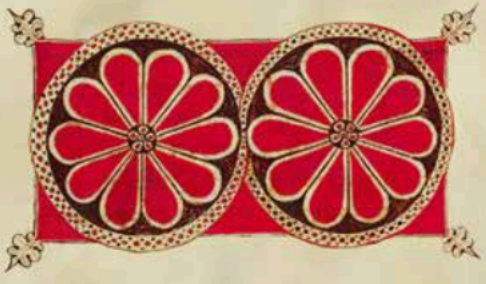


The Language and Literature of the New Testament

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF STANLEY E. PORTER'S 60TH BIRTHDAY



EDITED BY

LOIS K. FULLER DOW, CRAIG A. EVANS

AND ANDREW W. PITTS

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Essays in Honor of Stanley E. Porter's 60th Birthday

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Lois K. Fuller Dow
Craig A. Evans
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Abbreviations

AARAS	American Academy of Religion Academy Series
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity)
AmJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, edited by A. Cleveland Coxe et al.
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
BAGD	Walter Baur, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979
BAGL	*Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDAG	Walter Baur, Frederick W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BDF	Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BI	*Biblical Illustrator*
Bib	*Biblica*
BIBALDS	Bibal Dissertation Series
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BLG	Biblical Languages: Greek

BNP	*Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Edited by Hubert Cancik. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2011
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BZAW	Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* Berlin, 1862–
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CTR	*Criswell Theological Review*
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
DPL	*Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, edited by Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
EKKNT	Evangelische-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
ET	English Translation
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
ExpT	*Expository Times*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FN	*Filología Neotestamentaria*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GNS	Good News Studies
GNT	Greek New Testament
GTS	Gettysburg Theological Studies
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HTA	Historisch-Theologische Auslegung
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IBR	Institute for Biblical Research
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin-Brandenburgische Academie der Wissenschaften

IJT	*Indian Journal of Theology*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, edited by Hermann Dessau
in loc.	in the place where the passage (*locc.* passages) is/are discussed
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JGRChJ	*Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JOST	Johannine Studies
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KEK	see MeyerK
LBS	Linguistic Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976
LXX	Septuagint (Greek Old Testament)
MeyerK	Kritische-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
MJTM	*McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry*
MNTS	McMaster New Testament Studies
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
MT	Masoretic Text of the Old Testament
NA27	*Novum Testamentum Graece*. 27th ed. Based on the work of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle. Edited by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce Metzger. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006

NA28	*Novum Testamentum Graece.* 28th ed. Based on the work of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle. Edited by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce Metzger. Revised under the direction of Holger Strutwolf. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013
NAC	New American Commentary
NCBC	New Century Bible commentary
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NET	New English Translation
NHL	*Nag Hammadi Library in English.* Edited by James M. Robinson. 4th rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 1966
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NPNF^{1}	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 1
NPNF^{2}	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 2
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
NTL	New Testament Library
NTM	New Testament Monographs
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTT	New Testament Theology
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* Edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. 3rd ed. rev. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005
OG	Old Greek version of the Old Testament
OPTT	*Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics*
OT	Old Testament
PAST	Pauline Studies
PBM	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
Pneuma	*Pneuma: Journal for the Society of Pentecostal Studies*
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*

RB	*Revue Biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
REG	*Review de Études Grecques*
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SANT	Studium zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SEPT	Septuagint Commentary Series
SFEG	Schriften der finnischen exegetischen Gesellschaft
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTG	Studies in New Testament Greek
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
STDJ	Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah
sv.	*sub verbo* = See under the entry (*svv.* entries) for the word(s)
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* 10 vols. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
THNTC	Two Horizons New Testament Commentary
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBS	United Bible Societies
UBS4	United Bible Societies. *Greek New Testament*. 4th ed
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplements
VL	Vetus Latina
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary

WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZThG	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Gemeinde*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

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PhD McMaster Divinity College, and one of Stan Porter's former doctoral students, is Chaplain at Handong Global University in Pohang, Korea. He is the author of *Paul's Gospel in Romans: A Discourse Analysis of Rom 1:16—8:39* (LBS 3. Brill); "Against Richard B. Hays's 'Faith of Jesus Christ,'" *JGRChJ* 5 (2008) 51–80; "Revisiting the πίστις Χριστοῦ Debate: A Linguistic Investigation," *Scripture and Interpretation* (2011) 55–75; and "Revisiting 'σωτηρία' in Philippians 1:19: An Evaluation of the Diachronic Approach and Suggestion of the Synchronic Approach," *JBTR* 32 (2013) 159–83.

John A. L. Lee
since retirement from the University of Sydney in 2001, where he lectured in Ancient Greek for 28 years, has been an Honorary Fellow at Macquarie University, Sydney. His research interest is in Greek language, especially Koine Greek and the language of the LXX and NT. His major works are *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (1983) and *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (2003). Recent papers include "The Onoma Rule," *NovT* 56 (2014) 411–21. He was Grinfield Lecturer in the Septuagint at Oxford University in 2011–12, and is working on the book of the lectures.

David Mathewson
has a BA from Colorado Christian University, MA from Denver Seminary, and PhD from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. He is Associate Professor of New Testament at Denver Seminary, Denver Colorado, and the author of *A New Heaven and a New Earth: The Meaning and Function of the Old Testament in Revelation 21.1–22.5* (Sheffield Academic, 2003), *Verbal Aspect in the Book of*

Revelation (Brill, 2010), and *Revelation: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Baylor University Press, 2016). With Elodie B. Emig he co-authored *Intermediate Greek Grammar: Syntax for Students of the New Testament* (Baker, 2016).

Matthew Brook O'Donnell
is Research Assistant Professor at Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, where he conducts research on social neuroscience, natural language processing, corpus linguistics, computational social science, and information diffusion. He is also an adjunct professor at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, Ontario. He is the author of *Corpus Linguistics and the Greek of the New Testament*, and numerous articles on Greek Language and electronic markup of the Greek New Testament.

Thomas H. Olbricht
is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Religion, Pepperdine University, Malibu, California. He holds graduate degrees from the University of Iowa and Harvard Divinity School, and Pepperdine conferred on him the Doctor of Humane Letters in 2011. Olbricht has also taught at the University of Iowa, Harding University, Pennsylvania State University, and Abilene Christian University. He has published twenty-five books as author or co-editor, including three with Stanley E. Porter under Sheffield Academic: *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (1993); *Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology* (1996); and *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture* (1997). Porter and Dennis L. Stamps edited a Festschrift in Olbricht's honor: *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture* (1999). Olbricht lives in Exeter, New Hampshire.

Hughson T. Ong
PhD McMaster Divinity College, is Lecturer in New Testament and Managing Editor of McMaster Divinity College Press at McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. He has published numerous journal articles and book essays on various New Testament topics, including linguistics and sociolinguistics. He is the author of *The Multilingual Jesus and the Sociolinguistic World of the New Testament* (Brill, 2015), and co-editor (with Stanley E. Porter) of *The Origins of John's Gospel* (Brill, 2015). He is also a blogger of *Domain Thirty-Three* (the blog of Stanley E. Porter, Hughson T. Ong, and David I. Yoon).

Francis Pang
is a former student of Stan. He is currently a colleague at McMaster Divinity College, serving as Assistant Professor of New Testament and Manager of

Information Technology. He is the Associate Director of the Centre of Biblical Linguistics, Translation, and Exegesis at the college and an Assistant Editor of the journal *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* (BAGL). His most recent publication is *Revisiting Aspect and* Aktionsart: *A Corpus Approach to Greek Event Typology* (Brill, 2016).

Nicholas Perrin
PhD Marquette University, is Dean of Wheaton Graduate School where he also holds the Franklin S. Dyrness Chair of Biblical Studies. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including *Thomas and Tatian* (SBL/Brill); *Thomas: The Other Gospel* (Westminster John Knox); *Lost in Transmission* (Thomas Nelson); and *Jesus the Temple* (SPCK; Baker Academic), the first of a three-part trilogy on the historical Jesus. He is also co-editor of the revised edition of *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (InterVarsity).

Ronald D. Peters
has a BRE from Great Lakes Christian College, an MA from Cincinnati Bible Seminary, and his PhD from McMaster Divinity College (2012). He is Professor of New Testament at Great Lakes Christian College in Lansing, Michigan. He is the author of *The Greek Article: A Functional Grammar of ὁ-items in the Greek New Testament with Special Emphasis on the Greek Article* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Stan was Ron's supervisor during his doctoral studies at McMaster Divinity College.

Andrew W. Pitts
PhD McMaster Divinity College, is Chair of the Biblical Studies Department and Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies at Arizona Christian University. He has authored or edited several peer-reviewed chapters, articles, and books, most notably some with Stan, including *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture* (Brill, 2013), *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism* (Brill, 2013), *The Language of the New Testament* (Brill, 2013), *Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Eerdmans, 2015), and *An Intermediate Grammar for the Greek of the New Testament* (Eerdmans, 2017).

