sense of "confess," "bear witness" against the older "psychological" interpretation (cf. particularly 2 Tim 1:8, 12).⁴

Without undermining the cultural significance of shame language in the first century CE in general, I will argue in this study that Paul in Rom 1:16 specifically alludes to the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38, which derives its shame language from the book of Daniel.⁵ First, I will demonstrate the verbal and thematic similarities between Mark 8:38 and the book of Daniel, arguing that the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38 combines a number of motifs from Daniel 7 and 12.⁶ Secondly, I will highlight the distinctive use of the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in the context of public Christian witness in Mark 8:38, Rom 1:16, and elsewhere in the New Testament. Thirdly, I will refute the unlikely possibility of Mark's dependence on Paul in Mark 8:38.

4. James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (Dallas: Word, 1988), 38–39; cf. C. K. Barrett, *New Testament Essays* (London: SPCK, 1972), 128; O. Michel, "Zum Sprachgebrauch von *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in Röm 1:16," in *Glaube und Ethos* (ed. R. Paulus; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940), 36–53.

5. David Wenham only mentions this "possible echo" but does not investigate in detail. See David Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 163.

6. I define a "verbal" similarity as the appearance of the same or similar words in two different literary texts. I define a "thematic" similarity as the appearance of not only the same or similar words but also the same or similar motifs in two different literary texts, which goes beyond the shared use of certain words by coincidence.

Mark 8:38 and the Book of Daniel

After seeing the four beasts in Dan 7:1-8, Daniel sees the heavenly court with “an Ancient of Days” (עתיק יומין, Dan 7:9-10). Daniel also sees the one like “a son of man” (כבר אנוש) who approaches God and receives authority, glory, and power from him (Dan 7:13-14):

I was watching in the night visions, and lo, as it were *a son of man* (ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου) coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came as far as the ancient of days and was presented to him. And to him was given the dominion and the honor and the kingship, and all peoples, tribes, languages shall be subject to him. His authority is an everlasting authority, which will not pass away, and his kingship will not be destroyed.⁷

An angelic being explains the meaning of Daniel’s vision (Dan 7:17-27) in Dan 7:26-27:

And the court sat in judgment (τὸ κρίτήριο καθίσει), and they [the holy ones of the Most High] shall remove his [“that horn” in v. 21] rule, to obliterate and to destroy completely. And the kingdom and the authority and the greatness of the kings, which are under the whole heaven, was given to the holy ones of the Most High, and his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall be slaves and heed him.

Daniel 7 provides the most important background to Jesus’ self-designation as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in Mark 8:38, in which Jesus identifies himself as the Eschatological Judge in the Parousia.⁸ It is often unnoticed,

7. I follow the translation of Theodotion in NETS for the translation of Daniel. All italics are mine for emphasis. There is no substantial difference in Greek between the Old Greek and Theodotion in Dan 7 and 12.

8. As Collins observes, Mark 8:38 provides the first of three clear references to Dan 7:13 (cf. Mark 13:26; 14:62) with respect to the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in the Gospel (Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament,” in John J. Collins, *Daniel* [Hermeneia 27; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002], 90–123 [98]). As Hooker notes, “The idea that the Son of man will be ashamed of those who have been ashamed of Jesus indicates a judgment scene, in which the Son of man exercises either the role of judge or that of advocate. In the Old Testament, to be put to shame is to be proved, by misfortune, to lack God’s favour, and so to be a sinner; the psalmist who prays that he may not be put to shame prays for divine vindication (Pss. 25.3; 119.6; cf. Isa. 41.10f; Jer. 17.18)” (Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel according to Mark* [London: Continuum, 1991], 210). France and Wright claim that the Son of Man sayings in Mark concerning his future coming (Mark 8:38; 13:24-27; 14:62) refer only to Jesus’ post-mortem vindication and not his second coming; see R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 341–43; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 341. As Adams points out, however, “Daniel 7:13 is not the only Old Testament text to which Mark 8:38 points: there is also a clear allusion to Zechariah 14:5: ‘Then the Lord my God

however, that Dan 12:1-2 provides the crucial background of the shame language in Mark 8:38. An angelic figure (cf. Dan 10:4-6) foretells Daniel concerning the End times in Dan 12:1-2:

And at that time Michael, the great ruler who stands over the sons of your people, will arise. And there will be a *time of affliction* (καιρὸς θλίψεως) such as had not occurred since a nation first came into existence until that time. And at that time, your people *will be delivered* (σωθήσεται), everyone who is written in the book. And many of those who sleep in a mound of earth will be awakened, these to *everlasting life* and those to *shame* and *everlasting contempt* (καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν γῆς χρώματι ἐξεγερθήσονται, οὗτοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ οὗτοι εἰς ὀνειδισμόν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον).

This passage refers to God's eschatological judgment and the subsequent resurrection of the dead: some will be led to *eternal life* and the others to *eternal shame*.⁹

Jesus in Mark 8:31-38 combines a number of motifs from Daniel 7 and 12. First, Jesus in his first Passion prediction (Mark 8:31) says, δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν ("the Son of Man must undergo great suffering"). This resonates with the temporary suffering of the holy ones of the Most High, caused by "that horn" (i.e. Antiochus IV), mentioned in Dan 7:25¹⁰ and "a time of affliction" for them in Dan 12:1¹¹ (cf. Mark 13:20; Matt 24:22). Secondly, Jesus' self-designation ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

will come, and all the holy ones with him.' ... The scene is thoroughly eschatological... The allusion to Zechariah illumines the connection between [eschatological] 'coming' and judgment which Mark 8:38 presumes" (Edward Adams, "The Coming of the Son of Man in Mark's Gospel," *TynBul* 53 [2005]: 39–61 [51]).

9. As Keil and Delitzsch note: "For in the O.T. our verse [Dan 12:2] is the only passage in which, along with the resurrection to everlasting life, there is mention also made of the resurrection to everlasting shame, or the resurrection of the righteous and of the wicked. The conception of עולם חי, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, meets us here for the first time in the O.T. [cf. חיי נצח in IQS 4.7]. חיי denotes, it is true, frequently the true life with God, the blessed life in communion with God, which exists after this life; but the addition עולם does not generally occur, and is here introduced to denote, as corresponding to the eternal duration of the Messianic kingdom (2:44; 7:14, 27, cf. 9:24), the life of the righteous in this kingdom as imperishable. עולם חרפות לדראון forms the contrast to עולם חי; for first, חרפות (a plur. Of intensive fulness), is placed over against the חי, then this shame is designated in reference to Isa. 66:24 as דראון, *contempt*, an object of aversion" (C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*. Vol. 9, *Ezekiel, Daniel* [trans. James Martin and M. G. Easton; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001], 816–17).

10. Cf. παλαιόω ("to wear out") in LXX-Θ and κατατρίβω ("to wear out") in LXX-OG.

11. Cf. καιρὸς θλίψεως in LXX-Θ and ἡ ἡμέρα θλίψεως in LXX-OG.

ἀνθρώπου in Mark 8:31, 38 is closely related to the phrase ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (כְּבֶר אֱנוֹשׁ) in Dan 7:13. Thirdly, Jesus' paradoxical statement about saving one's life in Mark 8:34-35 has a thematic similarity with Dan 12:1 in that the faithful will be saved despite a limited time of affliction. Fourthly, Jesus' unique use of the verb ἐπαισχύνομαι in Mark 8:38 in the context of the eschatological judgment alludes to the "eternal shame" (αἰσχύνῃ αἰώνιον) in Dan 12:2 (cf. *T. Levi* 14:1; *T. Benj.* 10.8). Fifthly, the phrase ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρός in Mark 8:38 fits well in the description of the exaltation of the "one like a son of man" in Dan 7:14.¹² The following table summarizes these parallels:

<i>Mark</i>	<i>Daniel</i>
πάσχω (8:31)	παλαιόω in LXX-Θ; κατατρίβω in LXX-OG (7:25)
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (8:31, 38)	υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (7:13)
τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι (8:35)	εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον (12:2)
ἐπαισχύνομαι (8:38)	εἰς αἰσχύνῃ αἰώνιον (12:2)
ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρός (8:38)	καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ [cf. πᾶσα δόξα in LXX-OG] καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι αὐτῷ δουλεύουσιν (7:14)

There exists a wide spectrum of scholarly opinions concerning the level of redaction in the Gospels and the role of Gospel writers. It goes beyond the scope of the present study to discuss what elements in Mark 8:31-38 are traditional and what elements are redactional—either *ex traditionibus* or *ex nihilo*.¹³ The remarkable verbal and thematic similarities between Mark 8:31-38 and the book of Daniel, however, suggest that either Mark or the Jesus tradition(s) that he incorporates into Mark 8:31-38 heavily depend(s) on Dan 7 and 12 in explaining Jesus' identity, his mission, his second coming, the destiny of his faithful followers, and, most importantly for this study, his use of shame language. While not presuming that every element and form of Mark 8:31-38 is traditional, I consider at least the Son of Man saying in Mark 8:38 at its core as traditional or at least redaction *ex traditionibus* for the reasons that I will explain later when I refute the possibility of Mark's dependence on Rom 1:16 in Mark 8:38.

12. Cf. πᾶσα δόξα used in LXX-OG.

13. Redaction *ex traditionibus* refers to when the Evangelist merges and edits his various—oral and written—sources. Redaction *ex nihilo* refers to when the Evangelist himself creates certain accounts of Jesus (without any source) and reflects his own unique theological interpretation of the life and teaching of Jesus.

Shame Language in the Context of Public Christian Witness

I contend that Paul in Rom 1:16 alludes to the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38 because both Jesus and Paul distinctively use the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in the context of public Christian witness, which has parallels elsewhere in the New Testament. While the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in Rom 1:16 is not a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament, apart from Rom 1:16 and Mark 8:38 (and its parallel in Luke 9:26) it appears only six times in the New Testament (Rom 6:21; 2 Tim 1:8, 12, 16; Heb 2:11; 11:16). In the first five of these references, the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* is used in a similar context to that in Mark 8:38 and Rom 1:16, which I will discuss in the following.

In Rom 6:19-23, Paul intensifies the antithesis between slavery to sins and slavery to God/righteousness:

For just as you once presented your members as slaves to impurity and to greater and greater iniquity, so now present your members as slaves to righteousness for sanctification. When you were slaves of sin, you were free in regard to righteousness. So what advantage did you then get from the things of which you now are *ashamed*? The end of those things is death (τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἶχετε τότε; ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἐπαισχύνεσθε, τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος). But now that you have been freed from sin and enslaved to God, the advantage you get is sanctification. The end is *eternal life* (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is *eternal life* (ζωὴ αἰώνιος) in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Paul in Rom 6:21 does not use the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in the context of public Christian witness. Yet, Paul contrasts a believer's pre-Christian state (being enslaved to sins and ashamed of God/righteousness) and Christian state (being enslaved to God/righteousness and ashamed of sins), which resonates with the contrast between the two states in Mark 8:38—being *ashamed* of Jesus and his words in this adulterous and sinful generation and, by inference, being *ashamed* of this adulterous and sinful generation itself.

In 2 Tim 1:3-16, Paul encourages Timothy to be faithful in ministry, using his own life as an example:

I am grateful to God...when I remember you constantly in my prayers night and day... For this reason I remind you to rekindle the gift of God that is within you through the laying on of my hands... Do not be *ashamed*, then, of the *testimony* about our Lord or of me his prisoner, but join with me in suffering for the *gospel*, relying on the *power* of God, who *saved* us and called us with a holy calling (μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυνθῇς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μηδὲ ἐμὲ τὸν δέσμιον αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ συγκακοπάθησον τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ τοῦ σώσαντος ἡμᾶς καὶ

καλέσαντος κλήσει ἀγία)... For this *gospel* I was appointed a herald and an apostle and a teacher, and for this reason I suffer as I do. But I am not *ashamed* (εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κήρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος καὶ διδάσκαλος, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχω· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαισχύνομαι)... May the Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, because he often refreshed me and was not *ashamed* of my chain (ὅτι πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξεν καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπαισχύνθη).

All three instances of Paul's use of the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* (1 Tim 1:8, 12, 16) shown above are directly related to public Christian witness, similar to that in Rom 1:16. The appearance of the same set of words in 1 Tim 1:8 (*ἐπαισχύνομαι*, *εὐαγγέλιον*, *δύναμις θεοῦ*, and *σωτηρία* [cf. *σῶζω*]) as that in Rom 1:16 is impressive.

In Heb 2:5-18, the author of Hebrews reflects the primitive Adam-Jesus typology that existed in the Early Church, Christologically interpreting Ps 8:4-6 [5-7 LXX] and comparing Jesus' eschatological authority with Adam's authority over God's creation in Gen 1:26-28.¹⁴ The author writes in Heb 2:10-13:

It was fitting that God, for whom and through whom all things exist, in bringing many children to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For the one who sanctifies and those who are sanctified all have one Father. For this reason Jesus is not *ashamed* to call them brothers and sisters (δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν), saying, "I will proclaim your name to my brothers and sisters, in the midst of the congregation I will praise you." And again, "I will put my trust in him." And again, "Here am I and the children whom God has given me."

In order to support the idea that God brings many children to glory through Jesus, the author of Hebrews quotes Ps 22:22 [21:23 LXX] in Heb 2:10. Just before his quotation, the author states, "Jesus is not *ashamed* to call them brothers and sisters." There seems to be no intrinsic reason why the expression "ashamed" should appear here. There is no use of either the verb *αἰσχύνομαι* ("to be ashamed") or the noun *αἰσχύνη* ("shame") in the proximity of Heb 2:10. The sudden appearance of the shame language in Heb 2:10 suggests that the author of Hebrews may have had in mind the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38, while highlighting Jesus' affiliation with his followers.

Various forms of the verb *αἰσχύνομαι* or the noun *αἰσχύνη*—other than the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι*—are attested throughout the New Testament.

14. See Yongbom Lee, *The Son of Man as the Last Adam: The Early Church Tradition as a Source of Paul's Adam Christology* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2012), 65–68.

Obviously, not every shame related word in the New Testament is associated with public Christian witness.¹⁵ In addition to Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26; Rom 1:16; 2 Tim 1:8, 12, 16, however, there are three other instances in the New Testament in which shame language is used in the context of public Christian witness—Phil 1:20;¹⁶ 1 Pet 4:16;¹⁷ 1 John 2:28. Particularly, in 1 John 2:28, there is an undeniable allusion to Mark 8:38:

Καὶ νῦν, τέκνια, μένετε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἐὰν φανερωθῇ σχῶμεν παρρησίαν καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

And now, little children, abide in him, so that when he is revealed we may have confidence and not be put to *shame* before him at his coming.

It is not by coincidence that all these New Testament references with a wide range of texts (Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26; Rom 1:16; 2 Tim 1:8, 12, 16; Phil 1:20; 1 Pet 4:16; 1 John 2:28) contain shame language in the context of public Christian witness. The multiple verbal and thematic similarities that we have observed so far suggest that the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38 was widely circulated among early Christians, with various New Testament writers independently alluding to it consciously or unconsciously.

Mark's Dependence on Paul?

Some may attribute the verbal and thematic similarities between Rom 1:16 and Mark 8:38 to Mark's literary dependence on Paul, instead of Paul's dependence on the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38.¹⁸ I will make a few brief comments against such view. First, the use of shame language in the context of public Christian witness outside of the Pauline corpus such as 1 Pet 4:16 and 1 John 2:28 (cf. Heb 2:11) indicates that Mark 8:38 reflects some traditional material that goes beyond what is unique to Paul. Therefore, it is difficult to claim Mark's literary depend-

15. E.g. αἰσχύνομαι used in Luke 16:3; 2 Cor 10:8; αἰσχύνῃ used in Luke 14:9; 2 Cor 4:2; Phil 3:19; Heb 12:2; Jude 13; Rev 3:18; κατααἰσχύνω used in Luke 13:17; Rom 5:5; 9:33; 10:11; 1 Cor 1:27; 11:4, 5, 22; 2 Cor 7:14; 9:4; 1 Pet 2:6; 3:16.

16. "It is my eager expectation and hope that I will not be put to *shame* in any way (ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνθήσεται), but that by my *speaking* with all boldness, Christ will be exalted now as always in my body, whether by life or by death."

17. "Yet if any of you suffers as a Christian, do not consider it a *disgrace* (εἰ δέ ὡς Χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω), but glorify God because you bear this name."

18. Cf. David C. Sim, "Matthew and the Pauline Corpus: A Preliminary Intertextual Study," *JSNT* 31 (2009): 401–22; Joel Marcus, "Mark—Interpreter of Paul," *NTS* 46 (2000): 473–87.

ence on Paul, unless we assume that the authors of 1 Peter, 1 John, and Hebrews altogether depend on Paul. The distinctiveness of Petrine epistles, Johannine epistles, and Hebrews from the Pauline corpus argues against such a possibility. It is much more likely that these authors were familiar with the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38 and independently allude to it in their writings. Secondly, as many scholars accept, since “Son of Man” never became a Christological title outside of the Gospels in the history of Greek-speaking Christianity, it most likely originated from the very early stage of the Jesus tradition (if not the historical Jesus himself).¹⁹ Since Paul never calls Jesus ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in his letters,

19. Casey points out that there is a general consensus that Jesus spoke Aramaic and the Aramaic phrase behind ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in the Gospels is **בר (א)נשא (א)ב** (*bar [e]nash[a]*). Maurice Casey, *The Solution to the ‘Son of Man’ Problem* (London: T&T Clark International, 2007), 314; Hurtado notes, “ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου likely represents a careful translation of an equivalent, unusual and distinctive Aramaic expression, probably **בר אנשא**... The most likely reason that the Jesus tradition linked Jesus so closely and uniquely with the expression is that he actually used it. That is, Jesus likely made **בר אנשא** his preferred self-designation, which formed a salient feature of his own speech-practice, his ‘voice’ or manner of speaking, in linguistic terms, his ‘idiolect’” (Larry W. Hurtado, “Summary and Concluding Observations,” in *“Who Is This Son of Man?”: The Latest Scholarship on a Puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus* [ed. Larry W. Hurtado and Paul L. Owen; London: T&T Clark International, 2011], 174–75). It is noteworthy that there is at least one strong case for the Semitic origin of Jesus’ *bar nasha* saying; Jeremiah and others note a number of parallels in Mark 10:45 and 1 Tim 2:5–6. Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 1971), 294; similarly, Peter Stuhlmacher, *Reconciliation, Law and Righteousness* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 18; Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 124. The following table visualizes the parallels:

	Mark 10:45	1 Tim 2:5–6
(a)	ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	ἄνθρωπος
(b)	δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ	ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτόν
(c)	λύτρον	ἀντίλυτρον
(d)	ἀντὶ πολλῶν	ὕπὲρ πάντων

When we compare the Semitic-like form of Mark 10:45 with the Hellenized form of 1 Tim 2:5–6, as Evans points out, Mark 10:45 can hardly be a Pauline formula or some other Hellenized formula (Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 124). The identical features with regard to polished Greek can be found also in Paul’s “indisputable” letters. For instance, (b) is apparent behind *παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ* (“who gave himself for me”) in Gal 2:20. The addition of a prefix before *λύτρον*, (c), is attested in Paul’s use of *ἀπολύτρωσις* in Rom 3:24. Also, as in (d), Paul translates in 2 Cor 5:14–15 the Semitic expression of **רב** (“many”) into the Greek expression of *πᾶς* (“all”); cf. its literal translation *πολύς* in the LXX. These observations suggest that

if Mark depended on Rom 1:16 instead of the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38, it should have been the case that the Evangelist somehow and somewhere discovered Jesus' unique self-designation **בר אֲנִישָׁא** (but without the latter) and creatively incorporated it into the former. This is theoretically possible but presents an unnecessarily complicated scenario, which may be the reason why no one has seriously suggested it (yet).²⁰ Thirdly, Paul often creatively uses various authoritative traditions, applying them to the *Sitz im Leben* of his readers for his rhetorical purposes. Therefore, Paul's citation method cannot be limited to direct or verbatim quotation²¹ but includes what I call "minor change,"²² "allusion

Mark's Semitic-like features in his Gospel are due to his literal translation of the Jesus tradition.

20. Some scholars suppose that Mark 8:38 and Matt 10:33-34/Luke 12:8-9 are derived from the same saying tradition (Q) and the former is Mark's redaction of the latter, which demands a brief comment here. Lindars proposes that Mark 8:38 and Matt 10:33-34/Luke 12:8-9 could have been two independent versions of the same saying and the similarity in sound between the Aramaic verb **חָפַר** ("to be ashamed of") and **כָּפַר** ("to deny") may have resulted in "two different Greek translations" "at the oral [transmission] stage" (Barnabas Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man* [London: SPCK, 1983], 51; similarly, H. J. de Jonge, "The Sayings on Confessing and Denying Jesus in Q 12:8-9 and Mark 8:38," in *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical Essays* [ed. W. L. Petersen; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 105–21 [117]; Casey, *The Solution to the "Son of Man" Problem*, 191). On the basis of the structural parallelism typical of Semitic proverbial sentences and the evidence of Aramaism in the use of the verb **ὁμολογέω** with the preposition **ἐν**, Lindars considers that Matt 10:33-34/Luke 12:8-9 retains a more original form than Mark 8:38. Lindars further suggests that, at one point of the transmission of the original saying in Q, the second half of Matt 10:33-34/Luke 12:8-9 was detached from the first half and, when that happened, **כָּפַר** was misheard as **חָפַר**; the second half was translated into Greek as the present form of Mark 8:38; see Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man*, 48–51; similarly, Robert H. Gundry, *Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 438–39; H. T. Fleddermann, *Mark and Q* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), 135–52; Jan Lambrecht, "A Note on Mark 8.38 and Q 12.8-9," *JSNT* 85 (2002): 117–25 (124). It inevitably involves substantial speculation to reconstruct the original form of the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38 and it certainly goes beyond the scope of the present study. Regardless of the precise form of the hypothetical *Urtext* of Mark 8:38 and/or Matt 10:33-34/Luke 12:8-9, I contend that they existed as two distinctive traditions at a certain point, because Luke attests both saying traditions in two different pericopes—Luke 9:26 (cf. Mark 8:38) and Luke 12:8-9 (cf. Matt 10:33-34).

21. E.g. Isa 54:1 in Gal 4:27; Deut 25:4 in 1 Cor 9:9a; Exod 32:6 in 1 Cor 10:7; Lev 18:5b in Rom 10:5; Deut 9:4; 30:12 in Rom 10:6; Deut 30:14 in Rom 10:8.

22. E.g. Gen 21:10 in Gal 4:30; Exod 34:34 in 2 Cor 3:16; Deut 30:13 in Rom 10:7a.

with minimum reproduction,”²³ “incorporating extra-biblical sources,”²⁴ and even “creating a new expression.”²⁵ If Paul in Rom 1:16 alludes to the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38, as I contend, it fits the second category, “allusion with minimum reproduction.”²⁶

Conclusion

We have discussed so far various verbal and thematic similarities between the book of Daniel and Mark 8:38, which illuminate the background of the shame language in the context of public Christian witness in Rom 1:16; 2 Tim 1:8, 12, 16; Phil 1:20; 1 Pet 4:16; 1 John 2:28. While Jesus’ self-designation in Mark 8:38 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is obviously derived from the phrase ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (כְּבֶרֶךְ אָדָם) in Dan 7:13, his shame language in Mark 8:38 comes from Dan 12:1-2. Paul in Rom 1:16 alludes to the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38 and distinctively uses the verb ἐπαισχύνομαι in the context of public Christian witness. It is important to recognize the honor–shame culture of the Late Antiquity as the background of Mark 8:38 and Rom 1:16 and, therefore, their shared use of the verb ἐπαισχύνομαι alone does not prove Paul’s allusion in Rom 1:16 to the Jesus tradition behind Mark 8:38. However, it is uncanny that both Jesus and Paul distinctively use the verb ἐπαισχύνομαι in the context of public Christian witness, in combination with the use of shame language elsewhere in the New Testament—ἐπαισχύνομαι in 2 Tim 1:8, 12, 16 and αἰσχύνομαι in Phil 1:20; 1 Pet 4:16; 1 John 2:28. When we consider such a wide range of texts throughout the New Testament, there is a real possibility that the Dominical Shame tradition (Mark 8:38) was widely circulated among early Christians and Paul, with other New Testament writers alluding to it in their distinctive use of the verb αἰσχύνομαι in the context of public Christian witness.

23. E.g. the story of Sarah and Hagar in Genesis echoed by Gen 21:10 in Gal 4:30; the whole experience of the Israelites in the Exodus narrative echoed by Exod 32:6 in 1 Cor 10:7.

24. E.g. Ishmael’s hostility towards Isaac in Gal 4:29; Paul’s incorporation of an unknown oral *halachic* tradition in 1 Cor 9:10b; Paul’s identification of Christ with “the spiritual rock that followed them [i.e. the Israelites]” in 1 Cor 10:4 (cf. *L.A.B.* 10:7; 11:15; 20:8; *t. Sukka* 3:11; *Tg. Onq.* Num 21:16-20); Paul’s unique claim concerning the Israelites’ inability to gaze at Moses and the transitory nature of his facial glory in 2 Cor 3:7, 13 (cf. *Mos.* 2.70; *L.A.B.* 19:16).

25. E.g. “baptized into Moses” (1 Cor 10:2) in correspondence with the phrase “baptized into Christ” (1 Cor 12:13; cf. Rom 6:3; Gal 3:27).

26. See Yongbom Lee, *Paul, Scribe of Old and New: Intertextual Insights for the Jesus–Paul Debate* (LNTS 512; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 116–21.

“WE KNOW THAT WHATEVER LAW SAYS...”:
ROMANS 3:9-20 AS A NARRATIVE UTILIZATION
OF INTERTEXTUALITY DEVELOPING ITS OWN THEORY
OF INTERTEXTUALITY*

Alain Gignac

To begin with, below is a structured translation of the studied text. Notice that I have opted for a particular choice in the translation of the question “*προεχόμεθα*” at v. 9, which is usually translated as “Do we have any advantage?”¹—a grammatical *tour de force* based upon a particular understanding of the argument in vv. 1-8. Because I prefer another, more ambiguous, understanding of these verses—an interpretation more thoroughly expounded in an earlier article of mine²—I prefer an alternate but literal translation: “Are we at a disadvantage?”

- 9 [Disciple] “What then? Are we at a disadvantage?”
[Paul] “Not completely; for we have already charged that *all* (*πάντας*), both Jews and Greeks, are under [the power of] Sin (*ὑφ’ ἁμαρτίαν*), 10 as it is written:
‘There is no one who is righteous, not [even] one;
11 there is no one who has understanding,
there is no one who seeks God.
—*all* (*πάντες*) have turned aside, together they have become
12 worthless—
there is no one who shows kindness,
there is not even one.

* A first version of this chapter was published in French and is reworked here, with the publisher’s permission: Alain Gignac, “‘Nous savons que toutes les choses que Loi dit...’ Intertextualité, énonciation et construction des personnages en Rm 3,9-20,” in *Ecritures et réécritures. La reprise interprétative des traditions fondatrices par la littérature biblique et extra-biblique. Cinquième Colloque International du RRENAB, Université de Genève et Lausanne, 10-12 juin 2010* (ed. Claire Clivaz et al.; BETL 248; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 377–92. I wish to thank Jacques-André Houle for the translation of this paper from the original French.

1. To my knowledge, only the English Standard Version (ESV) and the NRSV signal in a note the alternate translation I propose.

2. Alain Gignac, “Procès de l’humain ou procès de Dieu? Le jeu intertextuel entre Rm 3,1-9 et Ps 50 (LXX),” *RB* 112 (2005): 46–62. See also n. 39 below.

- 13 Their throats are opened graves;
 they use their tongues to deceive.
 The venom of vipers is under their lips.
 14 Their mouths are full of cursing and bitterness.
 15 Their feet are swift to shed blood;
 16 ruin and misery are in their paths,
 17 and the way of peace they have not known.
 18 There is no fear of God before their eyes.’
 19 Now we know that whatever Law says (λέγει), it speaks (λαλεῖ)³
 to those who are in [the sphere of] Law, so that *every* (πᾶν) mouth
 may be silenced, and the *whole* (πᾶς) world may be held account-
 able to God. 20 For *no* (πᾶσα) flesh will be justified in his sight
 by deeds of Law, for through Law comes the knowledge of Sin.”

Commentators generally have little to say about Rom 3:9-20.⁴ On the face of it, it appears to be quite clear: an indictment which proves or simply illustrates the universality of sin—in fact, it seems so clear that there are only a handful of studies specifically dedicated to these verses.⁵

3. This is another translation problem, discussed in n. 42.

4. For example, two recent and important monographs on the whole of Romans, while shedding light on its rhetorical and argumentative aspects, offer little on the subject of the pericope: Philip F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 153–54 (a total of 11 lines); Thomas H. Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric in its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2004), 121–22 (one and a half pages). This is also the case for other recent studies dealing specifically with Rom 1–3: Jean-Noël Aletti, “Rm 1–3: quelle fonction? Histoire de l'exégèse et nouveau paradigme,” in *Biblical Exegesis in Progress: Old and New Testament Essays* (ed. Jean-Noël Aletti and Jean-Louis Ska; AnBib 176; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2009), 469–99; Samuel Byrskog, “Christology and Identity in an Intertextual Perspective: The Glory of Adam in the Narrative Substructure of Paul's Letter to the Romans,” in *Identity Formation in the New Testament* (ed. Bengt Holmberg and Mikael Winnige; WUNT 227; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 1–18; Heinz Giesen, “Gott begegnen in Christus Jesus (Rom 3:19-26),” *SNTU* 34 (2009): 115–46.

5. In chronological order: Leander E. Keck, “The Function of Rom 3:10-18: Observations and Suggestions,” in *God's Christ and His People: Studies in Honour of Nils Alstrup Dahl* (ed. Jacob Jervell and Wayne A. Meeks; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), 141–57; Richard B. Hays, “Psalm 143 and the Logic of Romans 3,” *JBL* 99 (1980): 107–15; Steve Moyise, “The Catena of Romans 3:10-18,” *ExpTim* 106 (1995): 367–70; Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 57–68; Erwin Ochseneier, *Mal, souffrance et justice de Dieu selon Romains 1–3. Étude exégétique et théologique* (BZNW 155; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 147–59 and 195–200. I mention yet another recent study, consulted during the revision of the present study: Paul Ngo Dinh Si, *La foi et la justice divine. Métaphores et métonymies, clefs pour une lecture rhétorique de l'Épître aux Romains 1–4* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), 237–46, 249–54.

More precisely, the passage recapitulates the argumentation of Rom 1:18–3:20 that demonstrates the universality of sin against which God manifests his wrath (1:18). The stage is thus set for the revelation of God's justice (3:21). In keeping with this rhetorical logic, the paragraph progresses in three phases: (1) the assertion "all, both Jews and Greeks, are under Sin" (v. 9); (2) a collection of scriptural citations, each one more pessimistic than the other (vv. 10-18); (3) a very brief conclusion which echoes the introductory assertion, all the more striking in its being enigmatic: "no flesh will be justified in his sight [God's] by deeds of Law" (vv. 19-20). In short, from a rhetorical perspective, Rom 3:9-20 is an argument based on the authority of Scripture in order to prove that all are under Sin's domination.⁶

Nonetheless, much can still be said about Rom 3:9-20, because the mechanisms of this text are very sophisticated. The present study will deal less with the relationship between the passage and the argumentation with which it is integrated (an important question, to be sure), but rather with its internal mechanisms, focusing on the enunciative and narrative interplay, an aspect that has not yet been brought to light. Beyond rhetorical analysis, my goal is to demonstrate the intertextual, narrative, and enunciative resources used in the text, and to unravel the inner workings of the text: How does intertextuality produce narrativity, and how is narrativity assumed by the discourse? I will equally conflate the complex phenomenon of intertextuality and the narrative recompositions it entails: How do intertextuality and narrativity merge in a specific discourse?

While I think that intertextuality and narrativity in a broad sense are concepts well received and known in biblical studies, I must briefly explain the term "enunciation." This is a linguistic concept formulated by the French scholar Emile Benveniste.⁷ Enunciation is a speech-act where an "I" or "we" situated "here and now" speaks with a "you" (singular or plural) about a third party which can be characterized by the third grammatical person. Enunciation is the textual manifestation of an enunciator who talks to an enunciatee. This is close to the pair "narrator/narratee" of a narrative but it is not exactly the same. One must be careful not to confuse the enunciative device of a text with the rhetorical situation of a speaker and his audience. The focus of enunciation is less *what* is said than *how* and *by whom* it is said.

6. See also Giesen, "Gott," 115–18.

7. Emile Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics* (Miami linguistics series 8; Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1971 [French 1966]); *idem*, *Problèmes de linguistique générale 2* (Tel; Paris: Gallimard, 1974).

I will proceed in three steps. First, I will briefly present the intertextual phenomenon at work in Rom 3:9-20, with a quick overview of current research. This will be the opportunity to propose a shift in the angle of study and to articulate a hypothesis. Secondly, I will make a few observations about characters and their spatialization. Thirdly, I will describe the two-tier enunciation: enunciation made by Law and enunciation made by "we"—the second enunciation disclosing the existence of the first one and encompassing it. Note that the second and third steps are interchangeable since narrativity and enunciation imply each other.

Intertextuality

In Rom 3:9-20, two types of intertextuality appear: (1) explicit (with the introductory formula *καθὼς γέγραπται*) in vv. 10-18, and (2) implicit, with an allusion to Ps 142:2 (LXX)⁸ in v. 20. I will treat them in reverse order.

Most commentators detect an implicit reference to Ps 142:2 in v. 20: "no one *living* will be justified in *your* sight," where Paul will have replaced *living* (ζῶν) by *flesh* (σάρξ), and changed the reference to God from the second to the third person, to obtain the formulation "no *flesh* will be justified in *his* sight." Intertextuality here results more from the reader's perspective, as there is no citation marker in the text. But Hays reminds us that Psalm 142 invokes God's justice:⁹ "answer me in your righteousness" (Ps 142:1), "In your righteousness, bring me out of trouble" (Ps 142:11). In this case, the context of the psalm seems to fit the whole of Romans 3, where it is question of God's justice (vv. 1-8), the universal injustice of humankind (vv. 9-20), and again God's justice (vv. 21-26). At the junction of Rom 3:9-20 and 3:21-26, the implicit citation could become the key to understanding the whole of Rom 3—the utter condemnation of vv. 19-20 hinging on the hope of v. 21.