Eckhard J. Schnabel
is Mary F. Rockefeller Distinguished Professor of New Testament Research at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts. He is the author of *Early Christian Mission* (IVP, 2004); *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (HTA, R. Brockhaus, 2006); *The Book of Acts* (ZECNT, Zondervan, 2011); *Paul the Missionary: Realities, Strategies, and Methods* (IVP, 2008); *The*

Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus: Texts and Commentary (with David W. Chapman, Mohr Siebeck, 2015); *Der Brief an die Römer* (HTA, R. Brockhaus, 2015–16). He has collaborated with Prof. Porter in several Bingham Colloquia at McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, and on the Grant Osborne Festschrift *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries* (Brill, 2012).

Catherine Smith
is currently a Research Fellow and Technical Officer in the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE) at the University of Birmingham, specializing in the development of software tools for creating critical editions. As an undergraduate and Master's student at the University of Roehampton while Prof. Porter was head of department, she was introduced to discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics, which led to her completing a PhD applying these methods to the Synoptic Problem. Recent publications include "Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament," in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*, edited by Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović (Center for Hellenic Studies, 2015, with H. A. G. Houghton).

Christopher D. Stanley
is professor of theology at St. Bonaventure University in western New York. He is the author of *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1992) and *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (T. & T. Clark, 2004) along with numerous articles and two edited books on Paul's use of Scripture. One of these books was co-edited with Stanley Porter, who was a fellow member of the "Paul and Scripture Seminar" that operated from 2005 to 2010 under the aegis of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Beth M. Stovell
PhD, is Assistant Professor of Old Testament at Ambrose Seminary of Ambrose University in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Beth has authored *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse in the Fourth Gospel: John's Eternal King* (Brill), edited *Making Sense of Motherhood: Biblical and Theological Perspectives* (Wipf & Stock) and co-edited *Biblical Hermeneutics: Five Views* (IVP) with Stan Porter. Beth is currently co-writing a book on interpreting biblical language with Stan (IVP), writing a two-volume commentary on the Minor Prophets (Zondervan), and a commentary on Ezekiel (Baker). Beth was Stan's student during her doctoral work at McMaster Divinity College and he remains a valuable mentor.

Joshua D. Tyra
has an MA in Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology and Languages from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. He studied Modern Standard Arabic at the Defense Language Institute and has a BA in French from the University of Chicago. He has taught French at Wheaton College and the Indiana University Honors Program in Foreign Languages, and Modern Standard Arabic at TEDS. His research interests include the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, the interaction between Ancient Egyptian and Semitic languages, and Indo-European languages including Latin, Old English, and Breton.

Jonathan M. Watt
is Professor of Biblical Studies and department chair at Geneva College (Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania), adjunct professor at the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), and pastor at the Tusca Area R. P. Church in Beaver. His publications are mostly in the area of Hellenistic Greek and linguistics, and in that connection he has enjoyed many years as friend and colleague-at-a-distance with Stan Porter, including co-editing in recent years the Brill Linguistic Biblical Studies academic series.

Stephen Westerholm
is Professor of Early Christianity in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University, where he is a cross-campus colleague of Stan Porter. Recent publications include *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics*; *Justification Reconsidered: Rethinking a Pauline Theme*; and *Reading Sacred Scripture: Voices from the History of Biblical Interpretation* (co-authored with Martin Westerholm).

Cynthia Long Westfall
PhD University of Surrey, is Assistant Professor of New Testament at McMaster Divinity College. She has taught at all levels in institutions in North America, including Denver Seminary and Colorado Christian University. She has written and edited several books and written numerous articles about topics including Hebrews, Jewish Christianity, discourse analysis, linguistics, and gender.

Interdisciplinary New Testament Scholarship: An Introduction to the Research of Professor Stanley E. Porter

Andrew W. Pitts

In the *Festschrift* for Grant Osborne, Porter and Schnabel note that:

> In the Greek world, the age of "young people" was reckoned from 18 to 30 years, and the age of an "old man" from 50 years onwards. In Rome and Italy, the *iuniores* were 17 to 46 years old, the *seniores* were the men from 47 to 59 years of age, and the *senes* were men over 60 years of age.[1]

So now with Stan[2] turning 60, I suppose he is "old" enough, by his own standards, for us to honor his scholarly work with a *Festschrift*. And it is the privilege of the editors to do so. Though the bibliography given below with introductory sections will highlight Stan's scholarly work, it is also important to note that he has made several contributions to society beyond his academic accomplishments, especially within the church. He is an evangelical Christian. He and his wife Wendy lead worship services not only at the Divinity College, the Institute for Biblical Research (IBR), and other academic venues, but also at churches across the world. The bibliography below also excludes most of his numerous popular publications and presentations, many of which provide a reasonable account of the Christian faith in an increasingly skeptical world or seek to articulate its central components as a worldview.

I suppose when most people think of Stan Porter, they think immediately of his connection with Greek language and linguistics. And undoubtedly, he has made a massive impact in this field and continues to speak as one of the leading voices in this domain of study. However, what initially attracted me to Stan and his work—to the point that I would eventually study under his supervision

1 Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard Schnabel, "Foreword: Professor Grant R. Osborne," in *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, xi–xviii (xi). TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

2 I will refer to him as Stan in this material, given that a *Festschrift* is not only an academic project but also a personal one—edited by a former student (Andrew), a colleague (Lois, also a former student), and a long-time friend (Craig).

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for an MA and a PhD—was his interdisciplinary approach to New Testament studies. As with Stan, my interests were diverse, not limited to a particular corpus, method, or problem within the study of early Christianity. But I think at times Stan's immense contribution to our understanding of Greek language and linguistics may overshadow his equally important contributions in several other areas of New Testament study. He has done more work on rhetoric and the New Testament than most. He is a prolific Pauline scholar. His contributions to the study of the historical Jesus have generated a great deal of scholarly interest and response. He has worked extensively in papyrology and textual criticism. And so on.

One of the goals of this introduction to and bibliography for Stan's research, therefore, is to showcase his impact across the span of New Testament study, touching on most areas of significance within the discipline. What I hope to show is that Stan's career has been characterized by an interdisciplinary approach to New Testament research (and teaching) in at least two ways. First, within the field of New Testament Studies and Christian Origins, there are many sub-fields (textual criticism, literary criticism, historical Jesus research, etc.). Most scholars tend to spend their careers working to make an impact in one of these sub-fields. Occasionally, a scholar will work in two sub-fields, often researching a specific document (such as Romans) or corpus (such as Paul's writings) from the standpoint of a particular methodology (say, literary criticism). This, then, involves them in two sub-fields. A New Testament scholar can have a fruitful career and leave a substantial impact for years to come following this approach. Stan goes against the grain in this respect—as is his *modus operandi*—and has experimented with a wide range of methodologies and worked within every major corpus within the New Testament (besides perhaps the Catholic letters or letters of the Jewish mission, where he has made some contribution as well—for example, a response to Dibelius on the cohesion of James). But Stan's work is interdisciplinary in a second way: he applies methodologies (especially a range of linguistic and literary methods) developed outside of biblical studies to New Testament texts.

A final note before moving on: the bibliography below is both incomplete and slightly repetitive. Since the purpose of this bibliography is to show substantial impact in several sub-disciplines of New Testament studies, it must remain somewhat incomplete because some of Stan's work does not fit into the major categories plotted out below or is written for a popular audience. For example, Stan has done work in Christian worldview that is not included below. He has authored articles on Job and the LXX text of Isaiah, which are not included. It is also incomplete in that it does not detail Stan's consistent involvement in the Society of Biblical Literature (as well as the Society

for New Testament Studies, the Evangelical Theological Society, IBR, etc.), from founding the SBL Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics Group (still operative today) to presenting multiple papers each year in various venues. The list is also slightly repetitive in that certain books or chapters/articles span (usually) two sub-fields. For example, I have included Stan's linguistic analysis of Romans under the sections for both Greek Grammatical and Linguistic Study and Pauline Studies. Each bibliography section is given in order of publication, not alphabetical order, so that the progress of Stan's work is easily observable.