The explicit intertextual compilation of vv. 10b-18 creates a veritable poem made from scriptural excerpts: (Eccl 7:20?) + Pss 13:1-3 (= Ps 54:2-4); 5:10; 139:4; 9:28; Isa 59:7-8; Ps 35:2.¹⁰ The following table synthesizes the data in a way that shows, following the analyses of Keck and Watson,¹¹ how the citations organize four thematically coherent strophes (organization reflected in the translation given above). I also indicate, for future reference, the original enunciations of the citations:

8. I follow the Psalms numbering of the LXX throughout.

9. Hays, "Psalm 143," 113–15.

10. Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 87–100.

11. Keck, "The Function," 143–45; Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 57–69.

Table 1. *Citations Structuring Romans 3:10b-18*

	<i>Citation</i>	<i>Original enunciation</i>	<i>Structure (4 strophes)</i>	<i>Theme</i>
vv. 10b-12	Selection among lines of Ps 13:2-3 Perhaps Eccl 7:20	David about the wicked	Five times οὐκ ἔστιν (anaphora) with a comment clause at the center (v. 12a)	No righteous person
v. 13ab	Ps 5:10 verbatim	David about the wicked	<i>Chiasmus</i> : ¹² [a] : opening: throat (singular) [b] : organ : tongues (plural) [b'] : organ : lips (plural) [a'] : opening: mouth (singular)	Speech (mouth)
v. 13c	Ps 139:4 verbatim	Idem		
v. 14	Ps 9:28 modified	Idem		
v. 15-17	Selection and light modification of Isa 59:7-8	Isaiah about Israel	Link with v. 12a	Doing (walk)
v. 18	Ps 35:2	David about the wicked	οὐκ ἔστιν: <i>inclusio</i> with v. 10	Conclusion: no fear of God

[N.B.: Psalm numbers according to LXX]

12. In pointing out this chiasmus in vv. 13-14, I take my inspiration from Keck, "The Function," 143. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 61, proposes another micro-structure for this strophe: [aba'b'] where [a] and [a'] are concerned with slanderous talk by way first of a metaphor on death followed by the mention of a bodily organ, while in [b] and [b'], the bodily organ is mentioned first and the distortion of the discourse is not metaphorized but is expressed literally.

The intertextual analysis of the passage has crystalized around three possibly related questions. First, what is the origin of this catena? Is it pre-existing Pauline material or a source borrowed by Paul? Commentators are divided on the question.¹³ In favor of a source, Käsemann evokes the existence of such catena at Qumran;¹⁴ Werline establishes a link between the citations of Rom 3:4, 10b-18 and the traditions of penitential prayer;¹⁵ Wilckens supposes a liturgical hymn;¹⁶ Keck advocates a Judeo-Christian apocalyptic anthology, which he identifies, moreover, in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (27.3).¹⁷ However, Koch and Stanley believe instead that Justin Martyr abridges Rom.¹⁸ They are in favor of a truly Pauline composition, but well-thought-out, where Paul would have adapted to his argumentation a series of biblical citations—perhaps even material he had composed earlier and that he used again when he wrote his epistle to the Romans from Corinth in the winter of 56.

This leads us to the second question. How are the citations modified? There is room for error in the answer to this question since it relies on the reconstitution of the scriptural source (*Vorlage*) used by Paul or the compiler (a version of LXX that may differ from the current edition of LXX¹⁹) and since it depends largely on the commentator's understanding

13. For a complete state of the question, see Shiu-Lun Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans: A Comparative Study of Paul's Letter to the Romans and the Sibylline and Qumran Sectarian Texts* (WUNT 2/156; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 181–84.

14. Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: SCM, 1980 [German 1973]), 86.

15. Rodney A. Werline, "The Impact of the Penitential Prayer Tradition on New Testament Theology," in *Seeking the Favor of God*. Vol. 3, *The Impact of Penitential Prayer beyond Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Mark J. Boda et al.; SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 149–83 (170–71).

16. Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKK 6; 3 vols.; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978, 1980, 1982), 1:71.

17. Keck, "The Function," 146, 150, followed by Simon Légasse, *L'épître de Paul aux Romains* (LD Commentaires 10; Paris: Cerf, 2002), 240.

18. Dieter-Alexander Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis des Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 181–83; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 88–89—followed by James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8; Romans 9–16* (WBC 38a; Dallas: Word, 1988), 150.

19. Paul did not travel with biblical scrolls! I accept the hypothesis that in each city he lived, he consulted the available manuscripts and compiled for his own personal use the passages he contemplated using in his pastoral activities—in a sort

of Pauline argumentation. This having been said, the following tendencies appear in 3:9-20.²⁰ (1) While the enunciator of the psalms is clearly King David, Romans does not mention him at all. (2) The point of view of the psalms is often personal: in those cases, the Pauline context changes from the singular to the plural. (3) Likewise, the selections, additions and omissions made in Romans lean toward a universalization that tempers the dichotomy by which the psalms oppose *some of* the ungodly and the foolish with the righteous who address God in prayer. In short, there are no longer ungodly individuals opposed to the righteous: there is only a vast group of the ungodly, and the righteous are deliberately out of the picture.²¹

Hence the third question: Is the original context necessary to understand the Pauline discourse? The study of the original context of the psalm excerpts reveals that they refer to the enemies of Israel and the ungodly,²² but also presuppose the existence of the righteous (which includes the Davidic enunciator of the psalms, capable of praying to God). On the other hand, Isaiah's oracle speaks to Israel to denounce its unfaithfulness. By contrast, the context of Romans removes all reference to the righteous, and extends ungodliness not only to the pagans but also to the Jews. For the reader who can refer to the Old Testament, the intertextual tension between the scriptural texts and Paul's interpretation of them is at its height. "Paul's interpretative comments in Rom 3:9, 19 steer the reader towards the conclusion that all are in need of the gospel, but the old [original] context adds a second voice that God has always been with the righteous and against the wicked."²³ In light of this, commentators have adopted three differing positions: (1) Paul radically decontextualizes the cited texts, without mentioning they are mostly taken from several amalgamated psalms, nor even that they are the words of David (no need to take into account the original context—Watson); (2) on the contrary, the original context of the Old Testament, where

of "notebook." This hypothesis does not invalidate the possibility that Paul, through his education, may have memorized many passages.

20. For a detailed analysis of the (probable) Pauline modifications, see especially Koch, *Die Schrift*; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*; Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*.

21. "There is no one who is righteous (*δίκαιος*)" is an addition to the text of Ps 13:1-3 in keeping with Paul's argumentation: the righteous of the psalm is presumed nonexistent in the recontextualization. Moreover, Romans omits the personalized figures of the *fool* (Ps 13:1), the *evil person* (Ps 139:2), and the *sinner* (Ps 9:17).

22. Dunn, *Romans*, 147; Hays, "Psalm 143," 156; Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 62.

23. Moyise, "The Catena," 370.

"God is the just judge who punishes the wicked,"²⁴ is completely relevant to the Pauline discourse and sheds light on it (Ochsenmeier); (3) an informed listener cannot but perceive (and be struck by) the dissonance between the original contexts and the context of Rom (Moyise). At any rate, the debate is far from over. Between a Pauline text and the original context of the citations, is there a phenomenon of resonance or of dissonance? Should we even consider the original context when interpreting the Pauline discourse?

The main backdrop to these discussions remains the manner in which intertextuality is considered. Is it a phenomenon comprehended in a historical perspective—which, besides, could alternately favor a focus on the author or on the original audience?²⁵ Or is it a literary occurrence inherent to the text, summoning the reader to take an active part in the act of reading? Or yet again, is intertextuality the prerogative of the reader and a result of the associations he might see fit to make? For my part, I favor an intertextuality based on the text itself, which then clearly refers to another text, thus suggesting to the reader that he compare the texts and their intersections. In this "synchronic"²⁶ perspective, the

24. Ochsenmeier, *Mal, souffrance et justice*, 153, who also reads into it an allusion to Eccl 7:20 at the opening of the catena (according to the rather casual hypothesis that the first line of the catena is the merging of Eccl 7:20 and Ps 13:1): "Surely *there is no one* on earth *so righteous* as to do good without ever sinning." Ochsenmeier sees a thematic correlation between this decree and Rom 3:9-20: "There is no righteous person who can totally eschew sin. Even when he should seek to do good, sin taints his acts" (p. 150).

25. See the debate between Stanley and Abasciano. Stanley favors an analysis that distinguishes three levels of competence among the audiences of the first century: (1) a well-informed audience (few in number) who recognize the scriptural texts and their context, and who are capable of deliberating exegetically with Paul; (2) a competent audience who have an adequate knowledge of Scripture (for example, the broad outlines of the life of Abraham); (3) an audience whose competence is minimal (they accept the authority of Scripture but understand the citations only as they relate to the new rhetorical context). Abasciano for his part favors taking into account the argumentative intention of the author, which reveals his manner of theologizing grounded on his reactive reading of Scripture. Abasciano also states that the competence level of the early communities should not be underestimated, being as they were very motivated in their acquaintance with Scripture. Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004); Brian J. Abasciano, "Diamonds in the Rough: A Reply to Christopher Stanley Concerning the Reader Competency of Paul's Original Audiences," *NovT* 49 (2007): 153–83.

26. I use the word *synchronic* although I am not particularly fond of it, and put it in quotation marks because it is understood in exegetic jargon as referring specifically to a literary perspective studying a text in its final state, as opposed to

comparison of the texts (and of their context) reveals the disparities and similarities that can just as easily produce an effect of resonance (amplification) as one of dissonance—and so, in both cases, open new perspectives in meaning.

In any case, for Rom 3:9-20 considered as an autonomous textual reality, the essential point in my view is not so much the origins of the catena or the re-writings they may reveal, nor even the (very real) contrast between the original contexts and the new one. Instead, I would like to shift the focus of the analysis. I want to show how the pasting of these texts serves narrative purposes and how two different enunciative instances take charge of the text. Here is my hypothesis: *If we pay attention to this enunciative device, we can understand the underlying hermeneutical process as it is inscribed in the text. In light of this, we hope to discover the connection between the new theological discourse and its scriptural referent—which possibly serves equally as its reference, its catalyst, and its rationale.*

Narrative Observations

Many characters are portrayed here, in various locations (under [the power of] Sin, the way of peace, paths of ruin and misery, in [the sphere of] Law, before their eyes). First, there is the principal enunciator *we* who begins his charge with a strong argument (v. 9) involving three spatialized characters: Jews and Greeks, under Sin, and—later, in v. 19—Law. The remainder of the indictment develops the characterization of this third party made up of Jews and Greeks, which the enunciator condenses into an *all*, and later into a third person plural *them*:

the piecing together of its various stages by means of *diachronic* analysis. However, I think it better and more precise to parallel both a historic and a literary approach—two categories in which the diachronic and synchronic perspectives can both apply. Hence the following table:

	<i>Historical</i>	<i>Literary</i>
Diachronic (evolution or time of the reading)	Source criticism, Tradition criticism, Textual criticism	Reader's response, Narrative criticism, Semiotic
Synchronic (final stage or text as a whole)	Classical rhetoric, Form criticism, Redaction criticism, Socio- historical criticism	New rhetoric, Semiotic, Structure analysis

S I N

Jews + Greeks = ALL (v. 9)

= them (vv. 13-18)

= every mouth = whole world = all flesh (vv. 19-20)²⁷

Let us now examine the manner in which each character is portrayed and interacts with the others. First, *we* is an enunciative instance that had already appeared in the dialogued diatribe of 3:1-8—in other words, 3:9-20 prolongs and completes 3:1-8.²⁸ In this dialogue, Paul’s virtual speaker sometimes expresses himself in the first person singular (v. 5b, 7), and sometimes in the first person plural (vv. 5a, 9a)—this latter *we* reflecting solidarity with the Jews, with humankind subjected to God’s judgment, or with the slandered Apostle Paul. (This explains the ambiguity of v. 9 alluded to in the opening of this essay.) Yet Paul as enunciator also expresses himself in the first person plural (vv. 8, 9b-20). The apostolic *we* of vv. 9b-20 thus encompasses both Paul and his interlocutor, and endorses the latter’s question: “Are we at a disadvantage?,” are we on the defensive? To this query, the apostolic character *we* confidently answers: “for we have already charged” (v. 9b), “now we know” (v. 19).

Secondly, *Jews and Greeks* are characters already mentioned together in the epistle (1:16; 2:9, 10)—and who will reappear (in 10:12). The character *Jew* appeared once before in 2:17, 28, 29; 3:1—he was addressed to (2:17ff.), and his specificity had at once been called into question (2:28, 29) and confirmed (3:1). The Jews will be characterized in v. 19 as τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, which designates the Jewish identity as an area delimited by the law.²⁹ The Greeks were mentioned alone in 1:14, in

27. Compare with the graphical presentation offered by Timothy L. Carter, *Paul and the Power of Sin: Redefining “Beyond the Pale”* (SNTSMS 115; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 88 (redrawn, within the limitations of a footnote, here):

IN CHRIST		
Jewish and Gentile believers		
Under the law	UNDER SIN	Gentile sinners

28. Gignac, “Procès de l’humain.”

29. The phrase “those who are under the law” had already been used in 2:12, 20.

opposition to the barbarians. The expression “Jews but also Greeks” is a new binomial that splits and reassembles two dichotomous identities of Antiquity caught up in a hierarchical relationship of “we are superior to the others.” On the one hand, from the Greek point of view, there were “the Greeks and the barbarians” (dichotomy found in 1:14); on the other hand, from the Jewish point of view, there were “the Jews and the Gentiles” (dichotomy exemplified by the 29 occurrences of the word “Gentiles” throughout Romans).³⁰ Now, the new dichotomy flattens Jews and Greeks on the same inferior level, *under* Sin. It seems, though, that the new expression “Jews but also Greeks” is all-embracing—the word *πᾶς* appears five times in the pericope (vv. 9, 12, 19 [2×], 20). Curiously, in speaking of Jews and Greeks in the third person plural, *we* seems nevertheless to dissociate or set itself aside from them.³¹ In any case, the catena portrays them in a truly bad light: “they have turned aside” and “have become worthless,” “they deceive,” do not know “the way of peace” and do not have “the fear of God.” They are neither just, nor wise, nor seekers of God, nor righteous. Their throats are death, their tongues treachery, their lips poison, their mouths cursing and bitterness. They are, after all, accountable and carnal creatures, vulnerable and even weak—an existential state eventually marked and intensified by sin.

A third character surreptitiously appears, that will later be amply depicted in 5:12-14, 6:1-14 and 7:7-23: *Sin*.³² Jews and Greeks are “under Sin,” under its domination and in its clutches, within its sphere of activity. The spatial metaphor evokes seclusion, submission, subjection to a dominating power. The epistle in fact suggests, by the use of the prepositions *under* and *in*, two distinct and opposing zones. On the one

30. Rom 1:5, 13; 2:14, 24; 3:29; 4:17, 18; 9:24, 30; 10:19; 11:11, 12, 13, 25; 15:9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 27; 16:4, 26.

31. The Christian *we* would then be a new posture, distinct from that of the Jews and Greeks. It is not a new identity, but a split (and thus a neutralization) of the prior ethnic dichotomies. See the thoughts of Agamben on the position of those who keep their distances from this ethnic rift as witnesses to the impending messianic times: Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (trans. Patricia Dailey; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005 [Italian 2000]), 47–58; also Carter, *Paul and the Power of Sin*, 88.

32. Building on an intuition of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 156, one can show that the personification of Sin leads to a better understanding of the discursive workings of Romans. See Alain Gignac and Jean-Sébastien Viard, “Péché, Mort et Loi en Rm 5–8. Mises en intrigue et caractérisation,” in *L'intrigue dans le récit biblique. Quatrième colloque international du RRENAB, Université Laval, Québec, 29 mai–1er juin 2008* (ed. Anne Pasquier et al.; BETL 237; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 323–40.

hand, to be *under* or *in* Sin, Law, or Death is to be submitted to their domination or their rule (marked by the verbs *κυριεύω* and *βασιλεύω*); on the other hand, exiting this alienating zone gives access to a zone of liberation (or more specifically, of grace) where, paradoxically, submission to Christ is not subjection (to be *under* grace, or *in* Christ or the Spirit). The following table synthesizes the data of this *spatialization* in Romans.

Table 2. *Spatialization in Romans*

	<i>Alienation</i>			<i>Liberation</i>		
	Sin	Law	Death	Grace	Christ	Spirit
under (ὕπό)	3:9; 7:14	6:14, 15		6:14, 15		
in (ἐν)	6:2				3:24; 6:11; 8:1, 2, 39; 9:1; 12:5; 15:17; 16:3, 7, 9, 10	2:29; 8:9; 9:1; 14:17; 15:16
Dominate (κυριεύω)	6:14	7:1	6:9		14:9	
Reign (βασιλεύω)	5:21; 6:12		5:14, 17	5:17, ³³ 21	5:17 ³³	

Note that our text suggests a zone of transition between the two categories of association: those who are under Sin become accountable to God (ὕπόδικος), etymologically “*under* the stroke of justice.”³⁴

A fourth character, *Law*, suddenly appears in v. 19. It is linked more than once to Sin in the epistle,³⁵ to the point where it could be tempting to confuse them: “What then should we say? That Law [is] Sin?” (Rom 7:7).³⁶ The law had already been mentioned (19 times in Rom 2³⁷) and

33. More precisely, in 5:17, “those who receive the abundance of *grace* and the free gift of righteousness [will] exercise dominion in life through the one man, Jesus Christ” (οἱ τὴν περισσεΐαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύουσιν διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). In this case, *βασιλεύω* has as grammatical subject “those,” while being related to grace and Christ.

34. Many translations, in French (BJ, TOB, Nouvelle Louis Segond, Darby) and in English (KJV, KJ21, NCV), add the spatialization “before God.”

35. Law and Sin: Rom 3:20; 5:13, 20; 6:14; 7:5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 23, 25; 8:2, 3.

36. See Alain Gignac, “La mise en scène de Rm 7,7–8,4. Une approche narrative et synchronique,” in *The Letter to the Romans* (ed. Udo Schnelle; BETL 226; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 113–34.

37. In vv. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27.

referred to legality—either with regards to the Jewish Torah or to natural law. But here, for the first time, it is also personified. While every mouth is silenced, Law alone *speaks*; it speaks to those who are under its authority; it works toward—or incites those concerned to work toward—God’s will (hence the expression ἐξ ἔργων νόμου); it gives true knowledge of Sin. Even though it is in a dialectical relationship with Sin, Law actually plays a positive role in the drama that is unfolding, shedding light on Sin’s actions. This too will be further developed in Rom 5–7.

There is yet another, fifth character—although it is never named and even seems invisible at first.³⁸ It appears between the lines of the scriptural catena describing the character *them*. Some monstrous traits of deformity slowly appear: something without a face, deprived of sight except an empty gaze, incapable of fearing God (v. 18), a gaping mouth ready to bite and howl (vv. 13–14), a creature without body except feet which are only able to follow a path of destruction (vv. 15–17). And yet this howling inhuman monster will not have the last word since Law, which silences every mouth, will silence it, too (v. 19). Here we can note some details touching the enunciation we will analyze in the next section: we have figures of enunciation characterized by powerlessness and alienation. The monster has speech organs, but cannot use them to speak in a human fashion, nor to become a real human being—if it is true that one can become human only through human language. This description is not the representation of humanity itself, but of a humanity which has lost its own humanness; a humanity which is powerless, subject to a despotic master from whom it is unable to liberate itself. More so, might it not be seen as a depiction of Sin itself, that mysterious force which in this world takes on a hideously disfigured and heinous form? Humanity disfigured by Sin needs God. Romans 6–8 will revisit this theme.

A brief remark about a last character, which can be easily overlooked too, because he is very discreet. *God* is present by his absence. He does not act, but functions only as a reference, mentioned thrice: to seek God (v. 11), fear of God (v. 18), accountable to God (v. 19).

In short, the catena describes the main character *them* (*Jews and Greeks*), away from *God*, under the domination of *Sin*, while superimposing a *monstrous, dehumanized figure* that could well be Sin itself.

38. I build here on an intuition of Edgar Haulotte, “Formation du corpus du Nouveau Testament. Recherche d’un “module génératif intratextuel,” in *Le canon des Écritures. Études historiques, exégétiques et systématiques* (ed. Christoph Theobald; LD 140; Paris: Cerf, 1990), 255–439 (288, 291). Sensitive to images and metaphors, Dinh Si, *La foi et la justice divine*, 238, also perceives “an undead, but also an instrument of death.”

This utterance, though, will successively be taken hold of by two enunciative instances, *we* and *Law*, provoking what amounts to a short-circuit within the text.

A Complex Enunciative Device

The short-circuit occurs when attempting to answer what are apparently simple questions: Who is speaking here? To whom? About whom? On the one hand, the enunciator *we* acts as a prosecutor in a defensive stance: “Are we at a disadvantage?” (or, according to a variant translation: “How shall we plead?”).³⁹ He addresses his virtual interlocutor

39. The difficulty of the first half of v. 9 is proverbial. It is dependent on text criticism, punctuation, the value given to the verb *προεχόμεθα*, but also on the identification of the grammatical subject *we*. Three translations of the question are possible—the latter two being given the choice of two answers, depending on if one translates *οὐ πάντως* by “not completely” (philologically the most natural solution since in Greek, the first adverb modifies the second, BDF § 433.1, see 1 Cor 5:10), or by “totally not” (with the meaning of the reversed expression *πάντως οὐκ*, see 1 Cor 16:12): (1) *προεχόμεθα* is a middle that signifies “what must we invoke in our defense, how shall we plead?” with the implied answer: “nothing, since all has already been said”: Nils A. Dahl, “Romans 3:9: Text and Meaning,” in *Paul and Paulinism* (FS C. K. Barrett; ed. Morna D. Hooker and Stephen G. Wilson; London: SPCK, 1982), 184–204 (195); Dunn, *Romans*, 145; Dinh Si, *La foi et la justice divine*, 240. This solution supposes the absence of *οὐ πάντως*, and consequently the choice of a rather isolated textual lesson (MSS P). However, it is semantically very satisfactory, even quite attractive; (2) *προεχόμεθα* is a middle with an active sense: “do we have any advantage?”, which receives the answer (a) “not completely” (Hervé Ponsot, *Une introduction à la lettre aux Romains* [Paris: Cerf, 1988], 82; Charles E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975; 1979], 189–90; Marie-Joseph Lagrange, *Épître aux Romains* [Paris: Gabalda, 1931], 67; Brendan Byrne, *Romans* [Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1996], 119), or the answer (b) “totally not, not at all” (Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, 86; Hays, “Psalm 143,” 112 and most biblical translations. It sometimes occurs in Greek that a middle verb will receive an active sense [BDF § 316.1], but it would be here the only occurrence for the verb *προέχω* in the entire Hellenistic literature). (3) *προεχόμεθα* is a passive: “are we at a disadvantage, on the defensive?”, which receives the answer (a) “not completely” (Philippe Rolland, *À l’écoute de l’épître aux Romains* [Paris: Cerf, 1991], 55), or the answer (b) “totally not, not at all” (Stanley K. Stowers, “Paul’s Dialogue with a Fellow Jew in Romans 3:1-9,” *CBQ* 46 [1984]: 707–22 [719]; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 330–31; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* [5th ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902 (1895)], 76; Robert Jewett, Roy David Kotansky, and Eldon Jay Epp, *Romans: A Commentary* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007], 257). Solution 3a is grammatically the most satisfactory one and is the one

(and through him, or beyond him, the audience at this trial), stating he will recapitulate his indictment; he indiscriminately accuses Jews and Greeks on the basis of a long scriptural citation—a veritable writ of authoritative testimony (v. 10). The stage is set for legal proceedings, with the specialized language of the courtroom: *προητιασάμεθα* (we have already charged, v. 9), *δίκαιος* (righteous, just, v. 10), *νόμος* (law, vv. 19, 20), *ὑπόδικος* (accountable, v. 19), and perhaps *προεχόμεθα*; (are we at a disadvantage?, how shall we plead?, v. 9).

On the other hand, though, it appears that the citation of vv. 10b-18 is not merely a written document, but more precisely the transcript of a statement by a witness for the prosecution—Law personified—who accuses the Gentiles and to a certain extent, Israel, in an address...*to those who are in [the sphere of] Law*, namely, the Jews.⁴⁰ (In fact, technically, this enunciation is uttered: it is truly *we* that asserts that Law is the speaker.) This switch of enunciator only becomes clear when the testimony ends (v. 19a): in vv. 10b-18, the enunciator was Law. The testimony of vv. 10b-18 is then reinterpreted by the prosecutor in his closing statement (vv. 19b-20). *We* is still in control of the enunciation: according to *we*, Law's testimony, which described the gaping mouths of the ungodly... shuts them up, shuts up all mouths. While Law said that *them* or *all* turned aside (v. 12) from the way of peace (v. 17), choosing instead a path of ruin and misery (v. 16), that they have no fear of God before their eyes (v. 18) and do not seek God, *we* knows that the whole

used in this study. This reading is actually potentially ironic: we the Jews are not at a disadvantage since the Greeks are also placed on the same level of inferiority as us, under Sin. Note finally that this *we* can point to more than one group: the Jews, humanity, the Pauline apostolic team; see Gignac, "Procès de l'humain."

40. "Whatever Law says" can be understood in two ways. Our hypothesis identifies Scripture (v. 10) with the Law (v. 19), since the Torah is both part of Scripture and its recapitulation (through a metonymy of sorts). What Law says (v. 19a) is uttered in Scripture (vv. 10b-18). A different reading might be preferred: the quoted Scripture (Psalms and Isaiah) is actually distinct from the Law, a Law that speaks—Law referring exclusively to the first part of the Jewish Canon which was well established by the first century. Law would be known to speak (v. 19a), but the terms of its enunciation would not be known. The only thing that would be known is that Law speaks, i.e. that it is significant. In the first case, the discourse is flowing and coherent: v. 19 summarizes vv. 10b-18; in the second case, v. 19 seems like the continuation of what precedes but the enunciative device is slightly altered: *we* speaks and quotes Scripture (Psalms and Prophets), and then mentions that Law speaks in its turn, but without specifying the substance of its utterance. I wish to thank Jean-Yves Thériault for having drawn my attention to this alternative.

world must position itself in relation to God, be accountable to him, and justified in his sight. We can synthesize by the following chart the enunciation system (with, in background, the original enunciation device of the psalms quoted):

Table 3. *Double Enunciation in Romans 3:9-20*

<i>Enunciator (first person)</i>	<i>Enunciatee (second person)</i>	<i>Utterance</i>	<i>Third party (third person)</i>
<i>We</i>	<i>You</i> ⁴¹	Catena describing <i>them</i>	= Jews and Greeks
Law	those in the Law	Catena describing <i>them</i>	= wicked, pagans
David	God	Different psalms	= wicked, pagans

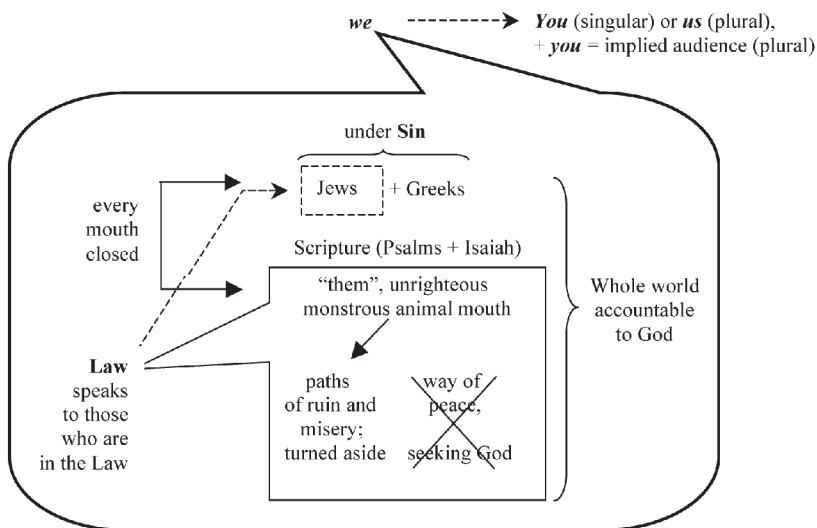
In short, the text’s enunciation is very complex, since the monster’s description is assumed by two instances but in a different manner. As in a court of law setting, the prosecutor (“we”) first speaks and then his witness takes the stand (Law). *We* speaks to his virtual interlocutor (and through him, to the letter’s recipients) concerning humanity as a whole, while Law talks to “those within the Law” concerning the ungodly (especially the pagans). Ultimately, it is the prosecutor who interprets the scope of the Law’s witness: “Now we know that whatever Law says, it speaks to those who are in [the sphere of] Law, so that every mouth may be silenced”⁴² (v. 19).

41. When I note that *we* addresses his virtual interlocutor (*you* singular) and through him (or beyond him), the audience at this trial (*you* plural), I simplify. In the context of the dialogued diatribe of 3:1-20, *we* addresses its interlocutor *you*, but equally addresses a group that refers jointly to those in dialogue (*us*, that is the Jews, humanity, or the Pauline apostolic team; see again n. 39).

42. οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ, ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῇ. This translation of the beginning of v. 19, which puts a comma after λέγει, is generally agreed upon by commentators. However, there is another possible translation, which relies on different punctuation (a comma after νόμῳ), but which would bring about another enunciative device: “we know that whatever Law says to those who are in the sphere of Law, is said so that every mouth may be silenced”; see Dinh Si, *La foi et la justice divine*, 245; Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul’s Dialogue with Judaism* (JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 142–46; Marie Depussé and Alain Gignac, “Lettre aux Romains (traduction),” in *Bible. Nouvelle traduction* (ed. Frédéric Boyer et al.; Paris; Montréal: Bayard; Médiaspaul, 2001), 2475–502. In this latter team effort of translation (writer and exegete), I had rallied to the proposition of my colleague Depussé for Rom 3:19: “we know that whatever Law says to those who live in the

The following diagram shows the curious intermingling of the enunciation (the dotted arrows represent both enunciations, each enunciator speaking to its enunciatee; the speech balloons show the contents of both enunciations, like in a comic strip):

Diagram 1. *Enunciative Device in Romans 3:9-20*



This description of two expressed enunciations (one being contained within the other) might seem unnecessarily sophisticated. The idea is, however, not only to describe the heuristic functioning of the narrative text. This device, *by the manner* in which it expresses humanity's horrendous ungodliness, also reveals the workings of a hermeneutical process: the Pauline utterance adopts the scriptural utterance on which it is based, while at the same time redefining its target audience and extending to all of humanity the object of its denunciation. In making the words of Law his own, though, and using them in his argumentation, the Pauline enunciator neither censures nor silences Law, whose significance remains whole.

In other words, without Scripture expressing itself, there could be no Pauline enunciation. Without Scripture that targets only the pagan and addresses itself exclusively to those who are in [the sphere of] Law, it

Law, those are all words—to forbid any mouth to open.” In later revisiting the Greek text, I went back to the idea that λέγειν is used “where the thought is concentrated on the substance of what is said” (that is the utterance of vv. 10b-18) and that λαλεῖν “draws attention to the act of speaking” (Cranfield, *Romans*, 196).

would be impossible to realize the extent of Paul's assessment, ultimately addressed to "all who are in Christ," and according to which everyone, Jew or Greek, is under Sin. Without Scripture revealing the iniquity of the godless, the Pauline enunciation could not go as far as making the whole of humanity accountable to God. In short, Rom 3:9-20 clearly exposes the relationship between the Pauline discourse and Scripture (or between Scripture and the Pauline restatement). The new reading clearly appears as a rereading of Scripture that does not abolish it. The Pauline view is grounded in and akin to the one held by Scripture, and emulates it without however rendering it obsolete. In my opinion, there is something there that allows us to revisit the bidirectional connection "Old Testament / New Testament"—a connection which in turn will contribute to the redefining of the Christian theology of Judaism in the sense of a *confirmation* of the Election of Israel at the same moment that this Election extends to all of humanity, in Christ.⁴³

Conclusion

I have endeavored to shift the intertextual debate concerning Rom 3:9-20 toward the narrative approach of the catena as well as its discursive workings—two aspects neglected by commentators. Although no plot is yet involved (except that of a stalemate!), it could be advanced that the pericope describes an initial situation that will be radically transformed in Rom 3:21-26. The plot will finally be minimally developed in two different ways, first in Romans 5–6 (which could be titled: *The Overthrow of Death, Sin, and Law*), and then in Romans 7–8 (which could be titled: *Sin—The Murderer Finally Convicted*).⁴⁴

The situation outlined in Romans 3 depicts the relationships of several characters: *we*, Jews and Greeks, Sin, a monster, and Law (and also God!). The double angle of the scriptural utterance adopted by the two enunciative instances, *we* and Law, constitutes the textual inscription (*in the text!*) of Pauline hermeneutics. Two voices confront each other: an "apostolic" voice controls, interprets, and restructures a "scriptural" voice, but without obliterating it. The "uttered enunciation" of Law is encompassed in *we's* enunciation, but its original purpose, as a message to those who are in the sphere of Law, is not denied.

43. See the last chapter of my book: Alain Gignac, *Juifs et chrétiens à l'école de Paul de Tarse. Enjeux identitaires et éthiques d'une lecture de Rm 9–11* (Sciences bibliques 9; Montréal: Médiaspaul, 1999).

44. See Gignac and Viard, "Péché, Mort et Loi."

In other words, the Pauline interpretation, in its intertextual treatment, is fully transparent. It clearly asserts that the Law is reinterpreted (within the context of the experience of Christ), but it still allows Law to speak its own voice, as a secondary enunciator that interprets for the Jews the situation of the ungodly. Law is a discourse that is as much interpreted as it is constantly interpreting. For the reader of Romans who accepts to be part of *we*, Law remains a reference (in its original context), a catalyst (for the emergence of new meaning), and a rationale of this new appraisal (by the contrast between the original and the new context).

14

CRUSHING SATAN: GENESIS 2–3 IN ROMANS 16:17-20A

Brian LePort

Introduction

Paul's epistle to Rome was written, in part, in order to prevent a coming schism or repair one in progress.¹ Christians were dividing along the lines of Jewish or non-Jewish identity. Paul's strategy was to remind his hearers that their allegiance is to Christ, first and foremost. One's Jewishness or lack thereof is secondary to their shared sinfulness (chs. 1–4), which has been overcome through the death and resurrection of Jesus on their behalf and the indwelling holy Spirit in which they share (chs. 5–8). While this proclamation does not resolve all the tensions caused by the Gospel—for example, what to make of most of Israel rejecting her Messiah (chs. 9–11)—it is the foundation upon which Paul can call the Roman Christians to a more selfless, other-centered ethic as outlined at various points in chs. 12–15. If Paul could succeed at keeping these two groups together he may be able to rely on their support for his future endeavors. In 15:22-28 Paul explains his plans to go from Rome to Spain and it is apparent that he understands the success of his mission to be dependent upon whether or not he finds a unified church when he arrives.