1 Editorial Contributions to New Testament Studies

One of the accomplishments that sets Stan apart from many of his colleagues is his prolific editing of academic publications within biblical studies. At the age of 60, he has served as the senior editor or co-senior editor for seventeen different series and journals. He has also served on the editorial boards of several others. Here is the list:

- Series Editor, Johannine Studies Series (JOST), Brill, 2013–current
- Senior Co-Editor and Editorial Board Member, *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* (*BAGL*), 2012–current (published by McMaster Divinity College Press and Wipf & Stock)
- Editorial Board, *Christian Higher Education*, 2010–current
- Editor, Linguistic Biblical Studies, 2009–current
- Editor, with Andrew W. Pitts, Brill Exegetical Commentary Series, Brill, 2009–current
- General Editor and Publisher, McMaster Divinity College Press, 2008–current
- Series Editor, Eerdmans New Testament Greek Series, Eerdmans, 2003–current (first volume appeared 2010)
- Editorial Board, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters*, Eisenbrauns, 2012–current; Senior Editor, 2014–current
- Editorial Board, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Sage Publications, UK, 2002–current
- Editorial Board, *The Bible Translator*, American Bible Society, New York, 2002–current
- Editorial Board, *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, Brill, 2001–current
- Editorial Board, *McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry*, 2001–current

- Series Editor, Pauline Studies Series (PAST), Brill, 1998–current
- Series Editor, with Wendy J. Porter, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study Series (TENTS), Brill, 1998–current
- Senior Editor and Editorial Advisory Board Member, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*, Centre for Advanced Theological Research, University of Surrey Roehampton, 1998–2002; McMaster Divinity College, 2003–current: www.jgrchj.net (published by Sheffield Phoenix, vols. 1–11)
- General Editor, with John Jarick and Richard S. Hess, Septuagint Commentary Series, Brill, 1997–current
- Editorial Advisory Board, *Jian Dao: A Journal of Bible and Theology* (Hong Kong), 1995–current
- Editorial Board 1994–current, Advisory Board 1990–94, *Filología Neotestamentaria* (Ediciones El Almendro, Córdoba, Spain); Co-editor volumes 24–, 2011–current
- International Review Board, *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* (Philippines), 2006–current
- Editor, New Testament Monographs, Sheffield Phoenix, 2004–2016
- Editorial Board, Paternoster Biblical Monographs Series, Paternoster, 2007–10, 2012–13
- Senior Editor, *Journal of the Linguistics Institute of Ancient and Biblical Greek*, 2005
- Editorial Board, The Biblical Resource Series, Eerdmans, and Dove Booksellers, (Livonia, MI, USA), 1995–2010
- Consultant Editor, Studies in Baptist History and Thought, Paternoster, 2001–10
- General Editor, Library of Pauline Studies, Hendrickson, 1995–2010
- Series Editor, McMaster New Testament Studies series, Eerdmans, 2001–9
- Editorial Board, Pericope: Scripture as Written and Read in Antiquity Series, Van Gorcum / Brill, 2002–9
- Associate Editor, 1995–99, Editorial Board, 1994, 2006–8, *Bulletin of Biblical Research*, Institute for Biblical Research
- Series Editor, with Craig A. Evans, Trinity Academic Press imprint, Sheffield Academic / Continuum, 2000–2003
- Series Editor, Studies in New Testament Greek Monograph Series, Sheffield Academic / Continuum, 1999–2003
- Series Editor, Biblical Languages: Greek and Hebrew (with Richard S. Hess), Sheffield Academic / Continuum, 1992–2003
- Executive Editor, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, Sheffield Academic / Continuum, 1992–2003
- Booklist Editor, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Sheffield Academic, 1992–2002

2 Papyrology, Textual Criticism, and the Canon of the New Testament

One of Stan's principle areas of expertise is in papyrology and textual criticism. He edits the TENTS series with Brill, a series of monographs devoted to publishing editions and texts relevant for reconstructing the text and world of the New Testament. He and his wife Wendy have edited several previously unpublished New Testament papyri, including a previously overlooked papyrus that turned out to be a fragment of Acts. Another major contribution has been his advocacy for using a diplomatic text of a single manuscript, such as Codex Sinaiticus, as a basis for New Testament study, since this was in essence an eclectic text created by the ancients with access to much earlier manuscripts than we possess today. The Brill Septuagint Commentary Series, co-edited by Stan and Richard Hess, has applied this model already to several LXX books. Stan's work on the formation of the canon, specifically the Pauline canon, provides another important contribution to the study of text and canon. Stan argues that the canon likely began to form in Paul's lifetime, evidenced by early papyri (such as P^{46}), the early codices, and other early canonical lists. He has also written an introduction to the field, co-authored with Andrew Pitts, as well as a more focused (single-authored) book dealing with the origins of the New Testament.

Several chapters within this *Festschrift* expand upon or make further contributions in this area. The chapters by Hess, Adams, and Smith and O'Donnell further develop Stan's single-manuscript model. Förster and Lee deal with text-critical issues in Acts and Revelation. Evans deals with dates for early Christian papyri. And Kruger addresses again the question of New Testament canon.

2.1 *Series on Papyrology, Textual Criticism, and the Canon of the New Testament*

Series Editor, with Wendy J. Porter, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study Series (TENTS), Brill, Leiden, 1998–current.

2.2 *Authored Books on Papyrology, Textual Criticism, and the Canon of the New Testament*

New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions: Texts, co-author with Wendy J. Porter. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) Neue Serie 29. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008. xiv + 306 pp.

New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions: Plates, co-author with Wendy J. Porter. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) Neue Serie 30. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008. 55 plates.

How We Got the New Testament: Text, Transmission, Translation. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013. xviii + 222 pp. Winner of the Word Guild 2014 Word Awards, Book—Biblical Studies, 11 June 2014.

Constantine Tischendorf: The Life and Work of a 19th Century Bible Hunter, Including Constantine Tischendorf's When Were Our Gospels Written? London: Bloomsbury, 2015. x + 190 pp.

Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism, co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015. xvi + 202 pp.

2.3 *Edited Books on Papyrology, Textual Criticism, and the Canon of the New Testament*

New Testament Text and Language: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 44. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997. 311 pp.

The Pauline Canon, editor and contributor. PAST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004. xiv + 254 pp. Reprint, Atlanta: SBL, 2009.

The Impact of Unit Delimitation on Exegesis, co-editor with Raymond de Hoop and Marjo C. A. Korpel. Pericope 7. Leiden: Brill, 2008. viii + 285 pp.

Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology, co-editor with Mark J. Boda. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009. xvi + 360 pp.

2.4 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Papyrology, Textual Criticism, and the Canon of the New Testament*

"Is ἀμβιτεύειν Really ἐμβατεύειν (P.Oxy XVII 2110.15)?" *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 27 (1990) 45–47.

"P.Oxy. 744.4 and Colossians 3:9." *Bib* 73 (1992) 565–67.

"Artemis Medeia Inscription Again." *ZPE* 93 (1992) 219–21.

"P.Oxy. 655 and James Robinson's Proposals for Q: Brief Points of Clarification." *JTS* 52, no. 1 (2001) 84–92.

"P.Vindob. G 26225: A New Romanos Melodus Papyrus in the Vienna Collection," co-author with Wendy J. Porter. *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 52 (2002) 135–48, with plate.

"The Da Vinci Code, Conspiracy Theory, and the Biblical Canon." *MJTM* 6 (2003–5) 49–80.

"The Apocryphal Non-Gospel Documents and the Text of the New Testament." *JGRChJ* 8 (2011–12) 192–98.

2.5 *Chapters in Books on Papyrology, Textual Criticism, and the Canon of the New Testament*

"The Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri: The Need for a Critical Edition." In *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses Berlin, 13.–19.8.1995*,

edited by Bärbel Kramer, Wolfgang Luppe, Herwig Maehler, and Günter Poethke, 2:795–803. 2 vols. Archiv für Papyrusforschung Beiheft 3. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1997.

"The Implications of Textual Variants for Authenticating the Words of Jesus," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*, edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, 97–133. NTTS 28.1. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

"The Implications of Textual Variants for Authenticating the Activities of Jesus," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, 121–51. NTTS 28.2. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

"Acts of the Apostles 1,1–5 and 1,7–11 (P.Harrauer 2)," co-author with Wendy J. Porter. In *Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer* (*P. Harrauer*), edited by Bernhard Palme, 7–14 with plate. Vienna: Holzhausen, 2001.

"POxy II 210 as an Apocryphal Gospel and the Development of Egyptian Christianity." In *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, edited by I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci, 2:1095–1108. 2 vols. Florence: Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli," 2001.

"The Rhetorical Scribe: Textual Variants in Romans and Their Possible Rhetorical Purpose." In *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, 403–19. JSNTSup 195. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

"Developments in the Text of Acts before the Major Codices." In *The Book of Acts as Church History. Die Apostelgeschichte als Kirchengeschichte: Text, Textual Traditions and Ancient Interpretations. Text, Texttraditionen und antike Auslegungen*, edited by Tobias Nicklas and Michael Tilly, 31–67 (423–24 abstract). BZNW 120. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

"Why So Many Holes in the Papyrological Evidence for the Greek New Testament?" In *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, edited by Scot McKendrick and Orlaith O'Sullivan, 167–86. London: British Library and Oak Knoll, 2003.

"Apocryphal Gospels and the Text of the New Testament before A.D. 200." In *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium, July 2000 / Le texte du Nouveau Testament au début du christianisme: Actes du colloque de Lille, juillet 2000,* edited by Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott, 235–58. Histoire du texte biblique 6. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2003.

"An Introduction to Studying the Pauline Canon." In *The Pauline Canon*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–3. PAST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

"When and How Was the Pauline Canon Compiled? An Assessment of Theories." In *The Pauline Canon*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 95–127. PAST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

"Pericope Markers in Some Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts." In *Layout Markers in Biblical Manuscripts and Ugaritic Tablets*, edited by Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch, 161–76. Pericope 5. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005.

"Textual Criticism in the Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal." In *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, edited by Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, 305–37. TENTS 2. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

"New Testament Studies and Papyrology: What Can We Learn from Each Other?" In *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.–28. Juli 2001*, edited by Bernhard Palme, 559–72. Papyrologica Vindobonensia Bd. 1. Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

"The Use of *Hermeneia* and Johannine Manuscripts." In *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.–28. Juli 2001*, edited by Bernhard Palme, 573–80. Papyrologica Vindobonensia Bd. 1. Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

"The Ending of John's Gospel." In *From Biblical Criticism to Biblical Faith: Essays in Honor of Lee Martin McDonald*, edited by Craig A. Evans and William Brackney, 55–73. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007.

"The Greek of the Gospel of Peter: Implications for Syntax and Discourse Study." In *Das Evangelium nach Petrus: Text, Kontexte, Intertexte*, edited by Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, 77–90. TUGAL 158. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007.

"Prolegomena to a Syntax of the Greek Papyri." In *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st–7th of August 2004*, edited by J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi, 921–33. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007.

"The Influence of Unit Delimitation on Reading and Use of Greek Manuscripts." In *Method in Unit Delimitation*, edited by Marjo C. A. Korpel, Josef M. Oesch, and Stanley E. Porter, 44–60. Pericope 6. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

"Paul and the Process of Canonization." In *Exploring the Origins of the Bible: Canon Formation in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*, edited by Craig A. Evans and Emanuel Tov, 173–202. Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008.

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"Lessons from the Papyri: What Apocryphal Gospel Fragments Reveal about the Textual Development of Early Christianity." In *Fakes, Forgeries, and Fictions: Writing Ancient and Modern Christian Apocrypha*, edited by Tony Burke. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock (in press).

3 New Testament Greek Grammatical and Linguistic Study

As discussed above, Stan's work in Greek linguistics really needs no introduction. He is especially known for his work on verbal aspect, a massive treatment of the subject from the standpoint of systemic linguistics—the product of his doctoral studies at the University of Sheffield, where he co-majored within the departments of Linguistics and Biblical Studies. Many have accepted Stan's non-temporal view of the verb. But many have not. However, prior to Stan and Buist Fanning's publications on verbal aspect (and now those by Decker, Campbell, and several others), most were still trapped in a highly traditional, unviable framework for the verb. Stan and Fanning helped shift the focus away from categories like *Aktionsart* to a more aspectual view of the verb that has greatly benefited our understanding of the Greek language. And Stan's contribution to Greek language and linguistic study extends far beyond issues connected to verbal aspect. He has worked at a high level in lexical semantics,

lexicography, modality, the voice system, case semantics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, register analysis, and many more besides. In some ways most significant, however, has been Stan's ability to essentially found a school of discourse analysis based in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). While Stan has not published a book-length treatment of discourse analysis from an SFL standpoint at this stage, he has written several articles and chapters developing this perspective. Through this material and Stan's mentorship of several doctoral students, this model has now been utilized in thirteen published monograph-length investigations of the Greek New Testament.

Several of the chapters in this *Festschrift* address Greek language and linguistics, most of them expanding upon models, methodologies, or terminology introduced by Stan or responding to Stan's work, including the chapters by Land and Pang, Smith and O'Donnell, Ong, Anderson, Pitts and Tyra, Westfall, Hatina, and Fanning.

3.1 *Series on New Testament Greek Grammatical and Linguistic Study*

- Series Editor, Studies in New Testament Greek Monograph Series, Sheffield Academic / Continuum, 1999–2003
- Series Editor, Biblical Languages: Greek and Hebrew (with Richard S. Hess), Sheffield Academic / Continuum, 1992–2003
- Series Editor, Linguistic Biblical Studies, Brill, 2009–current
- Series Editor, Eerdmans New Testament Greek Series, Eerdmans, 2003–current (first volume appeared 2010)

3.2 *Journals on New Testament Greek Grammatical and Linguistic Study*

- Senior Editor, *Journal of the Linguistics Institute of Ancient and Biblical Greek*, 2005
- Senior Co-Editor and Editorial Board Member, *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics*, 2012–current (published by McMaster Divinity College Press and Wipf & Stock, Eugene, OR)

3.3 *Authored Books on New Testament Greek Grammatical and Linguistic Study*

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Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research, edited by S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, 18–82. JSNTSup 80. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993.

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The Grammarian's Rebirth: Dead Languages and Live Issues in Current Biblical Study. Inaugural Professorial Lecture, 5 December 1995, Roehampton Institute London. London: Roehampton Institute London, 1996. 25 pp.

The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research: Previous Discussion and New Proposals. JSNTSup 191. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000. 299 pp. Reprint, T. & T. Clark Academic Paperbacks. London: T. & T. Clark, 2004.

Fundamentals of New Testament Greek, co-author with Jeffrey T. Reed and Matthew Brook O'Donnell. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010. xxii + 466 pp.

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Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research, co-editor with D. A. Carson, and contributor. JSNTSup 80. SNG 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993. 217 pp. Reprint, Bloomsbury Academic Collections. Biblical Studies: Biblical Languages. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

New Testament Text and Language: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 44. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997. 311 pp.

Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results, co-editor with Jeffrey T. Reed, and contributor. JSNTSup 170. SNTG 4. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999. 425 pp.

Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures, co-editor with D. A. Carson, and contributor. JSNTSup 168. SNTG 5. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999. 297 pp.

Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics, editor and contributor. JSNTSup 193. SNTG 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000. 305 pp.

Albert Wifstrand, Epochs and Styles: Selected Writings on the New Testament, Greek Language and Greek Culture in the Post-Classical Era, co-editor with Lars Rydbeck. Translated by Denis Searby. WUNT 179. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005. viii + 241 pp.

The Impact of Unit Delimitation on Exegesis, co-editor with Raymond de Hoop and Marjo C. A. Korpel, and contributor. Pericope 7. Leiden: Brill, 2008. viii + 285 pp.

The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament, co-editor with Matthew Brook O'Donnell, and contributor. NTM 11. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009. xii + 249 pp.

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"The Languages that Paul Did Not Speak." In *Paul's World*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 131–49. PAST 4. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

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"Systemic Functional Linguistics and the Greek Language: The Need for Further Modeling." In *Modeling Biblical Language: Selected Papers from the McMaster Divinity College Linguistics Circle*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, Gregory P. Fewster, and Christopher D. Land, 9–47. LBS 13. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"Modeling Biblical Language: An Introduction," co-author with Gregory P. Fewster and Christopher D. Land. In *Modeling Biblical Language: Selected Papers from the McMaster Divinity College Linguistics Circle*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, Gregory P. Fewster, and Christopher D. Land, 1–5. LBS 13. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"Cohesion in James: A Response to Martin Dibelius." In *Light from Linguistic Criticism on the Epistle of James: Whole Grains from "Straw"*, edited by James Dvorak and Zachary Dawson. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, (forthcoming, 2016).

"The Perfect Isn't Perfect—It's Stative." In *The Perfect Volume: Verbal Aspect and the Semantics of the Greek Perfect Tense*, edited by D. A. Carson. SBG. New York: Peter Lang (in press).

"Why the Greek Perfect Tense-Form is Stative: A Response to Constantine R. Campbell." In *The Perfect Volume: Verbal Aspect and the Semantics of the Greek Perfect Tense*, edited by D. A. Carson. SBG. New York: Peter Lang (in press).

"Defining the Greek Perfect Tense-Form as Stative: A Response to Buist M. Fanning." In *The Perfect Volume: Verbal Aspect and the Semantics of the Greek Perfect Tense*, edited by D. A. Carson. SBG. New York: Peter Lang (in press).

4 Translation Theory and Application

Another research interest that has occupied Stan's attention up to this point in his career is translation theory. He worked in a number of publications on the history of the Greek and English Bibles. He is an advocate of dynamic-equivalence translation theory, presumably because this allows the translator to deal with the original language on its own terms before thinking about how it should be "translated" into the receptor language. One of Stan's frequent (so far as I know oral) complaints about biblical scholars is that they are too often concerned with how a text, phrase, or word should be "translated" as though determining the English gloss of a Greek word determines a passage or author's theology. This essentially amounts to moving Greek characters into English characters. Instead, a more robust translation theory seeks to understand the mechanics of the original language on its own terms without prematurely asking about its direct formal equivalent (as if there is such a thing).

4.1 *Authored Books on Translation Theory and Application*

How We Got the New Testament: Text, Transmission, Translation. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013. xviii + 222 pp. Winner, The Word Guild 2014 Word Awards, Book—Biblical Studies, 11 June 2014.

Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism, co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015. xvi + 202 pp.

4.2 *Edited Books on Translation Theory and Application*

Translating the Bible: Problems and Prospects, co-editor with Richard S. Hess, and contributor. JSNTSup 173. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999. 336 pp. Reprint, T. & T. Clark Academic Paperbacks. London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004.

Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology, co-editor with Mark J. Boda, and contributor. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009. xvi + 360 pp.