This is the overarching agenda of the epistle that we must keep before us as we discuss the quirkiness of Rom 16:17-20a. Many exegetes have observed that these verses appear to interrupt abruptly a long series of greetings from Paul and his colleagues found in vv. 1-16 and vv. 20b-23.

1. This is not to say that there is a scholarly consensus regarding the purpose and aim of the epistle, but this is as good an explanation as any of the other proposals for why Paul wrote this epistle and it is the most convincing in my estimation. For a broader arrangement of opinions on why Paul wrote to Rome, see Karl P. Donfried, *The Romans Debate: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005).

This has led some to conclude that vv. 17-20a must be a later interpolation. In the present study I will argue that in spite of the coarseness of Paul's transition from greetings to polemical warning, vv. 17-20a are a fitting summary of the Paul's message and that the unique language he uses here might be best explained as a condensed echo and reapplication of the narrative of Genesis 2–3 to the present circumstances.

The verses to which we are giving our attention read as follows:

Now I urge you, brethren, keep your eye on those who cause dissensions and hindrances contrary to the teaching which you learned, and turn away from them. For such men are slaves, not of our Lord Christ but of their own appetites; and by their smooth and flattering speech they deceive the hearts of the unsuspecting. For the report of your obedience has reached to all; therefore I am rejoicing over you, but I want you to be wise in what is good and innocent in what is evil. The God of peace will soon crush Satan under your feet. The grace of our Lord Jesus be with you. (NASB)

In gist, there are people who have entered the community with the intent of promoting their own agenda, their own vision for the church, rather than that of Jesus Christ. This likely included the opponents to whom Paul alludes in 3:8. The teaching referenced by Paul is likely that of the message of the epistle: the Gospel is for Jew and Gentile alike (1:16-17); therefore, “accept one another, just as Christ also accepted us to the glory of God” (15:7). Anyone who opposes this message while advocating the separation of Jew from Gentile is an agent of Satan whose defeat is guaranteed by the church's resolve to fight against the temptation of schism.

Allusions to Genesis 2–3 in Romans 16:17-20a

In Romans 16:17-20a there are six statements that when read together indicate reliance upon Genesis 2–3: (1) “the teaching that you have learned” in v. 17 parallels the command given in Gen 2:16-17; (2) the mention of appetites in v. 18 echoes Eve's temptation in Gen 3:6; (3) “smooth talk and flattery” in v. 18 summarizes the depiction of the Serpent in Gen 3:1-6; (4) the mention of obedience in v. 19 offers an alternative to Gen 3:6-7; (5) the desire for the hearers of this epistle “to be wise in what is good and guileless in what is evil” in v. 19 brings to mind the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in Gen 2:16-17; and (6) and the crushing of Satan “under your feet” in v. 20 is an exposition of Gen 3:15. In the following section each statement from 16:17-20a will be examined individually, related to the part of Genesis 2–3 which it echoes, and then tied together to show how each statement informs the

other to present a retelling of the Genesis passage.² Prior to exegeting the text though I must discuss the claim that vv. 17-20a are a non-Pauline interpolation.

An Interpolation?

As noted above, Rom 16:1-16 consists of a long string of greetings from Paul to his friends and acquaintances in Rome. In vv. 21-23 Paul's colleagues send their greetings. This had led some to claim that vv. 17-20a must be the work of an interpolator.

Robert Jewett provides four reasons for doubting the authenticity of these verses. First, "These verses produce an egregious break in the flow and tone of Paul's series of greetings to honored leaders of the Roman churches."³ This is readily acknowledged, but that does not prevent it from being authentic. This would not be the first time Paul interrupts his own train of thought. In 1 Cor 16:1-12 Paul discusses his travel plans only to alert his hearers abruptly of the danger of disrespecting the household of Stephanas who were his first converts in Achaia. Then in v. 19 he resumes his farewell. Though less abrupt, we find similar warnings in 2 Cor 11:13-15 and Gal 1:9.⁴

2. Along with Isaiah and Psalms, Genesis is frequently quoted or alluded to in Romans. Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 377-82, lists the following quotations, allusions, and echoes: Gen 15:6/Rom 4:3; Gen 15:6/Rom 4:9; Gen 17:10/Rom 4:10-11; Gen 17:5/Rom 4:17; Gen 15:5/Rom 4:18; Gen 15:6/Rom 4:22; Gen 21:12/Rom 9:7; Gen 18:10, 14/Rom 9:9; Gen 25:23/Rom 9:12; Gen 3:15/Rom 16:20. This is a conservative estimate. Some have argued for echoes in 1:18-32, most notably Morna D. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on St. Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 77-78; James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 91-92; *idem*, *Romans 1-8* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1988), 53-61. For a more nuanced reading where Paul interacts with *interpretations* of Gen 2-3 in Rom 1:18-25, such as those found in *The Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, see John R. Levison, "Adam and Eve in Romans 1.18-25 and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve," *NTS* 50 (2004): 519-34. Others find echoes of Gen 2-3 in 7:7-13, especially v. 11 which uses similar language to Greek Gen 3:13: "For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, deceived me (ἐξηπάτησέν με) and through it killed me." This echoes Gen 3:13, where Eve tells God, "The serpent deceived me (ἡπάτησέν με), and I ate." For example, see Austin Busch, "The Figure of Eve in Romans 7:5-25," *BibInt* 12 (2004): 1-36. If we are to find an echo of Genesis in Rom 16:17-20a it would not be the first place.

3. Robert Jewett, *Romans* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 986.

4. Frank J. Matera, *Romans* (Paideia; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 343.

Second, Jewett argues that these verses contradict Paul's welcoming and reconciling attitude elsewhere in the epistle.⁵ For example in 14:1-15:7 Paul aims to reconcile the "strong" and the "weak" advocating for tolerance and sensitivity, yet in 16:17 the text says to avoid "those who causes dissensions and hindrances." Jewett does not see these two approaches as compatible. Paul is either welcoming and reconciliatory, or he is dogmatic and sectarian, but he cannot be both. While it is true that Paul emphasizes unity in this epistle, this does not prevent him from using his apostolic authority to demarcate those who are truly outsiders and who are to be shunned by the community. We find similar warnings in 1 Cor 16:22; 2 Cor 11:13-15; Gal 1:9 and 6:12-17.

Paul is no stranger to polemic when he senses that the purity of the Gospel or the unity of the church is being threatened. As J. Paul Sampley writes in response to Jewett,

We ought to acknowledge that Paul has a penchant for thinking that his perception of the gospel is the only correct one. Let us put it bluntly: Paul is not tolerant of deviations from his understanding of the gospel; neither is he tolerant of those who propound a different formulation. It is not insignificant that he uses expressions such as "my gospel" (Rom 2:6; cf. 2 Cor 4:3; 1 Thess 1:5) and "my God" (Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; 2 Cor 12:21; Phil 1:3; 4:19; Phlm 4; cf. 1 Thess 2:2; 3:9).⁶

For Karl Barth, 16:17-20a summed up the epistle quite nicely. Barth wrote, "The whole polemic of the Epistle—and where is it not polemical—is concentrated in one blow. Take care lest ye be deceived, especially by those who are nearest to you and most plausible."⁷ Jewett rightly recognizes that Paul is working toward the reconciliation and unity of two diverse groups of Christians, but I must side with Barth here in recognizing that there is a third group whom Paul considers to be a threat to the church and against whom he directs much of his argument.

5. Jewett, *Romans*, 987.

6. J. Paul Sampley, "Romans in a Different Light: A Response to Robert Jewett," in David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson, *Pauline Theology*. Vol. 3, *Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 109–30 (128).

7. Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns; London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 536. See also, Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* (trans. Scott J. Hafemann; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 252, "...if one takes into consideration that, from 2:16 on, Paul is constantly taking up and refuting arguments which his Jewish-Christian opponents have brought up against him, this warning against false teachings no longer in any way appears unmotivated. Rather, in it Paul summarizes the criticism of his opponents, which the apostle has already had in mind up until now and which he has already previously expressed in 3:8."

Third, Jewett argues that the “rhetoric and vocabulary” of this section is “non-Pauline.”⁸ This is a difficult case to make when discussing such a small sampling and there are aspects of Paul’s language that we find elsewhere. For example, v. 19b (“...I want you to be wise in what is good and innocent in what is evil”) sounds similar to 1 Cor 14:20 (“do not be children in your thinking; yet in evil be infants, but in your thinking be mature”) and v. 20a (“The God of peace will soon crush Satan under your feet”) shares an eschatology akin to 1 Cor 15:24-27 where all things are to be put under Christ’s feet, including death, Christ’s final enemy.⁹ Also, if our suggestion here is correct that Paul is borrowing imagery from Genesis 2–3 then that may explain the uniqueness of the wording.

Fourth, Jewett notes that 16:16 is “widely inclusive,” which provides “a plausible redactional rationale for an interpolation at this precise location.” Whoever wrote vv. 17-20a sought to “set a firm limit on those who should be greeted as legitimate members of the Christian family, which was the original significance of the kiss.”¹⁰ But is it not equally possible that Paul himself sought to clarify that he still wants the community to be discerning in order to avoid errantly welcoming those who may seek to destroy the community from within?

Whether these verses originated with Paul, Paul’s amanuensis Tertius, or a later interpolator is impossible to reconstruct in light of the textual tradition wherein these verses are always included. This would seem to indicate that 16:17-20a has been part of this epistle since the beginning or very soon thereafter. If someone did add it later this person understood the intention of the epistle and aimed to reinforce Paul’s message.¹¹ I will proceed under the assumption that Paul is the source behind vv. 17-20a and that he intended to summarize the message of the epistle with this one final warning, just as Barth observed.

Paul’s Use of Genesis 2–3 in Romans 16:17-20a

As stated above, I will argue that Rom 16:17-20a contains six statements that indicate that Paul is drawing his language and imagery from Genesis 2–3. I have chosen to discuss these in an order that highlights the more

8. Jewett, *Romans*, 987.

9. Sampley, 127–28.

10. Jewett, *Romans*, 988.

11. Stuhlmacher, *Paul’s Letter*, 252, acknowledges that the sharp and unique language of this section is strange, but concludes, “...on the basis of the transmission of the text there is no reason to consider this section to be subsequent insertion into the Pauline text.”

probable echoes, ending with those of lesser probability. It is my contention that Paul's reliance on Genesis 2–3 becomes quite apparent when these statements are read together.

“Crush Satan under your feet”

In Rom 16:20a Paul states, “The God of peace will shortly crush Satan under your feet.” This is an allusion to Gen 3:14–15, where the serpent is cursed. God tells the serpent, “I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers, he will strike your head, and you will strike his heel.” This passage has been interpreted as referring to the messiah, but here Paul presents the Christians in Rome as the descendants of the woman. Satan is the serpent whose head will encounter the heel of the woman's child.¹²

This would not be the only place in early Christianity where Satan was read into Genesis 3. The vision of the woman and the dragon in Revelation 12 includes this statement in v. 9, “...the great dragon was thrown down, the serpent of old who is called the devil and Satan, who deceives the whole world”. Satan's identity as an angelic being who makes accusations against the people of God is merged with that of the mysterious Serpent who tricked primordial humanity. In Rev 12:9 he is the one who “deceives the whole world” indicating that the narrative of Genesis 3 has been universalized. Also, in Luke 10:19–20 (NASB) the disciples successful exorcisms lead Jesus to say, “I was watching Satan fall from heaven like lightning. Behold, I have given you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, and nothing will injure you.” The defeat of Satan is equated with that of serpents.¹³ It should be no surprise then to see Paul do something quite similar hermeneutically.

There are several other Jewish writers who may have Gen 3:15 in view when they explain the eschatological defeat of Satan (or a Satan-like figure). In *Jub.* 23:29 the world is perfected when there is “no Satan nor any evil destroyer.” In *T. Mos.* 10:1 we read that when God's Kingdom appears throughout creation, “then Satan shall be no more.”

12. See *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Neofiti 1* for possible parallel Jewish interpretations of Gen 3:15 as a prophetic text about a coming Conqueror. Regarding the usefulness of these traditions for understanding Paul, see Michael J. Thate, “Paul at the Ball: *Ecclesia Victor* and the Cosmic Defeat of Personified Evil in Romans 16:20,” in *Paul's World* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Pauline Studies; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 151–69 (154).

13. This language is likely derived from Ps 91:13, though the reference to Satan leads one to believe that Gen 3:15 is in view as well. Though a later addition to the Gospel, Mark 16:18 may reflect this idea as well.

In *T. Levi* 18:37 the author says that when Belial is defeated God will “give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits.” In *T. Sim.* 6:6 heaven and earth are peaceful once “the spirits of deceit” are “trampled under foot” and humanity is given dominion over these “wicked spirits.” Also, some have referenced the twelfth benediction of *Shemoneh Esreh*.¹⁴ Douglas Moo’s caution is worth heeding here though when he writes, “It must be said, however, that the language of Paul’s promise is not that close to that of Gen. 3:15. Nor are the alleged...Jewish parallels of Gen. 3:15: *Jub.* 23:29; *T. Mos.* 10:1; *T. Levi* 18:37; *T. Sim.* 6:6; cf. also the twelfth benediction in the *Shemoneh Esreh*.”¹⁵ *Contra* Moo, I find Rom 16:20, *T. Levi* 18:37, and *T. Sim.* 6:6 to contain language that does echo Gen 3:15. I would agree with Moo’s caution regarding *Jub.* 23:29, *T. Mos.* 10:1, and the twelfth benediction of *Shemoneh Esreh*, all of which do point to the eschatological defeat of a Satan-like figure, but without any obvious reliance upon the language of Gen 3:15. In Rom 16:20 God is identified as the one who causes Satan’s defeat and God is characterized in juxtaposition to the schismatic persons in the assembly. God is the God of peace; Satan seeks to cause conflict and dissention resulting in disunity. Those who promote sectarianism are not part of the community. Instead, these people are enemies of God, aligned with Satan, serving their own selfish interest.

While Paul’s words do seem to have an eschatological connotation like that of the other aforementioned Jewish writings there may be a more precise contextual element as well. Paul says, “The God of peace will *shortly* (ἐν τάχει) crush Satan under your feet.” This would seem to indicate that Satan’s defeat has to do with the present conflict in Rome. God’s victory over Satan in Rom 16:20a has to do with this particular battle over the unity of the Christians in Rome. Yet God’s ultimate defeat of Satan may also be anticipated, therefore it has been concluded that Paul must be speaking of “...the imminence of the parousia”¹⁶ or as Peter Stuhlmacher frames it, “...the Roman Christians should know and depend on the fact that there will soon be an end to Satan’s helpers. The eschatological fulfillment of the so-called ‘Protoevangelium’ from Gen.

14. Thate, “Paul at the Ball,” 154, lists these passages as examples of “The talking serpent” being “generally understood to be Satan in early Jewish reflection”: “*Jub.* 23:29; *T. Mos.* 10:1; *T. Levi* 18:37; *T. Sim.* 6:6; cf. twelfth benediction in the *Shemoneh Esreh*.”

15. Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 932 n. 40.

16. Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 418.

3:15 is at the door.”¹⁷ Our best option may be a both/and approach: this text is both situational and eschatological. Grant R. Osborne writes, “The false teachers are Satan’s emissaries, but their influence is both temporary and doomed.” Yet he makes sure to emphasize, “The crushing of Satan has already begun but will not be consummated and finalized until the eschaton.”¹⁸

Paul’s understanding of the imminence of Christ’s Parousia is a complex one. On the one hand, Paul acts as if it could occur at any time (e.g. 1 Thess 5:1-11). On the other hand, Paul speaks of events that seemingly will occur prior to the Parousia (e.g. 2 Thess 2:3-12). In Rom 16:20a it is possible that he has the Parousia in view, though we must remember that Paul has told his hearers already in 1:9-15 that he desires to visit them. Then in 15:22-33 Paul shares his plans to visit them on his way to Spain. Paul may be working from a paradigm where he balances his anticipation of an imminent Parousia with the conviction that it is impossible to know exactly when it will occur.

“Smooth talk and flattery” (v. 18)

In Gen 3:1 the serpent is depicted as the most “crafty” or “insightful” (ὁ ἐχθρὸς/φρονιμώτατος) of the animals. In vv. 1-5 the serpent proves to be quite the rhetorician. The serpent questions whether God has spoken truthfully and the serpent reshapes the words of God when he asks Eve whether or not all of the trees were forbidden as a source of food (v. 1). This is an interesting question to ask since the narrative presents Adam as receiving the command in 2:16-17, not Eve. Eve’s response in vv. 2-3 is intriguing as well. She replies that God has forbidden them from eating from “the tree that is in the middle of the garden” (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου) (גֵּן הָעֵדֶן/ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου), which does not name the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, but merely locates it. Also, she adds the words “nor shall you touch it,” which has inspired the imagination of many interpreters. Why does Eve argue that one cannot even touch the tree when God’s earlier command does not say this?

There is a tradition recorded in *Gen. Rab.* 19:3 that seeks to answer this very question.¹⁹ In response to this story there is a quotation from

17. Stuhlmacher, *Paul’s Letter*, 253. Also Moo, *Romans*, 932, observes that, “The language of the promise may allude to the ‘proto-evangelium’ of Gen. 3:15d: ‘you [Adam, or his seed] will strike his [the serpent’s] heel.’” But Moo states this cautiously, not being completely convinced himself.