4.3 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Translation Theory and Application*

"How Should κολλώμενος in 1 Corinthians 6:16, 17 be Translated?" *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 67 (1991) 105–6.

"Some Issues in Modern Translation Theory and Study of the Greek New Testament." *CurBR* 9 (2001) 350–82.
"Eugene Nida and Translation." *The Bible Translator* 56, no. 1 (2005) 8–19.
"Translation, Exegesis, and 1 Thessalonians 2:14–15: Could a Comma Have Changed the Course of History?" *The Bible Translator* 64, no. 1 (2013) 82–98.
"Discourse Analysis and Its Possible Contribution to Bible Translation." *Open Theology* (in press, 2016).

4.4 *Chapters in Books on Translation Theory and Application*

"Introduction: The Problems and Prospects of Translating the Bible," co-author with Richard S. Hess. In *Translating the Bible: Problems and Prospects*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess, 13–16. JSNTSup 173. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.
"The Contemporary English Version and the Ideology of Translation." In *Translating the Bible: Problems and Prospects*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess, 18–45. JSNTSup 173. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.
"Mark 1.4, Baptism and Translation." In *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, 81–98. JSNTSup 171. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.
"Modern Translations." In *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Bible*, edited by John Rogerson, 134–61. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
"Hermeneutics, Biblical Interpretation and Theology: Hunch, Holy Spirit or Hard Work?" In *Beyond the Bible: Moving from Scripture to Theology*, by I. Howard Marshall, with essays by Kevin Vanhoozer and Stanley E. Porter, 97–127. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004.
"Language and Translation of the New Testament." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, edited by J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 184–210. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
"Translating the New Testament: An Introduction to Issues of Text, Translation, and Theology." In *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, 1–9. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
"Assessing Translation Theory: Beyond Literal and Dynamic Equivalence." In *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, 117–45. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

5 Pauline Studies

Stan has also established himself as a leading Pauline scholar, editing three major projects devoted to Pauline Studies (two monograph series and a

journal), and publishing several monographs, articles, and chapters exploring Paul's life, letters, and theology. As noted above, Stan advocates an early Pauline canon, but contrary to consensus, one that likely included all thirteen letters attributed to Paul within the New Testament. He has made a massive contribution to the issue of Paul and rhetoric (which will be addressed below) and related to this the presentation of Paul within his letters and within Acts. Stan has taken special interest in Paul's letter to the Romans, having recently published a commentary on this book. In his article "Argument of Romans 5" in *JBL*, he solved an especially problematic enigma in Rom 5 to which I have yet to find a better solution. And while several thought that the grammar of Paul's so-called *pistis christou* construction was ambiguous, he co-authored a chapter with Andrew Pitts (which will be the basis of a forthcoming book) that showed the exact opposite, based on quantifiable data of occurrences of *pistis* as a head term in a prepositional group with a genitive modifier.

A number of the chapters in this volume continue this emphasis on the study of Paul, including the articles by Anderson, Pitts and Tyra, Dunn, Westerholm, Keener, J. H. Lee, Stanley, Mathewson, and Kruger.

5.1 *Series on Pauline Studies*

Series Editor, Pauline Studies Series (PAST), Brill, 1998–current.
General Editor, Library of Pauline Studies, Hendrickson, 1995–2010.

5.2 *Journals on Pauline Studies*

Editorial Board, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters*, Eisenbrauns, 2012–current; Senior Editor, 2014–current (vol. 5–).

5.3 *Authored Books on Pauline Studies*

Καταλλάσσω in Ancient Greek Literature, with Reference to the Pauline Writings. Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria 5. Córdoba, Spain: Ediciones El Almendro, 1994. 189 pp.

An Annotated Bibliography of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, co-author with Jeffrey A. D. Weima. NTTS 26. Leiden: Brill, 1998. x + 292 pp.

The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology. WUNT 115. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999. x + 233 pp. Reprint, *Paul in Acts*. Library of Pauline Studies. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010.

The Letter to the Romans: A Linguistic and Literary Commentary. NTM 37. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2015. xii + 375 pp.

When Paul Met Jesus: How an Idea Got Lost in History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. xiv + 212 pp.

The Apostle Paul: His Life, Thought, and Letters. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016. 432 pp.

5.4 *Edited Books on Pauline Studies*

The Pauline Writings: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 34. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995. 300 pp. Reprints, T. & T. Clark Academic Paperbacks. London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004; Bloomsbury Academic Collections. Biblical Studies: The Epistles. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

The Pauline Canon, editor and contributor. PAST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004. xiv + 254 pp. Reprint, Atlanta: SBL, 2009.

Paul and His Opponents, editor and contributor. PAST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2005. xii + 257 pp. Reprint, Atlanta: SBL, 2009.

Paul and His Theology, editor and contributor. PAST 3. Leiden: Brill, 2006. xiv + 454 pp.

Paul's World, editor and contributor. PAST 4. Leiden: Brill, 2008. 284 pp.

As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture, co-editor with Christopher D. Stanley, and contributor. SBLSS 50. Atlanta: SBL, 2008. xii + 376 pp. Reprint, Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman, editor and contributor. PAST 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008. xiv + 370 pp.

Paul and the Ancient Letter Form, co-editor with Sean A. Adams, and contributor. PAST 6. Leiden: Brill, 2010. xiv + 369 pp.

Paul and His Social Relations, co-editor with Christopher D. Land, and contributor. PAST 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xii + 387 pp.

Paul and Pseudepigraphy, co-editor with Gregory P. Fewster, and contributor. PAST 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xvi + 374 pp.

Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context, co-editor with Bryan R. Dyer, and contributor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. xviii + 330 pp.

Paul and Gnosis, co-editor with David I. Yoon, and contributor. PAST 9. Leiden: Brill, 2016. xiv + 222 pp.

5.5 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Pauline Studies*

"The Pauline Concept of Original Sin, in Light of Rabbinic Background." *TynB* 41 (1990) 3–30.

"ἵστε γινώσκοντες in Ephesians 5:5: Does Chiasm Solve a Problem?" *ZNW* 81 (1990) 270–76.

"Romans 13:1–7 as Pauline Political Rhetoric." *FN* 3, no. 6 (1990) 115–39.

"How Should κολλώμενος in 1 Corinthians 6:16, 17 be Translated?" *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 67 (1991) 105–6.

"The Argument of Romans 5: Can a Rhetorical Question Make a Difference?" *JBL* 110 (1991) 655–77. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New*

Testament: Theory and Practice, by Stanley E. Porter, 213–38. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"P.Oxy. 744.4 and Colossians 3:9." *Bib* 73 (1992) 565–67.

"What Does It Mean to Be 'Saved by Childbirth' (1 Timothy 2:15)?" *JSNT* 49 (1993) 87–102. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 255–68. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996. Reprinted in *New Testament Text and Language: A Sheffield Reader*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, 160–75. The Biblical Seminar 44. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

"Word Order and Clause Structure in New Testament Greek: An Unexplored Area of Greek Linguistics Using Philippians as a Test Case." *FN* 6, no. 12 (1993) 177–205.

"Pauline Authorship and the Pastoral Epistles: Implications for Canon." *BBR* 5 (1995) 105–23.

"Pauline Authorship and the Pastoral Epistles: A Response to R. W. Wall's Response." *BBR* 6 (1996) 133–38.

"Understanding Pauline Studies: An Assessment of Recent Research." [Part One] *Themelios* 22, no. 1 (1996) 14–25. [Part Two] *Themelios* 22, no. 2 (1997) 13–24.

"Philippians as a Macro-Chiasm and Its Exegetical Significance," co-author with Jeffrey T. Reed. *NTS* 44 (1998) 213–31.

"Developments in German and French Thessalonians Research: A Survey and Critique." *CurBS* 7 (1999) 309–34.

"Oral Texts? A Reassessment of the Oral and Rhetorical Nature of Paul's Letters in Light of Recent Studies," co-author with Bryan R. Dyer. *JETS* 55, no. 2 (2012) 323–41.

"ὑστερέω and πίστις Χριστοῦ in Romans 3:23: A Response to Steven Enderlein," co-author with Wally V. Cirafesi. *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 3, no. 1 (2013) 1–9.

"'Standard of Faith' or 'Measure of a Trusteeship'? A Study in Romans 12:3—A Response," co-author with Hughson Ong. *JGRChJ* 9 (2013) 97–103.

5.6 *Chapters in Books on Pauline Studies*

"The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature." In *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, 100–122. JSNTSup 90. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993.

"A Newer Perspective on Paul: Romans 1–8 through the Eyes of Literary Analysis." In *The Bible in Human Society: Essays in Honour of John Rogerson*,

edited by M. Daniel Carroll R., David J. A. Clines, and Philip R. Davies, 366–92. JSOTSup 200. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995.

"Images of Christ in Paul's Letters." In *Images of Christ: Ancient and Modern*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, Michael A. Hayes, and David Tombs, 95–112. Roehampton Institute London Papers 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

"Paul of Tarsus and His Letters." In *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 533–85. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

"The Pauline Letters, Including the Deutero-Pauline Letters." In *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 503–53. NTTS 25. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

"Paul as Epistolographer *and* Rhetorician?" In *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, 222–48. JSNTSup 180. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

"Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation in the Book of Romans: Definitions, Proposals, Data and Experiments," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 154–204. JSNTSup 193. SNTG 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.

"Was Paul a Good Jew? Fundamental Issues in a Current Debate." In *Christian–Jewish Relations through the Centuries*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson, 148–74. Roehampton Institute London Papers 6. JSNTSup 192. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.

"Did Paul Baptize Himself? A Problem of the Greek Voice System." In *Dimensions of Baptism*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, 91–109. JSNTSup 234. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

"The Concept of Covenant in Paul." In *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, 269–85. JSJSup 71. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

"An Introduction to Studying the Pauline Canon." In *The Pauline Canon*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–3. PAST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

"When and How was the Pauline Canon Compiled? An Assessment of Theories." In *The Pauline Canon*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 95–127. PAST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

"Ephesians 5.18–19 and Its Dionysian Background." In *Testimony and Interpretation: Early Christology in Its Judeo-Hellenistic Milieu. Studies in Honour of Petr Pokorny*, edited by Jirí Mrázek and Jan Roskovec, 68–80. JSNTSup 272. London: Continuum, 2004.

"Introduction to the Study of Paul's Opponents." In *Paul and His Opponents*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–5. PAST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

"Did Paul Have Opponents in Rome and What Were They Opposing?" In *Paul and His Opponents*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 149–68. PAST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

"Is There a Center to Paul's Theology? An Introduction to the Study of Paul and His Theology." In *Paul and His Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–19. PAST 3. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

"Paul's Concept of Reconciliation, Twice More." In *Paul and His Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 131–52. PAST 3. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

"Defining the Parameters of Paul's World: An Introduction." In *Paul's World*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–6. PAST 4. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

"The Languages that Paul Did Not Speak." In *Paul's World*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 131–49. PAST 4. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

"Paul and His Bible: His Education and Access to the Scriptures of Israel." In *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, 97–125. SBLSS 50. Atlanta: Scholars, 2008.

"Paul and the Process of Canonization." In *Exploring the Origins of the Bible: Canon Formation in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*, edited by Craig A. Evans and Emanuel Tov, 173–202. Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008.

"Paul as Jew, Greek, and Roman: An Introduction." In *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–6. PAST 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

"Did Paul Speak Latin?" In *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 289–308. PAST 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

"Was Paulinism a Thing when Luke–Acts Was Written?" In *Reception of Paulinism in Acts: Réception du paulinisme dans les Actes des Apôtres*, edited by Daniel Marguerat, 1–13. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 229. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.

"Πίστις with a Preposition and Genitive Modifier: Lexical, Semantic, and Syntactic Considerations in the πίστις Χριστοῦ Discussion," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies*, edited by Michael F. Bird and Preston M. Sprinkle, 33–53. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2009.

"Pauline Epistolography: An Introduction," co-author with Sean A. Adams. In *Paul and the Ancient Letter Form*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Sean A. Adams, 1–7. PAST 6. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

"A Functional Letter Perspective: Towards a Grammar of Epistolary Form." In *Paul and the Ancient Letter Form*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Sean A. Adams, 9–31. PAST 6. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

"The Content and Message of Paul's Missionary Teaching." In *Christian Mission: Old Testament Foundations and New Testament Developments*, edited by

Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 135–54. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

"Paul Confronts Caesar with the Good News." In *Empire in the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 164–96. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

"Reconciliation as the Heart of Paul's Missionary Theology." In *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology, and Practice*, edited by Trevor J. Burke and Brian S. Rosner, 179–89. LNTS 420. London: Clark International, 2011.

"Paul and the Pauline Letter Collection." In *Paul and the Second Century*, edited by Michael F. Bird and Joseph R. Dodson, 19–36. LNTS 412. London: Clark International, 2011.

"The Portrait of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles." In *Blackwell Companion to Paul*, edited by Stephen Westerholm, 124–38. Oxford: Blackwell, 2011.

"The Church in Romans and Galatians." In *The New Testament Church: The Challenge of Developing Ecclesiologies*, edited by John Harrison and James D. Dvorak, 85–102. McMaster Biblical Studies Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012.

"Saints and Sinners: The Church in Paul's Letters." In *The Church, Then and Now*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 41–67. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012.

"Paul and His Social Relations: An Introduction," co-author with Christopher D. Land. In *Paul and His Social Relations*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Land, 1–6. PAST 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"How Do We Define Pauline Social Relations?" In *Paul and His Social Relations*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Land, 7–33. PAST 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"On Pauline Pseudepigraphy: An Introduction," co-author with Gregory P. Fewster. In *Paul and Pseudepigraphy*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Gregory P. Fewster, 1–8. PAST 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Pauline Chronology and the Question of Pseudonymity of the Pastoral Epistles." In *Paul and Pseudepigraphy*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Gregory P. Fewster, 65–88. PAST 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Commentaries on the Book of Romans." In *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, 365–404. TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"From Diaspora to Diaspora: Paul Writes to Fellow Refugees." In *Rejection: God's Refugees in Biblical and Contemporary Perspective*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 125–40. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015.

"Reframing Social Justice in the Pauline Letters." In *The Bible and Social Justice: Old Testament and New Testament Foundations for the Church's Urgent Call*, edited by Cynthia Long Westfall and Bryan R. Dyer, 125–51. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015.

"Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: An Introduction to a Continuing Discussion," co-author with Bryan R. Dyer. In *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer, 1–10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

"Ancient Literate Culture and Popular Rhetorical Knowledge: Implications for Studying the Apostle Paul." In *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer, 96–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

"Introduction to Paul and Gnosis," co-author with David I. Yoon. In *Paul and Gnosis*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and David I. Yoon, 1–6. PAST 9. Leiden: Brill 2016.

"What Do We Mean by Speaking of Paul and Gnosis/Knowledge? A Semantic and Frequency Investigation." In *Paul and Gnosis*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and David I. Yoon, 9–22. PAST 9. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"Pauline Techniques of Interweaving Scripture into His Letters." In *Schriftreception bei Paulus und in der Paulustradition: Reception of Scripture in Paul and Pauline Tradition*, edited by Florien Wilk and Markus Öhler. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (in press).

"'I Have Written You Quite Boldly on Some Points': The Register and Structure of Romans." In *Romans: A Conference*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Francis G. H. Pang. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick (in press).

"Paul, Virtues, Vices and Household Codes." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by J. Paul Sampley. London: Bloomsbury (in press).

6 Historical Jesus Research

Stan has made several important contributions to the study of the historical Jesus as well. In his major monograph on Jesus scholarship, he reviewed previous research and called into question the so-called phases of the Quest for the historical Jesus, showing that a such a division privileged German scholarship. This was an important point to make since past treatments of the history of Jesus research employed this structure as a basis for assessment and expansion. He then attempted to show the failure of the currently employed criteria for authenticity, assessing each criterion and showing its inadequacies.

Having cleared the ground, so to speak, Stan proposed three new criteria, which, he argued, were superior to those currently in use: (1) Greek language and its context; (2) Greek textual variance; and (3) discourse features. Stan further developed the textual variance criterion in two chapters with Matthew Brook O'Donnell, and proposed specific ways in which this criterion could be used to authenticate the sayings and activities of Jesus. Stan has also made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the language of the historical Jesus. Prior to Stan's proposal, most thought that Jesus spoke and taught entirely in Aramaic. Stan showed that such a position was unviable, based on Jesus' interactions with Pilate, who almost certainly did not speak Aramaic, and the Sermon on the Mount, which would have been largely unintelligible unless it was originally delivered in Greek. Stan's proposal does not imply that Jesus spoke exclusively in Greek—only that a (small) portion of his teachings and interactions must have been in Greek. Stan's Greek language proposal for historical Jesus research (also one of his criteria for authenticity) has met with a great deal of scholarly response as demonstrated by the bibliography below. Most recently, Stan and Andrew Pitts have called into question critical realism, which has been employed as a basis for historical methodology in much historical Jesus research. If correct, their assessment would show that the historical model assumed for the majority of contemporary lives of Jesus is not only problematic but significantly outdated.

6.1 *Authored Books on Historical Jesus Research*

The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research: Previous Discussion and New Proposals. JSNTSup 191. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000. 299 pp. Reprint, T. & T. Clark Academic Paperbacks. London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004.

6.2 *Edited Books on Historical Jesus Research*

The Historical Jesus: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 33. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995. 314 pp.

Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus, co-editor with Tom Holmén, and contributor. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2011. xii + 3652 pp. Vol. 1, *How to Study the Historical Jesus*. xii + 1–852. Vol. 2, *The Study of Jesus*. xii + 853–1818. Vol. 3, *The Historical Jesus*. xii + 1819–2910. Vol. 4, *Individual Studies*. xii + 2911–3652.

6.3 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Historical Jesus Research*

"Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?" *TynB* 44, no. 2 (1993) 199–235; Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 139–71. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"Jesus in the Light of Other Scriptural Traditions." *Theology Wales* (Spring 1999) 4–24.