18. Grant R. Osborne, *Romans* (IVP NTCS; Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2004), 415.

19. H. Freeman and Maurice Simon, *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (London: Soncino, 1939), 149–50.

Prov 30:6, “Do not add to his words, or else he will rebuke you, and you will be found a liar.” In Prov 30:5 it says, “Every word of God proves true; he is a shield for those who take refuge of him.” It is apparent that Eve’s words were seen as adding to the commandment of God. After establishing this point Rabbi Hiyya (the Great) is quoted as saying, “That means that you must not make the fence more than the principal thing, lest it fall and destroy the plants.” Then he quotes Gen 2:17, observing that Eve adds to the commandment in 3:2-3. Rabbi Hiyya notes, “...when he [the serpent] saw her thus lying, he took and thrust her against it [the tree]. ‘Have you then died?’ he said to her; ‘just as you were not stricken through touching it, so will you not die when you eat it.’” Now, Gen 3:1-5 says nothing of the serpent thrusting Eve into the tree, but this does exemplify the sort of tradition that has derived from the silence of the text.

The serpent is remembered in traditional folklore for trickery. He deceived Eve (which may explain the tradition found in 1 Tim 2:14, “...Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor”) using her ignorance of the commandment. The serpent tells Eve that she is not going to die (Gen 2:4). Rather, God is preventing her from obtaining something greater, something more satisfying. Eve does not honor God as God, but chooses to satisfy her own curiosity, affirming the serpent’s claim that all God desires to do is prevent her from becoming like deity “knowing good and evil” (v. 5).

When Paul warns against the rhetoric of the false teachers he likely has the Serpent in mind. As we have seen, Paul names Satan in v. 20a and he appears to be echoing Genesis 3’s depiction of the serpent. For Paul the schismatic persons are a tool of Satan and their smooth talk is the by-product of being used by Satan.

“Be wise in what is good and guileless in what is evil”

The obedience to the Christians in Rome to the Gospel will grant access to wisdom, wisdom of the good. Paul writes, “I want you to be wise in what is good and guileless in what is evil.” It may be more accurate to read it as saying, “I want you to be wise in what is good (θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς σοφούς εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν), but pure in what is evil (ἀκεραίους δὲ εἰς τὸ κακόν).” There is a contrast here between good and evil—one is worthy of participation and the other is not.

In Eden the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil invited Adam and Eve into an epistemological relationship with the world that was previously unknown. Adam and Eve eat the fruit then recognize their exposed nakedness (Gen 3:7). This story presents to us the introduction of shame. Paul wants his hearers to participate in the good, which in their

context is embodied through fidelity to Jesus as Lord by means of a commitment to unity and love toward one another. To avoid evil is to reject schism. To reject schism is to avoid shame.

Now, Paul's warning is complicated. On the one hand, Paul calls his hearers to unity. On the other hand, he calls for the schismatic persons to be rejected. It has been suggested that this is trading one schism for another. Paul does not see it this way. To reject those who seek to destroy the community is not to create schism, but save unity. Those who would cause disunity in the community show by their actions that they are not part of the community. Instead, Paul appears to think of them as representatives of Satan.

“Their own appetites” (v. 18)

These final three statements would not appear to allude to Genesis 1–2 by themselves, but when we place the six statements together the picture becomes clearer. In v. 18 Paul says that the schismatic persons “do not serve our Lord Christ, but their own stomach” (ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ). In one sense, this statement is merely a way of describing self-indulgence, similar to Phil 3:19,²⁰ but in this string of statements it seems as if Paul's language might be derived from Eve's temptation. In Gen 3:6 Eve “saw that the tree was good for food” (כי טוב העץ למאכל) (ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν). Eve's appetite determined her desire for something forbidden. Similarly, the schismatic persons seek to indulge in that which will please them, even if contrary to the will of God. The schismatic persons disobey God by disobeying the apostolic call to unity and this is done because these people desire to satisfy their own selfish aims. Adam and Eve disobeyed God's command by taking to eat fruit that would satisfy their own curiosity and desires.

“The teaching that you have learned” (v. 17)

In v. 17 Paul exhorts (παρακαλῶ) his audience. Surprisingly, though this statement seems like a command, the only imperative appears at the end—“stay away from them!” (ἐκκλίνετε ἀπ' αὐτῶν). The tone of the rest of the statement is more like an urgent appeal, using inviting language such as “brethren” (ἀδελφοί) to indicate solidarity. Paul warns his hearers to watch out (σκοπεῖν) for the schismatic persons. These people are characterized as causing dissensions and hindrances/offenses (οὓς τὰς διχοστασίας καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα... ποιοῦντας). The context of their assault is against the teachings which the Roman Christians were taught (παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε ποιοῦντας).

20. See Moo, *Romans*, 931.

As noted above, this refers to the Gospel advocated by Paul, a Gospel available to Jew and Gentile, together. Yet, in light of the other statements in these verses Paul's word choice seems to be influenced by the narrative of Genesis 1–2. It is quite possible that Paul is paralleling the teachings of the Gospel with the command given in Eden to Adam in Gen 2:16-17. If these verses do parallel Genesis 1–2 then the teaching to which Paul refers plays the same role as the command given to Adam to avoid the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. If the teachings/commands are obeyed, Satan will be defeated.

“The report of your obedience” (v. 19)

According to Gen 3:6 Eve sees that “the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise,” so she disobeyed, ate the fruit, satisfied her stomach, and became a rebel. Adam joins her, satisfying his desires and curiosity as well. As noted above this action was done in disobedience to the command of God given in Gen 2:16-17.

In contrast to Adam and Eve the Christians in Rome are known for their obedience (16:19). In 1:5-6 Paul stated that it was part of his apostolic calling “to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles for the sake of his name,” including those in Rome. In part, the obedience of which Paul speaks has to do with submission to Jesus as Lord, and submitting to Jesus as Lord means identifying with Jesus rather than reaffirming old, primary identities, such as one's Jewishness or lack thereof. To affirm the message of the schismatic persons is to do something that Paul interprets as being disobedient to this command, instead seeking to satisfy one's own stomach or selfish desires. At this juncture the church in Rome is not behaving like Adam and Eve. Instead, they are obedient to the commandment of God that comes through the Gospel.

Conclusion

In summary, Paul's final plea to the church in Rome for unity is structured along the lines of the narrative of Genesis 2–3. Paul rejoices in the present obedience of his audience, but warns that the danger to depart from the received teachings remains a real possibility. If the church succeeds in avoiding schism, this will be a small-scale reversal of the failure of Adam and Eve to obey God in Eden. If they fail, it will be an unfortunate reenactment of “the Fall.” The schismatic persons have impure motives. Rather than seeking the will of the Lord Jesus Christ,

these people chose to pursue their own selfish desires, their appetites, much like Eve saw the fruit to be good for consumption even though it was forbidden. At the heart of Paul's message is the desire to see his hearers "be wise in what is good and innocent/pure in what is evil." This juxtaposition reminds the hearers of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil which when partaken of opened the eyes of the rebels to the dark side of their existence. Prior to this there was a sense of innocence and simplicity. Paul wishes to see the same innocence preserved in Rome and Jewish and Gentile Christians learn to live together under the lordship of Jesus Christ. Finally, the tradition equating the Serpent in Eden with the tempter Satan makes an appearance here. In Eden the Serpent was able to beguile Eve with his "smooth and flattering speech" just as the schismatic persons seek to do. Now Paul aims to make his hearers aware of what is at stake, so that unlike Adam and Eve they might choose goodness, obedience to God, and not be persuaded by the craftiness of Satan. If successful, the church of Rome will play the role of Eve's promised child, smashing Satan under their feet.

THE CONVERGENCE OF ADAMIC AND *MERKABAH*
TRADITIONS IN THE CHRISTOLOGY OF HEBREWS*

Silviu N. Bunta

The presence of *merkabah* mysticism in Hebrews was proposed as early as four decades ago. Ronald Williamson, Hans-Martin Schenke, and Otfried Hofius read several of the epistle's motifs, particularly the heavenly throne/enthronement, the heavenly temple and its liturgy, and the divine glory, in conjunction to *merkabah* mysticism.¹ However, subsequently such connections were largely dismissed based primarily on the late date of the Jewish texts used in these studies (mostly from *Hekhalot* literature). Moreover, Williamson undermined his own argument for *merkabah* connections in noting that most of the above motifs could be explained "on the basis of a common indebtedness to the Old Testament."² Furthermore, in 1990 David Hurst made a strong argument against *merkabah* connections: first, most of the motifs occur in apocalyptic literature and psalms, and, second, Hebrews never mentions the texts "which one normally associates with the later phenomenon of *Merkabah* mysticism," these being Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7, Psalm 97, and Isaiah 6.³ To his credit, Hurst asks the basic question on the issue: "Was there in the first century an entity which may confidently be labelled as '*Merkabah* mysticism,' with which Hebrews may be compared in the

* The argument of offered in this study was presented in a more concise form at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta, Georgia), as part of the "Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism" group.

1. Hans-Martin Schenke, "Erwägung zum Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes," in *Neues Testament und christliche Existenz: Festschrift H. Braun* (ed. H. D. Betz and L. Schrottroff; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1972), 421–37; Ronald Williamson, "The Background of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *ExpTim* 87 (1975–76): 232–37; Otfried Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper 2, 6–11* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1976), 87–88.

2. Williamson, "Background," 236.

3. L. David Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 82–84.

same way it is compared with Philo, Qumran, Paul, Acts 7, etc.?”⁴ He then goes on to subscribe to Scholem’s line between Second Temple apocalyptic literature, the *merkabah* speculations of the Mishnah, and the post-Talmudic *merkabah* mysticism, and to acknowledge that one may discern “‘pre-Merkabah’ tendencies within Jewish apocalyptic which may then have gone on to influence *Auctor*. ”⁵ More recently Timo Eskola proposed a re-evaluation of the *merkabah* connection based on the fact “that an ascent structure is clearly present in the Christology of the letter, and that the idea of the heavenly temple is one of its cornerstones.”⁶

The assumptions on which Hurst refuted the connections between Hebrews and *merkabah* mysticism are highly problematic for several reasons. First and foremost, to answer Hurst’s somewhat rhetorical question, *merkabah* mysticism is not confined to a clearly definable and homogeneous body of literature, either ancient or medieval, like the Philonic corpus. In other words, there is no *merkabah* literature or *merkabah* “entity.”⁷ Requiring such a corpus in order to distinguish *merkabah* influences is incongruous. The discernable difference between later and earlier *merkabah* texts is that the former adhere to their *merkabah* interests more consistently and explicitly and use their “*merkabah*” urtexts (that is, Ezek 1, Dan 7, Ps 97, and Isa 6) more thoroughly.

Second, *merkabah* mysticism, at least as it transpires in texts, does not seem to be a stylistic device as to qualify as a genre, nor can it be defined as a literary motif. Rather, it is a cluster of motifs that express religious belief and praxis in different generic milieus, such as apocalypticism. In between genre and motif (although closer to genre), I would suggest that the *merkabah* mysticism of ancient and medieval texts is a literary interest. The concept of “literary interest” is used quite technically among language theorists to indicate the reader’s interest in fiction and his/her inventive additions to it, or, more specifically, “the appeal of invented narrative,” as one study has it.⁸ I do not use this phrase in the

4. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 84.

5. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 85.

6. Timo Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne: Jewish Merkabah Mysticism and Early Christian Exaltation Discourse* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 202–11 (p. 203).

7. Most of what scholars would deem as “*merkabah*” speculations survive in the *Hekhalot* corpus.

8. Mark Schoening, “Literary Interest Now,” *Modern Language Studies* 29 (1999): 175–87. For the different ways in which “literary interest” is discussed in specialty literature, see also Steven Knapp, *Literary Interest: The Limits of Anti-Formalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

same way here.⁹ I am not approaching *merkabah* mysticism as a form of readership here, but as a form of authorship. Also, I do not mean to suggest that *merkabah* mysticism is simply a literary construct.¹⁰ By “literary interest” I mean the authorial interest in creating a particular atmosphere within the text by transcribing a specific form of religious experience into text.

Third, if we are to define *merkabah* mysticism through the text that provided its name, then *ma‘aseh merkabah*, one of the two main branches of Jewish mysticism according to *m. Hag. 2:1*, is strictly a mystical interpretation of Ezekiel 1. However, despite this seemingly narrow interpretive character, *merkabah* mysticism, like any genre, should not be identified based on the presence of specific individual markers, but rather based on the presence of an underlying *merkabah* ideology and of a cluster of markers, of which one or more may be missing in any specific text. One should accept that, as with any genre, there is no essential identifier for *merkabah* mysticism and that this literary interest does not depend on any single individual marker, even the overt use of Ezekiel 1 or explicit descriptions of the divine throne.

The presence in Hebrews of motifs from Adamic traditions has also been timidly advanced before, but, to my knowledge, Adamic traditions have not yet been proposed as a broad conceptual background for the letter, despite the fact that in 1999 Crispin Fletcher-Louis advanced the proposal that Second Temple Jewish traditions about divine humanity, which profess the worship and the inclusion of different beings (including Adam) into the godhead without posing a threat to monotheism, must be seen as a precedent to the early Christian worship of Jesus.¹¹ However,

9. Although it could be used, since there is undoubtedly a literary aspect to *merkabah* mysticism, as it originated with interpretations of Ezek 1 that most probably exceeded the intended meaning of that biblical chapter.

10. It is still very much disputed among scholars whether *merkabah* mysticism and ascensional/visionary literature in general are mere works of fiction or are based on actual religious experience. For these disputes, see Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience and the Apocalypses,” in *Experientia*. Vol. 1, *Inquiry for Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Frances Flanery et al.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 125–44; Alan F. Segal, “Transcribing Experience,” in *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic, and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Eilior* (ed. Daphna Arbel and Andrei Orlov; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 365–82.

11. Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, “The Worship of Divine Humanity as God’s Image and the Worship of Jesus,” in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. Carey C. Newman et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 112–28.

echoes of motifs traditionally associated with the protoplast have been detected in several small units of Hebrews. The argument of this article is that the Christology of Hebrews is indebted to both *merkabah* and Adamic traditions and that the converging use of the two traditions advances a Christology in which the Son is the human-like Glory of God.¹² The juxtaposition of the two trends is particularly visible in the first two chapters of Hebrews, in the polemic against angels and in the depiction of the Son as enthroned. This convergence echoes the rapprochement between Ezekiel 1 and Gen 1:26 in earlier texts and describes the Son as the glory (כבוד, δόξα) of God and the human-like image in which Adam is made.

I do not wish to suggest here that texts function insularly. Not only do texts reach other texts as the “always-already-read,” that is, “through the sedimented reading habits and categories developed by...inherited interpretive traditions,”¹³ but they also exist in relation to each other as “nodes within networks.”¹⁴ Moreover, to take Michel Foucault’s idea further, a text is inasmuch a product of a network as a producer of a network. This means that texts exist in the broader and more fluid shape of textual networks or cultures. To apply to texts an insightful analysis of cultures, a text is a transcultural “contact zone,” a place in which “disparate cultures meet, clash, grapple, with each other.”¹⁵ Of course, one must keep in mind that there is no such thing as pure cultures; for this reason all texts and all cultures are “contact zones.” Thus, texts not known directly in their wording can still be “read” both in and through the cultures that produced them and in and through the cultures that they produce. The burden of proof of intertextuality cannot be reduced to

12. It goes without saying that the epistle uses other sources and that its Christology incorporates other elements. For example, Hebrews draws explicitly on priestly Melchizedek and Noah traditions (on these connections, see Andrei Orlov, “*The Heir of Righteousness and the King of Righteousness: The Priestly Noachic Polemics in 2 Enoch and the Epistle to the Hebrews*,” *JTS* 58 [2007]: 46-65). I do not wish to suggest here that Adamic and *merkabah* traditions are present in Hebrews to the exclusion of these other elements.

13. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Routledge, 2002), ix-x.

14. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2006), 25-26: “The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network... The book is not simply the object that one holds in one’s hands... Its unity is variable and relative.”

15. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1998), 181.

finding parallel clusters of literary motifs in similar literary genres. My primary assumption is that quests for intertextuality are ultimately exercises in interculturality. Therefore, my contention here is that Hebrews converges the “cultures” of *merkabah* and Adamic speculations as they emerge from *merkabah* and Adamic texts.

Merkabah Mysticism

An increasing number of scholars suggest that, based primarily on the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the Dead Sea community viewed their cult as a transformative ascent to heaven.¹⁶ The affinities between this view of the ritual and the cultic imageries of Hebrews raise the intriguing possibility that the community behind the epistle may have had a similar heavenly understanding of themselves and their cult. For example, the scene of 4:16, “let us come boldly to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace in time of need,”¹⁷ imagery from which many scholars still extract a simple metaphorical reference to the mundane act of prayer, may take place at once both in the earthly place of worship and the heavenly temple. Or better yet, there are no two places, but one. In Jesus’ ascensional priesthood the earthly temple becomes the heavenly temple. Thus, Jesus as *πρόδρομος* and *ἀρχηγός* allows his followers access and takes them to the heavenly sanctuary for participation into the heavenly cult (6:19-20; 12:2; cf. also 10:19-20).¹⁸ There is

16. See particularly Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 252–79; Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and Its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources,” *SBLSP* 37 (1998): 400–431; Carol Newsom, “Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot,” *JJS* 38 (1987): 11–30. The criticisms of this understanding of the *Songs* are receding. See, for example, the recent comments in Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 112–53, 348–50, and the review of James R. Davila at <http://paleojudaica.bravehost.com/Review%20of%20Schäfer,%20Origins.pdf> (though the link is not currently operative).