"Jesus and the Use of Greek: A Response to Maurice Casey." *BBR* 10, no. 1 (2000) 71–87.

"Luke 17.11–19 and the Criteria for Authenticity Revisited." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 1, no. 2 (2003) 201–24.

"The Criterion of Greek Language and Its Context: A Further Response." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 4, no. 1 (2006) 69–74.

"Critical Realism in Context: N. T. Wright's Historical Method and Analytic Epistemology," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 13 (2015) 274–304.

6.4 *Chapters in Books on Historical Jesus Research*

"Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee." In *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, 123–54. NTTS 19. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

"The Implications of Textual Variants for Authenticating the Words of Jesus," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*, edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, 97–133. NTTS 28.1. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

"The Implications of Textual Variants for Authenticating the Activities of Jesus," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, 121–51. NTTS 28.2. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

"Reading the Gospels and the Quest for the Historical Jesus." In *Reading the Gospels Today*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 27–55. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.

"A Dead End or a New Beginning? Examining the Criteria for Authenticity in Light of Albert Schweitzer." In *Jesus Research: An International Perspective. The First Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research, Prague 2005*, edited by James H. Charlesworth and Petr Pokorny, 16–35. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

"Introduction: The Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus in Perspective," co-author with Tom Holmén. In *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 1:xv–xxi, 2:xv–xxi, 3:xv–xxi, 4:xv–xxi. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"The Role of Greek Language Criteria in Historical Jesus Research." In *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. Vol. 1, *How to Study the Historical Jesus*, edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 361–404. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"The Criteria of Authenticity." In *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. Vol. 1, *How to Study the Historical Jesus*, edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 695–714. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"The Context of Jesus: Jewish and/or Hellenistic?" In *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. Vol. 2, *The Study of Jesus*, edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 1441–63. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"The Language(s) Jesus Spoke." In *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. Vol. 3, *The Historical Jesus*, edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 2455–71. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"Jesus and Resurrection." In *Jesus in Continuum*, edited by Tom Holmén, 323–53. WUNT 289. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

"How Do We Know What We Think We Know? Methodological Reflections on Jesus Research." In *Jesus Research: New Methodologies and Perceptions. The Second Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research*, edited by James H. Charlesworth with Brian Rhea in consultation with Petr Pokorny, 82–99. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014.

"The Legacy of B. F. Westcott and Oral Gospel Tradition." In *Earliest Christianity within the Boundaries of Judaism: Essays in Honor of Bruce Chilton*, edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck, Craig A. Evans, and Jacob Neusner, 326–45. Brill Reference Library of Judaism 49. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"The Pre-Citation Fallacy in New Testament Scholarship and Sanders's Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *Christian Origins and the Establishment of the Early Jesus Movement*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 4. TENTS. Leiden: Brill (in press, 2016).

"Assessing the Criteria for Differentiating the Cross Gospel," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *Christian Origins and the Establishment of the Early Jesus Movement*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 4. TENTS. Leiden: Brill (in press, 2016).

7 Synoptic Gospels

Stan has contributed several independent studies to research on the Synoptic Gospels, recently co-editing a book with Bryan Dyer on the Synoptic problem. Although he has not widely published on the topic at this stage, Stan has been exploring the shape and transmission of the Jesus tradition for several years. One of his most recent publications, a chapter on Westcott and the oral Gospel tradition (2016), seeks to show the superiority of Westcott's oral

thesis not only to literary dependency models of Gospel relations, but also to current oral models for the Gospel tradition. He is also in the process of editing a book that explores this thesis from a number of different angles. We will have to wait to see how this theory is developed and received, but it does seem to show initial promise in a very significant area within Synoptic Gospel studies.

Chapters in this volume that focus on one or more of the Synoptic Gospels include those by Hatina and Watt.

7.1 *Edited Books on Synoptic Gospels*

The Synoptic Gospels: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 31. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995. 313 pp. Reprint, Bloomsbury Academic Collections. Biblical Studies: Gospel Interpretation. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Reading the Gospels Today, editor and contributor. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. xviii + 211 pp.

The Synoptic Problem: Four Views, co-editor with Bryan R. Dyer, and contributor. Grand Rapids: Baker (in press, 2016).

7.2 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Synoptic Gospels*

"Vague Verbs, Periphrastics, and Matthew 16:19." *FN* 1, no. 2 (1988) 155–73. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 103–24. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"Matthew 6:13 and Luke 11:4: 'Lead us not into temptation.'" *ExpT* 101 (1989–90) 359–62. Responses by K. C. Burdett, and E. Moore. *ExpT* 102 (1990–91) 148–49, 171–72; and S. E. Porter, "Correspondence." *ExpT* 103 (1991–92) 21–22.

"On the Logical Structure of Matthew 19:9," co-author with Paul W. Buchanan. *JETS* 34 (1991) 335–39.

"'In the Vicinity of Jericho': Luke 18:35 in the Light of Its Synoptic Parallels." *BBR* 2 (1992) 91–104. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 125–38. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"Luke 17.11–19 and the Criteria for Authenticity Revisited." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 1, no. 2 (2003) 201–24.

"Time and Order in Participles in Mark and Luke: A Response to Robert Picirilli." *BBR* 17, no. 2 (2007) 261–67.

"Θαυμάζω in Mark 6:6 and Luke 11:38: A Note on Monosemy." *BAGL* 2 (2013) 75–79.

7.3 *Chapters in Books on Synoptic Gospels*

"The Parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1–13): Irony *Is* the Key." In *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*, edited by David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter, 127–53. JSOTSup 87. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990.

"Mark 1.4, Baptism and Translation." In *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, 81–98. JSNTSup 171. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

"The Reasons for the Lukan Census." *Paul, Luke, and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J. M. Wedderburn*, edited by Alf Christophersen, Carsten Claussen, Jörg Frey, and Bruce W. Longenecker, 165–88. JSNTSup 217. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

"Literature to the Third Degree: Prophecy in Zechariah 9–14 and the Passion of Christ," co-author with Mark J. Boda. In *Traduire la Bible Hébraïque / Translating the Hebrew Bible: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond / From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*, edited by Robert David and Manuel Jinbachian, 215–54. Sciences bibliques 15. Montreal: Médiaspaul, 2005.

"The Use of Authoritative Citations in Mark's Gospel and Ancient Biography: A Study of P.Oxy. 1176." In *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels*. Vol. 1, *The Gospel of Mark*, edited by Thomas R. Hatina, 116–30. LNTS 304. London: T. & T, Clark International, 2006.

"The Two Genealogies of Jesus Christ in Matthew and Luke." In *Harmony of the Gospels*, edited by Steven L. Cox and Kendell H. Easley, 282–86. Nashville: Holman, 2007.

"Verbal Aspect and Discourse Function in Mark 16:1—8: Three Significant Instances." In *Studies in the Greek Bible: Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac, SJ*, edited by Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, 123–37. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 44. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008.

"Comparative Discourse Analysis as a Tool in Assessing Translations Using Luke 16:19–31 as a Test Case," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, 185–99. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

"Luke: Companion or Disciple of Paul?" In *Paul and the Gospels: Christologies, Conflicts and Convergences*, edited by Michael F. Bird and Joel Willitts, 146–68. LNTS 411. London: Clark International, 2011.

"Matthew and Mark: The Contribution of Recent Linguistic Thought." In *Mark and Mathew I. Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in*

Their First-Century Settings, edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson, 97–119. WUNT 271. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

"The Witness of Extra-Gospel Literary Sources to the Infancy Narratives of the Synoptic Gospels." In *The Gospels: History and Christology. The Search of Joseph Ratzinger-Benedict XVI / I Vangeli: Storia e Cristologia. La ricerca di Joseph Ratzinger-Benedetto XVI*, edited by Bernardo Estrada, Ermenegildo Manicardi, and Armand Puig i Tàrrech, 1:419–65. 2 vols. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013.

"Worship in the Gospels." In *Rediscovering Worship: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Wendy J. Porter, 89–100. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015.

"The Legacy of B. F. Westcott and Oral Gospel Tradition." In *Earliest Christianity within the Boundaries of Judaism: Essays in Honor of Bruce Chilton*, edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck, Craig A. Evans, and Jacob Neusner, 326–45. Brill Reference Library of Judaism 49. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"The Pre-Citation Fallacy in New Testament Scholarship and Sanders's Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *Early Christianity and Its Historical Context*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 4. TENTS. Leiden: Brill (in press, 2016).

"Assessing the Criteria for Differentiating the Cross Gospel," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *Early Christianity and Its Historical Context*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 4. TENTS. Leiden: Brill (in press, 2016).

"The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction to Its Key Terms, Concepts, Figures, and Hypotheses," co-author with Bryan R. Dyer. In *The Synoptic Problem: Four Views*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer. Grand Rapids: Baker (in press, 2016).

"What Have We Learned Regarding the Synoptic Problem, and What Do We Still Need to Learn?" co-author with Bryan R. Dyer. In *The Synoptic Problem: Four Views*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer. Grand Rapids: Baker (in press, 2016).