17. This and all subsequent translations of Hebrews are from RSV, unless noted otherwise.

18. The meaning of *ἀρχηγός* is more disputed among scholars than *πρόδρομος*. While some propose to understand *ἀρχηγός* as “ruler” or “chief,” most probably the term indicates “one who leads the way.” For discussions on this term in Hebrews and elsewhere, see David L. Allen, *Hebrews* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2010), 214–15, 574–75; Eric F. Mason, “*You Are a Priest Forever*”: *Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 10–11; Julius J. Scott, “*Archegos* in the Salvation History of the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *JETS* 29 (1986): 47–54; G. Johnston, “Christ as

nothing in the broader units 4:14–5:10, which portrays Jesus as the high priest who passed through the heavens, and the similar 6:19–20, which describes Jesus as *πρόδρομος* to the divine presence behind the veil, to prevent the assumption that the followers are incorporated into the heavenly liturgy that Jesus leads and that this integration of the followers into the heavenly worship takes place here and now, in their earthly rituals. On the contrary, there is much in the epistle, at Qumran, and in later Jewish and Christian thought, to support this conclusion.

The picture that seems to coalesce from disparate elements is one of the “true” temple, the “heavenly” temple, or simply “heaven itself” (cf. 9:24), to which the community has access in their earthly liturgy, in which Christ has offered the only sacrifice, himself. Behind the curtain in the holy of holies (9:11), meaningfully called “rest” in chs. 3 and 4,¹⁹ the temple houses two thrones, the throne of God (4:16; 8:1) and at its right hand the throne of the eternal high-priest and sacrifice, Christ (4:16; 8:1; 10:12). In this heaven-temple, the community, surrounded in liturgy by a “great cloud of witnesses” (12:1) hears the following greeting: you have not come to Sinai,

to what may be touched, a blazing fire, and darkness, and gloom, and a tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and a voice whose words made the hearers entreat that no further messages be spoken to them...but to mount Zion and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven (Heb 12:18–23).

Moreover, this liturgical location, temple/heaven/Sinai, is Edenic. The community of believers is compared to a land closely reminiscent of Paradise:

archegos,” NTS 27 (1980–81): 381–85; Paul-Gerhard Muller, *Christos Archegos: Der religionsgeschichtliche und theologische Hintergrund einer neutestamentlichen Christusprädikation* (Bern: Lang, 1973). Allen makes the point that “the title should be read with Heb 6:20 in mind, where Jesus is said to be our ‘forerunner’, indicating that others would follow on the trail he blazed” (*Hebrews*, 574). My reading of the term departs from Allen’s only in assuming that such liturgical following takes place in this life, mystically and transformatively.

19. Following Otfried Hofius (*Katapausis. Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1970]), most scholars agree that the term refers to the temple and the heavens as God’s resting place into which Jesus has entered as the forerunner of the believers. For recent reviews of positions, see Jon Laansma, “*I Will Give You Rest*”: *The Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3–4* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); Allen, *Hebrews*, 290–99.

for land which has drunk the rain that often falls upon it, and brings forth vegetation useful to those for whose sake it is cultivated, receives a blessing from God. But if it bears thorns and thistles, it is worthless and near to being cursed; its end is to be burned (Heb 6:7-8).

Several features of this passage allude to Eden: the fall of rain (see Gen 2:5 LXX), the generation of vegetation (τίκτουσα βοτάνην—see Gen 1:11-12; 2:5 LXX: βοτάνην), the cultivation for one's sake (ἐκεῖνοις δι' οὓς καὶ γεωργεῖται—see Gen 1:28-29; 2:25 LXX), the blessing from God (see Gen 1:22, 28 LXX), the cursing of the land (κατάρας—see Gen 3:17: ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ), and the mention of “thorns and thistles” (ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους—see Gen 3:18 LXX: ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους). The description of the community in Edenic language recalls the placement of the community of the *Hodayot* hymns in heaven, as God's spiritual temple, and echoes the *Hekhalot* story of the four mystics who entered Paradise.²⁰

Other transformative, visionary, and ascension motifs that resonate with *merkabah* mysticism are scattered throughout the text of Hebrews. The donning of regalia (1:8-9), anointing (1:8-9), the eating of holy spirit (μετόχους γεννηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου), the word (ῥῆμα) of God, and heavenly powers (δύναμεις, 6:4-5), and visions of the divine thrones in the holy of holies (4:16; 8:1; 10:12), imageries prominent in *merkabah*-type texts, are all mentioned.²¹ The interest in the ritual and particularly in its transformative and visionary nature is evident (9:2-5) and the author even stops short, dutifully and mystically, of describing the throne and the figure on it (9:5).

What emerges very clearly from this sketchy picture is that the interests of Hebrews that coincide with *merkabah* ideas are interwoven into the epistle's understanding of the Son and the manner in which this πρόδρομος and ἀρχηγός relates to the community. After all, the community

20. For Edenic language in the *Hodayot* hymns and in the *Hekhalot* story, see James R. Davila, “The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 457–78. See also Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 115–16.

21. On the imagery of consumption of the divine presence in ancient Jewish and Christian mysticism, see Ira Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism: Studies in the History of Midrash* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), 74–87; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke–Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 66–68; David Goodman, “Do Angels Eat?,” *JJS* 37 (1986): 160–75; Alexander Golitzin, “The Demons Suggest an Illusion of God's Glory in a Form: Controversy over the Divine Body and Vision of Glory in Some Late Fourth, Early Fifth Century Monastic Literature,” in *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism* (ed. Basil Lurie and Andrei Orlov; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009), 49–82.

has access to the holy of holies and it participates there in a transformative throne vision through the Son, who seems to be also one of the objects of this experience, enthroned at the right side of God.

The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews has retained much of the attention of recent scholarship.²² What has been particularly intriguing to researchers is the imagery of Christ's superiority to the angels prevalent in the first two chapters of Hebrews. For the nature and background of this Christology, particularly as it is reflected in the first two chapters of the early Christian epistle, scholars have proposed a stand against angelomorphic Christology,²³ a refutation of angel veneration,²⁴ or a polemic against Logos traditions.²⁵ A more nuanced proposal is that advanced by Charles Gieschen, who sees in Hebrews the development of an angelomorphic Christology.²⁶ In his words, "the author's effort to distinguish clearly between Christ and the angels does not preclude the presence of Angelomorphic Christology."²⁷ Even the worship of the Son by the angels "does not preclude Angelomorphic Christology since it has already been demonstrated that angels can and do worship an angelomorphic being in some texts."²⁸

A recent proposal by Richard Bauckham also stands out, but for other reasons:

22. For general overviews of opinions on the Christology of Hebrews, see Mason, "You Are a Priest Forever", 40–63; H. Attridge, *Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 25–27; W. R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981).

23. On this stand, see William L. Lane, *Hebrews* (2 vols.; Dallas: Word, 1991), 1:8; Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 138–39; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 139; Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne*, 210; see also Mason, "You Are a Priest Forever", 134–35.

24. Thus Robert Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Pilgrim, 1981), 5–13.

25. Thus Charles F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1967), 167; Ronald H. Nash, "The Notion of Mediator in Alexandrian Judaism and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Westminster Theological Journal* 40 (1977–78): 89–115 (92–95).

26. Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (AGAJU 42; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 295–98.

27. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 294.

28. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 299.

In Heb. 1–2 the angels function christologically in two ways: in ch. 1 Jesus' exaltation is understood as his exaltation over the angels, while in ch. 2 Jesus' humiliation in incarnation and death is understood as the meaning of Ps. 8's statement that God made him for a little while lower than the angels. In both cases Jesus is emphatically distinguished from the angels. In his exaltation he is not one of the angels, but divine. In his incarnation he is not one of the angels but human.²⁹

This explanation is highly problematic as it reads much later Christological developments (specifically the fifth-century dogmatic clarifications of Chalcedon) into Hebrews. The author admits this much:

These chapters [that is, Heb 1 and 2] are perhaps the closest the New Testament texts come to the conceptuality of the Chalcedonian Christology that emerged in the fifth century from the patristic christological controversies. Jesus is identified both with God (in ch. 1) and with humanity (in ch. 2)... In him, as Chalcedon insisted, true divinity and true humanity are both to be recognized.³⁰

In what regards the enthronement of the Son, the same author concludes that it is the definitive marker of divinity or the litmus test of the inclusion of a candidate for divinity into the boundary of the monotheistic Jewish godhead:

Sitting on the divine throne was the most powerful symbol Jewish monotheism had for the inclusion of a figure into in the exercise of the unique sovereignty over all things.³¹

My proposal here is that one must not take such a leap of faith all the way to Chalcedon to explain the imagery of Hebrews 1–2. Moreover, we need not presume such a marked transition in argument between chs. 1 and 2 to the point that we identify Chalcedonian dyophysitism in Hebrews. Most of the argument in Hebrews 1–2 and the imagery of the throne may be explained as an appropriation of Adamic and *merkabah* traditions.

29. Richard Bauckham, "Monotheism and Christology in Hebrews 1," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North; London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 167–85 (170).

30. Bauckham, "Monotheism and Christology," 185.

31. Bauckham, "Monotheism and Christology," 182. See also the same argument in Bauckham, "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. Carey C. Newman et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 43–69.

Adamic Traditions

Regarding proximities between Hebrews 1–2 and Adamic traditions, two passages are particularly illuminating: 1:6 and 2:5-9. Hebrews 1:6 deserves full citation:

And again, when he introduces (εἰσαγάγῃ) the Firstborn into the world (εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην), he says, “And let all the angels of God worship him (προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ).”³²

This passage is best understood in comparison to the tradition according to which at his creation Adam is presented to the angels for veneration.³³ This tradition is expressed fully in the *Life of Adam and Eve* corpus, extant in Greek, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, and Romanian.³⁴ The story survives only in the Latin, Georgian and Armenian versions. According to it, when Adam is introduced to the world, the angels are requested to venerate the protoplast. The Armenian version of the story reads as follows:

Satan also wept loudly and said to Adam. “All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you; for, because of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the Cherubim who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me; because of you my feet have trodden the earth.” Adam replied and said to him, “What are our sins against you, that you did all this to us?” Satan replied and said, “You did nothing to me, but I came to this measure because of you, on the day on which you were created, for I went forth on that day. When God breathed his spirit into you, you received the likeness of his image. Thereupon, Michael came and made you bow down before God. God said to Michael, ‘Behold I have made Adam in the likeness of my image.’ Then Michael summoned all the angels and God said to them, ‘Come, bow down to god (*astowac*) whom I made.’ Michael bowed first. He called me and said. ‘You too, bow down to Adam.’ I said, ‘Go away, Michael! I shall not bow down to him who is posterior to me, for I am

32. My translation.

33. On the tradition about the angelic veneration of Adam, see Gary A. Anderson, “The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan,” in *Literature on Adam and Eve* (ed. Gary A. Anderson et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 83–110; A. Marmorstein, “Controversies Between the Angels and the Creator,” *Melilah* 3–4 (1950): 93–102 (in Hebrew); Alexander Altmann, “The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends,” *JQR* 35 (1944–45): 371–91.

34. For succinct introductions to this corpus, see particularly Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLEJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997); Silviu Bunta, “Adam and Eve, Life of,” *EBR* 1:339–41.

former. Why is it proper for me to bow down to him?' The other angels, too, who were with me, heard this, and my words seemed pleasing to them and they did not prostrate themselves to you, Adam." (Armenian *Life of Adam and Eve* 12.1–15.1)³⁵

It is commonly accepted today that the extant versions of the corpus derive from a common Greek *Vorlage*.³⁶ Although this scene is not extant in any manuscript of the Greek recension, Michael Stone argues convincingly that the extant Greek version presupposes the story and that the narrative was part of the *Vorlage*.³⁷ In 16:3, in an address to the serpent, Satan mentions his fall through Adam: "Rise up and we [that is, Satan and the serpent] will cause him [Adam] to be cast out of the Garden, even as we were cast out through him."³⁸

The origins of the corpus are notoriously difficult to date.³⁹ Nevertheless, the fact that the tradition is recorded in many Jewish and Christian sources from the first centuries CE suggests that it knew a widespread circulation toward the end of the Second Temple period.⁴⁰ Moreover,

35. Armenian text and translation from Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (2d ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 15E–17E.

36. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, 42; de Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, 41–44, 65–67.

37. Michael Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on *The Books of Adam and Eve*," *JTS* 44 (1993): 143–56 (153–56).

38. Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 50E.

39. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, 53–58; Bunta, "Adam and Eve, Life of," 340.

40. The tradition appears in *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4:52–56 (Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* [2 vols.; ed. W. Schneemelcher; trans. R. M. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963], 1:500), a Coptic text attributed to Peter of Alexandria (W. E. Crum, "Texts Attributed to Peter of Alexandria," *JTS* 4 [1903]: 387–97 [396–97]), a Coptic *Encomium on Michael* (396–97 n. 3, also found in E. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London: British Museum, 1915], 904–905), a Coptic *Enthronement of Michael* (C. D. G. Müller, *Die Bucher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* [CSCO 225/226; Louvain: Peeters, 1962], 14–15), the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 25875, fol. 5b, cols. 1–2; Su-Min Ri, *La Caverne de Trésors. Les deux recensions syriaques* [CSCO 486–487; Louvain: Peeters, 1987]), Origen's *De Principiis* I.V.4–5 (*ANF* 4:258–60), Tertullian's *On Patience* 5 (*ANF* 3:709–11), and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* 5:1–2. Moreover, Stone also notes that 2 *En.* 31:5–6 (recension J) and 22:7 reflect a similar tradition of the fall of Satan ("The Fall of Satan," 146–47). It is also possible that the narrative of Jesus' temptation (Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13) alludes to the story of Satan's fall at least in three aspects. First, Jesus fasts for 40 days, as does Adam after the fall (and Eve, according to the shorter recensions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*). Second, the first of Jesus' temptations is food. Not

based on conspicuous literary and conceptual affinities between the *Life of Adam and Eve* passage and Daniel 3, an argument has been made that the pseudepigraphic scene of angelic veneration “owes its genius to the early Hellenistic period when Daniel 3 was written.”⁴¹ This hypothesis is further supported by 4Q381 1,10-11. The text, dated paleographically to the first half of the first century BCE,⁴² and possibly a copy of an original from the Persian or early Hellenistic periods,⁴³ refers fragmentarily to the angels’ ministry of Adam: “All His hosts and [His] ange[ls...] to serve man (or Adam) and to minister to him (ולעבד לאדם ולשרתו)...”⁴⁴ It has been previously noted that “both the verbs שרת and עבד which are used in 4Q381 have a strongly cultic orientation for the community that used the text” and that 4Q381 “may preserve the earliest datable witness to the belief that before his fall Adam was to be recipient of worship” from the angels.⁴⁵

To my knowledge, the only scholar to see any similarities between Heb 1:6 and the *Life of Adam and Eve* story is Frederick F. Bruce.⁴⁶ However, Bruce does not detect any close parallels between these two texts, yet the particular elements of Heb 1:6 evoke closely the tradition about the veneration of Adam. The use of ὅταν (“when”) suggests a specific time referent for the introduction of the Firstborn to the world (εἰσαγάγῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην). Given this specificity, scholars have

only was food the object of Eve’s first temptation, but, according to the Latin, Armenian, and Georgian texts of the *Life of Adam and Eve* (9:4-5), food is also the first thing that Satan tempts Eve with the second time. Moreover, food plays a major role in the Adamic corpus. Third and more importantly for this investigation, Satan’s request in the gospel story that Jesus should worship him contrasts with God’s request in the *Life of Adam and Eve* narrative that the angels, including Satan, worship the image of God, Adam.

41. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 103.

42. E. M. Schuller, “4QNon-Canonical Psalms,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; ed. E. Eshel et al.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 75–172 (88).

43. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 21–52.

44. The Hebrew and the translation are from Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran*, 76; the translation is reprinted in Schuller, “4QNon-Canonical Psalms,” 75–172.

45. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 99–100.

46. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (The New International Commentary on the New Testament; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 57. Donald Guthrie notes the Adamic tradition tangentially, but he assumes that Heb 1:6 is indebted to Deut 32:43 (*The Letter to the Hebrews: An Introduction and Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983], 74 n. 1).

located the introduction at incarnation, birth, baptism, ascension, or second coming.⁴⁷ However, none of these options makes perfect sense. Given that the introduction to the οἰκουμένη here results in veneration by angels, it is safe to assume that οἰκουμένη means here the heavenly world and not the entire cosmos⁴⁸ and that an introduction to the angels at these moments in Christ's existence makes no sense.⁴⁹ However, such presentation to the angels, followed by a call for veneration and resulting implicitly in an act of worship, parallels the Adamic tradition quite closely.⁵⁰ The actual call for veneration (προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ) speaks for itself.⁵¹

Regarding Heb 2:5-9, scholars generally agree that it is a unit within the longer introduction on Christ's superiority over angels.⁵²

⁵ For it was not to angels that God subjected the world to come, of which we are speaking. ⁶ It has been testified somewhere, "What is man that you are mindful of him, or the son of man (υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου), that you care for him? ⁷ You made him for a little while lower than the angels, You crowned him with glory and honor, ⁸ putting everything in subjection under his feet." Now in putting everything in subjection to him, he left nothing outside his control. As it is, we do not yet see everything in

47. See the reviews of these positions in Attridge, *Hebrews*, 55, and Allen, *Hebrews*, 175.

48. See the discussion in Allen, *Hebrews*, 174; O. Michels, "οἰκουμένη," *TDNT* 5:157–59; pace Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56. Although Allen takes οἰκουμένη to mean the angelic world, he concludes that the introduction to the angels could take place at the enthronement. This reading does not take into account the full strength of εἰσαγάγη. If the Firstborn is introduced (εἰσαγάγη) to the οἰκουμένη, given that εἰσαγάγη has this connotation of novelty, the Firstborn could have hardly been part of the angelic world before this introduction.

49. Moreover, Christ's birth is described in Heb 10:5 as εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

50. Second, scholars have taken πρωτότοκος to be an allusion to traditions surrounding the figures of Wisdom, Logos, or the highest angels, although the term is not used in any of the texts commonly cited. See the discussion in Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56.

51. The text quoted does not exist in exactly the same words anywhere in the Old Testament. Scholars have looked at two possible sources for this quote: Ps 97:6 in its Septuagint form (96:7: προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ) and Deut 32:43, the latter in three recensions, namely, the Septuagint at Deut 32:43 (προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ), 4QDeut at Deut 32:43 (version close to the LXX), and the Septuagint's *Odes* 2:43 version of Deut 32:43 (προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ). The closest in form is the Septuagint's *Odes* 2:43, which only differs from Heb 1:6 in using the definite article οἱ in οἱ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.

52. George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-linguistic Analysis* (NovTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 63–65, 92–102, 109.

subjection to him.⁹ But we see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor because of the suffering of death, so that by the grace of God he might taste death for everyone.

There is also a widespread agreement that γάρ of the opening verse of the unit reaches all the way back to the first chapter and refers to the theme of Christ's superiority over angels.⁵³

The intriguing aspect of this unit is the use of Ps 8:4-6, particularly in the context of the broader theme of Christ's superiority over the angels.⁵⁴ The connections between Hebrews and the use of Psalm 8 in Adam speculations noted in previous scholarship have been limited to 1QS 3:17-22, 3 *En.* 5:10; *b. Sanh.* 38b; and 4 *Ezra* 6:53-54.⁵⁵ The conclusion offered based on these texts has been that "in extrabiblical Jewish texts, the psalm primarily emphasizes the insignificance of human beings, but a few use the psalm to speak of human dignity."⁵⁶

James D. G. Dunn perceives a connection with Adamic literature and offers the following observation:

[Jesus] fulfils God's original intention for man—Jesus exalted after death. The risen Christ is crowned with the glory that Adam failed to reach by virtue of his sin...[yet] Christ could not become the last Adam, progenitor of a new manhood beyond death, if he had not first been Adam, one with the manhood which the first Adam begot.⁵⁷

Bruce has also noted an application here of Adamic motifs to "Christ as the last Adam, the head of the new creation and ruler of the world to come."⁵⁸

53. See, among other sources, Bruce, *Hebrews*, 71; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:45; Allen, *Hebrews*, 202 n. 167; Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 93. For short overviews of this and dissenting opinions see Allen, *Hebrews*, 202, and Attridge, *Hebrews*, 69–70.

54. Previous scholarship has noted that this psalm is used in three other places in the New Testament: Matt 21:16; 1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:20-22. This does suggest that the Psalm became part of early Christological discourses early on in the history of Christianity (see the evidence in George H. Guthrie and Russell D. Quin, "A Discourse Analysis of the Use of Psalm 8:4-6 in Hebrews 2:5-9," *JETS* 49 [2006]: 235–46).

55. Guthrie and Quin, "A Discourse Analysis," 236–37.

56. Guthrie and Quin, "A Discourse Analysis," 237.

57. James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 109–11.

58. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 72; see also the extensive observations on pp. 72–75.

These interpretations overlook the most obvious connotation of the first line of Psalm 8 quoted in Heb 2:5-9 (Ps 8:4: “What is man that you are mindful of him, or the son of man, that you care for him?”): whoever is the “man” and/or the “son of man,” the psalm is clearly derogatory toward this person. This line of Psalm 8 is only used in two of the texts noted in previous scholarship, namely 3 *En.* 5:10 and *b. Sanh.* 38b, and in both it is taken in its obvious sense, as a defamation of the “man” and/or the “son of man.” In 3 *En.* 5:10 the angels protest with it the forgiveness of the generation of Enosh. In *b. Sanh.* 38b Ps 8:4 is the angels’ argument against the creation of Adam. The same use of this verse of the psalm is attested in *Gen. Rab.* 8:6 and *Pirke R. El.* 13.⁵⁹ Angels also use this verse to oppose the ascents of Rabbi Ishmael (3 *En.* 2) and Rabbi Akibah (*b. Hag.* 15b), the elevation of Enoch (3 *En.* 4:6-10), and the revelation of the Torah to Moses (*b. Šabb.* 88b-89a; *Pes. Rab.* 25:4; 3 *En.* 15B).

It appears clear that Ps 8:4 figures prominently in the broader Jewish tradition about the angels’ animosity toward humans.⁶⁰ The inclusion of this line of Psalm 8 into the Hebrews theme of Christ’s superiority over angels, a context in which the derogatory connotations of the psalmic verse only come in clearer focus, suggests that this use of the psalm is also best understood within the larger Jewish tradition of the angelic opposition to humanity.⁶¹ It is telling that, as scholars have previously noted, Heb 2:5-9 does not transform υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου into the common Christological title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.⁶² The argument that the author

59. The motif of angelic opposition to the creation of Adam, without the use of Ps 8, is further attested in *Gen. Rab.* 8:4-5 and 3 *En.* 4:6.

60. On these traditions see Altmann, “The Gnostic Background,” 371-91; Marmorstein, “Controversies between the Angels and the Creator,” 93-102; Joseph P. Schultz, “Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law,” *JQR* 61 (1970-71): 282-307; Peter Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen. Untersuchungen zur Rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975); Anderson, “The Exaltation of Adam,” 89-108.

61. Subsequent Christologies develop a similar theme of angelic opposition to the ascending anthropomorphic Christ, attested, among other sources, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Justin, and Origen. See the evidence in J. G. Davies, *He Ascended into Heaven: A Study In the History of Doctrine* (London: Lutterworth, 1958), 210; E. Kähler, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24 Psalmes in der Alten Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958); David J. Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Response to Ezekiel’s Vision* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 341-43, 351.

62. Thus Lane, *Hebrews*, 47; James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (3d ed.; London: SCM, 2006), 35-40.

simply follows the Septuagint version of the psalm and this faithfulness prevails over the temptation to make the construction fit the author's Christological stand cannot be made here. After all, the author already takes some freedom in quoting Psalm 8 here⁶³ and rewrites so many other scriptural passages elsewhere in the text. Neither can one simply assume that the phrase can only refer to Jesus (the author identifies the referent, the "man"/"son of man," with Jesus in 2:9).⁶⁴ I would suggest that the author wants the audience to understand υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Psalm 8 in reference both to the Son and humankind. The overtly Christological title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is purposely avoided in order to preserve here a second reference to humanity in general.⁶⁵ Eric Mason arrives at a similar conclusion: "The quotation is best understood as intentionally ambiguous: it is applied to Jesus but intended to evoke its original application to humanity in general."⁶⁶

The Convergence of Adamic and Merkabah Traditions

As I mentioned above, the thrones of God and of the Son in the holy of holies are mentioned several times in the epistle (cf. Heb 4:16; 8:1; 10:12). The first two chapters of the letter refer to the Son's enthronement three times (1:3, 8, 13). The enthronement of the Son comes into clearer focus in conjunction with the other prominent features of his portrait, which show indebtedness to Adamic traditions: the superiority over the angels, the rivalry with the angels indicated by the use of Ps 8:4 within the theme of superiority, the angelic worship, and the designations ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης and χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. Given this convergence of Adamic and enthronement imageries, I would suggest that the source essential to the argument of Hebrews 1–2 is the text that

63. See the detailed discussion of this in Attridge, *Hebrews*, 71.

64. Thus also in Allen, *Hebrews*, 205.

65. Hebrews' double reading of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, textually in reference to humankind, interpretively in reference to Jesus (in 2:9), has confused modern commentators. See the discussion of this confusion in Allen, *Hebrews*, 204–205. C. K. Barrett, *On Paul: Aspects of His Life, Work and Influence in the Early Church* (London: T&T Clark International, 2003), 202; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 72; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 72; David A. DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle "to the Hebrews"* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 108–10.

66. Mason, "You Are a Priest Forever", 20. See also Lane, *Hebrews*, 41–50. It is interesting that early Christian interpreters understand the "man" to be Adam and the "son of man" to be the deified humanity, first accomplished in Christ (e.g. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 8:10–12, *NPNF* 8:30–31).

the author never quotes or alludes to: Ezekiel 1. It has been argued above that such omission does not detract from the *merkabah* character of the letter or specifically of its first two chapters.

Scholars have previously argued that already in the Second Temple period Ezekiel 1 was read in conjunction with Gen 1:26 toward a tradition in which the Glory (כבוד, δόξα) of God is the anthropomorphic Image in which Adam is made.⁶⁷ In the words of Gilles Quispel, the divine כבוד is “the glorious manifestation of God as Man.”⁶⁸ This conjunction between Ezekiel 1 and Gen 1:26 makes the divine Glory the anthropomorphic prototype of humanity.⁶⁹

A rapprochement between Ezekiel 1 and Gen 1:26 may be seen in the tradition of the angels’ veneration of Adam in the Armenian recension of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. In this form of the tradition Adam receives worship because he is made in “the likeness of the image” of God,⁷⁰ the image being apparently someone other than Adam.⁷¹

67. See Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 269–78; *idem*, “Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism,” *VC* 37 (1983): 260–87; *idem*, “Colossians 1.15-18a in the Light of Jewish Mysticism and Gnosticism,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 183–201; *idem*, “Glory,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn et al.; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 348–52; Gilles Quispel, “Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis,” *VC* 34 (1980): 1–13.

68. Quispel, “Ezekiel 1:26,” 2.

69. For the ramifications of this resemblance between humanity and the divine in ancient and medieval Jewish thought, see Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), particularly 21–26, 63–73, 128–33.

70. Only the Georgian recension describes Adam along the lines of Gen 1:26 (MT) as “in the image and likeness of divinity.” The Latin has *vultus et similitudo tua ad imaginem dei*, but the subsequent call of Michael reads *adorate imaginem dei* (see the synoptic presentation of these versions in Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 15–17). There need not be a contradiction in the Latin recension. Judaism, like iconodulic Christianity later on, has developed the vocabulary of the participation of the image into its prototype (Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 197–200). Given this language, Adam can both *copy* the image as something external to himself and *be* the image. This language of identity is also evident in the Armenian recension of the *Life*, in which Adam, although only made “in the likeness of the image” of God is called straightforwardly “god”.

71. This resemblance with the image makes the protoplast “god,” a lesser god as it were. As I have noted elsewhere, the term means both “god” and “idol,” and has a cultic connotation. See Silviu Bunta, “The Likeness of the Image: Adamic Motifs and צלם Anthropology in Rabbinic Traditions about Jacob’s Image Enthroned in Heaven,” *JSJ* 37 (2006): 55–84, here p. 67.

The roots of the Image-Glory tradition go well back into the Second Temple period. 4Q504 8 (Puech col.I), 1-7 attests to the ongoing association of the Image of Gen 1:26 with the כבוד prior to the first century BCE.⁷² The fragment reads:

¹ [Remem]ber, Lord, that [...] ² [...] us. And you, who live for ev[er,...] ³ [...] the marvels of old and the portents [...] ⁴ ...Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the likeness of [your] glory ([יצרתה בדמות כבוד]בה) [...] ⁵ [...] the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge [...] ⁶ [...] in the gard]en of Eden, which you had planted. You made [him] govern [...] ⁷ [...] and so that he would walk in a glorious land...⁷³

As it has been previously pointed out, the phrase [יצרתה בדמות כבוד]בה recalls both the creation of Adam in the צלם and דמות of God in Gen 1:26 and the depiction of the כבוד in Ezek 1:28 as מראה דמות כבוד יהוה.⁷⁴

It can be argued that the Septuagint version of Gen 1:26, in which the protoplast is made not “in” or “into” the image, but “according to the image” (κατ’ εἰκόνα), points to the same tradition according to which the image of God is not the protoplast, but someone distinct from Adam, an anthropomorphic embodiment of the divine. The Image–Glory tradition also seems to surface in Philo’s conception of the Logos, who is both ὁ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπος (*Conf.* 146) and θεός (*QG* 2:62), and “neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides” (*Her.* 205-206).⁷⁵

72. For short analyses of this text, see M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III* (4Q482–4Q520) (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 163; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 92–93. The earliest copy of this scroll has been paleographically dated to around 150 BCE (Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 137). The autograph predates the middle of the second century BCE and is possibly non-Qumranic: E. G. Chazon, “Is Divrei Hame’rot a Sectarian Prayer?,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1–17; D. K. Falk, “Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (ed. D. K. Falk et al.; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–26 (109).

73. The text is that in Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 163. The translation is from F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2:1008-1009.

74. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 163; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 93; *idem*, “Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 292–312 (297).

75. Translation from F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, *Philo* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, multiple editions). See also *Somn.* 1.143. For a lucid and thorough discussion of Philo’s concerns about and challenges to the divine

It has been noted in previous scholarship that this Image–Glory tradition has become one of the Christological vocabularies of emerging Christianity. It is the most obvious background of the hymn in Col 1:15–20, which names Christ “the image of the invisible God” (εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου), “the firstborn of all creation” (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως), the demiurge, and the embodiment of “the fullness of God.”⁷⁶ A century later Irenaeus writes of Christ in similar terms.⁷⁷

I would argue here that Hebrews 1–2 feeds into this lore and depicts Christ as the subject of both Ezek 1:26 and Gen 1:26; he is the divine Glory of Ezekiel 1 and the anthropomorphic Image of God that is the prototype of Adam. More concepts in Hebrews 1–2 reflect these Adam speculations. The Christological titles ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης and χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ (Heb 1:3) are particularly illuminating. As Harold Attridge notes, χαρακτήρ conveys “the notion... frequently expressed in terms of the εἰκὼν of the divine, as at 2 Cor 4:4; Rom 8:29; and Col 1:15.”⁷⁸ In a parallel expression in *1 Clement*, a Christian letter dated to the end of the first century,⁷⁹ the protoplast is depicted as τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνης χαρακτῆρα, “a representation of his [God’s] own image” (*1 Clem.* 33:4).⁸⁰ ἀπαύγασμα is used in parallelism with εἰκὼν in Wis 7:26. *1 Clement* calls Jesus ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, “the radiance of his majesty” (*1 Clem.* 36:2).⁸¹ The letter paraphrases Heb 1:3 here; it then quotes Heb 1:4.

Conclusions

At this stage of the research it seems safe to draw the following conclusions. First, a major purpose of Hebrews seems to be mystagogical: it introduces the meaning of the ritual, which is heavenly and transformative. If there is not enough evidence in the text to assert that the *primary* purpose of the ritual is to achieve visionary experiences (of which one was not apparently supposed to be too descriptive), this

boundaries, see Alan Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 159–81. For Philo’s thought on the Logos in conjunction with this Image–Glory tradition, see Fossum, “Colossians 1.15–18a,” 187–89.

76. Fossum, “Colossians 1.15–18a,” 183–201.

77. E.g. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 4.33.4; *Epid.* 22.

78. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 43 n. 105; see also pp. 43–44.

79. Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 23–24.

80. Text and translation from Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 64–65.

81. Text and translation from Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 68–69.

function of the cult is certainly not insignificant. The epistle's echoes of *merkabah* mysticism extend beyond the understanding of the cult as a transformative ascent to the heavens/temple, mainly to the Edenic features of the transformed community and its engagement in visionary experiences, particularly visions of the divine thrones located in the holy of holies.

Second, the opening two chapters of Hebrews incorporate several elements of Adamic traditions into their Christology: the broader theme of superiority over the angels, the rivalry with the angels indicated by the use of Ps 8:4 within the theme of superiority, angelic worship (of the Son, in the case of Hebrews, of Adam, in Adamic literature), and the Christological designations ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης and χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. The combination of these Adamic features with enthronement imagery in the portrayal of the Son reflects the rapprochement between Ezekiel 1 and Gen 1:26 attested in earlier Jewish and Christian traditions. In this Image–Glory lore the divine Glory is an anthropomorphic intermediary between humanity and the divine. This lore has become one of the backgrounds of early Christology, as attested in the hymn of Col 1:15-20. In the Christian application of the pre-existing Jewish tradition the Son of God stands at the boundary between divine and human or is both divine and human even before the incarnation. One could speak, as it were, of a pre-incarnational Christ. The evidence adduced here suggests that Hebrews feeds into this development and advances such an Image–Glory Christology, in which even before the creation of Adam the boundary between humanity and divinity collapses in the Son, the embodiment of the divine and the anthropomorphic prototype of Adam. It is then telling that Adam is never mentioned in Hebrews and there is no direct reference or allusion to Gen 1:26. This Image–Glory tradition places in better focus the description of Christ as the πρόδρομος and ἀρχηγός of the community and the deliberate ambiguities in the text that locate the Son even before the incarnation within the boundaries of humanity.

Lastly, this Image–Glory Christology need not impede on the Son's preexistence or on his general inclusion into the godhead, as it indeed need not impede on his pre-incarnational inclusion into humanity. We need to readjust the narrowness and specificity of our terminology in light of the fluidity of the boundaries between the divine and the human in ancient Judaism and emerging Christianity. In this context, an appeal to Chalcedon could not be more unnecessary, out of place, and misleading.

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