8 Luke–Acts

Stan has also done significant work in Luke–Acts, including a monograph on the presentation of Paul in Acts. In this monograph, he deals with the potential influence of rhetoric upon Paul's speeches, the nature of such speeches in ancient history, and how this compares to the clear lack of rhetorical influence within Paul's letters. Several other chapter- or article-length studies are

noteworthy. His article on Thucydides 1.22.1, which is often used to show that historians (such as Luke) invented speech material, showed that the grammatical complexities of the text make it far from clear as to Thucydides' exact position on speech invention. His article "The Genre of Acts" argued that Acts was best viewed with Luke as a collection of *bioi*. His thesis was recently developed by Sean Adams into a monograph-length treatment, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography* (Cambridge, 2013).

Chapters in this volume that deal with Luke–Acts include those by Förster, Olbricht, and Bock.

8.1 *Authored Books on Luke–Acts*

The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology. WUNT 115. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999. x + 233 pp. Reprint, *Paul in Acts*. Library of Pauline Studies. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010.

8.2 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Luke–Acts*

"Thucydides 1.22.1 and Speeches in Acts: Is There a Thucydidean View?" *NovT* 32 (1990) 121–42. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 173–93. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"Luke 17.11–19 and the Criteria for Authenticity Revisited." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 1, no. 2 (2003) 201–2.

"'When it was clear that we couldn't persuade him, we gave up and said, "The Lord's will be done"' (Acts 21:14): Good Reasons to Stop Making Unproven Claims for Rhetorical Criticism." *BBR* (in press, 2016).

8.3 *Chapters in Books on Luke–Acts*

"The 'We' Passages." In *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*. Vol. 1, *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, edited by David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf, 545–74. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994. Reprinted and revised in *The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology*, by Stanley E. Porter, 10–46. WUNT 115. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999.

"Acts of the Apostles 1,1–5 and 1,7–11 (P.Harrauer 2)," co-author with Wendy J. Porter. In *Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer* (*P. Harrauer*), edited by Bernhard Palme, 7–14 with plate. Vienna: Holzhausen, 2001.

"The Reasons for the Lukan Census." In *Paul, Luke, and the Graeco–Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J. M. Wedderburn*, edited by Alf Christophersen, Carsten Claussen, Jörg Frey, and Bruce W. Longenecker, 165–88. JSNTSup 217. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

"Developments in the Text of Acts before the Major Codices." In *The Book of Acts as Church History. Die Apostelgeschichte als Kirchengeschichte: Text, Textual Traditions and Ancient Interpretations. Text, Texttraditionen und antike Auslegungen*, edited by Tobias Nicklas and Michael Tilly, 31–67 (423–24 abstract). BZNW 120. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

"Hanno's Periplus and the Book of Acts." In *For Particular Reasons: Studies in Honour of Jerker Blomqvist*, edited by Anders Piltz, Johanna Akujärvi, Vassilios Sabatakakis, Karin Blomqvist, Georg Walser, and Lars Nordgren, 259–72. Lund: Nordic Academic, 2003.

"Baptism in Acts: The Sacramental Dimensions." In *Baptist Sacramentalism*, edited by Anthony R. Cross and Philip E. Thompson, 117–28. Studies in Baptist History and Thought 5. Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003.

"The Genre of Acts and the Ethics of Discourse." In *Acts and Ethics*, edited by Thomas E. Phillips, 1–15. NTM 9. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005.

"Scripture Justifies Mission: The Use of the Old Testament in Luke–Acts." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 104–26. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

"Magic in the Book of Acts." In *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment*, edited by Michael Labahn and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte, 107–21. LNTS 306. London: T. & T. Clark, 2007.

"The Messiah in Luke and Acts: Setting the Captives Free." In *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 144–64. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.

"Comparative Discourse Analysis as a Tool in Assessing Translations Using Luke 16:19–31 as a Test Case," co-author with Matthew Brook O'Donnell. In *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, 185–99. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

"A Cord of Three Strands: Mission in Acts," co-author with Cynthia Long Westfall. In *Christian Mission: Old Testament Foundations and New Testament Developments*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 108–34. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

"The Content and Message of Paul's Missionary Teaching." In *Christian Mission: Old Testament Foundations and New Testament Developments*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 135–54. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

"Luke: Companion or Disciple of Paul?" In *Paul and the Gospels: Christologies, Conflicts and Convergences*, edited by Michael F. Bird and Joel Willitts, 146–68. LNTS 411. London: Clark International, 2011.

"The Portrait of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles." In *Blackwell Companion to Paul*, edited by Stephen Westerholm, 124–38. Oxford: Blackwell, 2011.

"Unity of Luke–Acts and the Ascension Narratives." In *Ascent into Heaven in the Lukan Writings: New Explorations of Luke's Narrative Hinge*, edited by David W. Pao and David K. Bryan (in press).

9 Johannine Studies

Johannine studies is one of Stan's more recent interests. In 2013, he initiated a monograph series devoted to the field. He co-authored the inaugural volume with Andrew Gabriel, which provided an annotated bibliographic survey of the field. He followed this up in 2016 with a monograph on the Gospel of John. Rather than making a singular argument about the Gospel, Stan's book on John addresses many of the deeply enshrined views about the Gospel, typically arguing against the current consensus on issues such as the historicity of John's Gospel, his sources, the Johannine community, and so on.

Several chapters in this volume reflect Stan's interest in Johannine Studies, including those by Fanning, Peters, and Hill.

9.1 *Series on Johannine Studies*

Series Editor, Johannine Studies Series (JOST), Brill, Leiden, 2013–current.

9.2 *Authored Books on Johannine Studies*

Johannine Writings and Apocalyptic: An Annotated Bibliography, co-author with Andrew K. Gabriel. JOST 1. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xviii + 343 pp.

John, His Gospel, and Jesus: In Pursuit of the Johannine Voice. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015. xii + 297 pp.

9.3 *Edited Books on Johannine Studies*

The Johannine Writings: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 32. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995. 267 pp.

The Origins of John's Gospel, co-editor with Hughson T. Ong, and contributor. JOST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2016. xii + 319 pp.

9.4 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Johannine Studies*

"The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion." *NTS* 35 (1989) 582–603.

"Memory, Orality, and the Fourth Gospel: A Response to Paul Foster with Further Comments for Future Discussion," co-author with Hughson T. Ong. *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 12 (2014) 143–64.

9.5 *Chapters in Books on Johannine Studies*

"Can Traditional Exegesis Enlighten Literary Analysis of the Fourth Gospel? An Examination of the Old Testament Fulfilment Motif and the Passover Theme." In *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, edited by Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, 396–428. Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 3. JSNTSup 104. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994.

"The Use of *Hermeneia* and Johannine Manuscripts." In *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.–28. Juli 2001*, edited by Bernhard Palme, 573–80. Papyrologica Vindobonensia Bd. 1. Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

"The Ending of John's Gospel." In *From Biblical Criticism to Biblical Faith: Essays in Honor of Lee Martin McDonald*, edited by Craig A. Evans and William Brackney, 55–73. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007.

"The Origins of John's Gospel: An Introduction," co-author with Hughson T. Ong. In *The Origins of John's Gospel*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong, 1–8. JOST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"The Date of John's Gospel and Its Origins." In *The Origins of John's Gospel*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong, 11–29. JOST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

10 Hermeneutics, History of Interpretation, and Interpretive Methodologies

Stan has had an interest in hermeneutics since his days as a graduate student. He chose Anthony Thiselton as his original doctoral supervisor at the University of Sheffield, exhibiting an obvious early interest in interpretive theory, and would later be a co-editor for Thiselton's *Festschrift*. He also has a BA in English from Biola, and an MA in English from Claremont Graduate School, where he was exposed early on to a range of theories for interpreting literature. He was an instructor in the English department at Biola as well. He has co-authored with Jason Robinson an introduction to (especially philosophical) hermeneutics, dealing with figures ranging from Derrida to Ricoeur to Vanhoozer. This book exhibits Stan's interest not only in hermeneutics but also in the history of interpretation, as does his most recent book on Grandville Sharp. Stan has also edited a dictionary of biblical criticism, a handbook of New Testament exegesis, and a two-volume book dealing with major figures in biblical interpretation that should be out this year—to highlight a few from the extensive list below. I believe that Stan's interest in hermeneutics and interpretive theory is

likely connected to a deeper concern about methodology. One of Stan's major focuses in his research and teaching career has been to advocate sound methodology and to expose imprecise or underdeveloped methodologies. Several chapters will obviously deal with broadly interpretive concerns in this volume, but especially those by Westerholm, Blomberg, and Stovell.

10.1 *Authored Books on Hermeneutics, History of Interpretation, and Interpretive Methodologies*

The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology. WUNT 115. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999. x + 233 pp. Reprint, *Paul in Acts*. Library of Pauline Studies. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010.

Hermeneutics: An Introduction to Interpretive Theory, co-author with Jason C. Robinson. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011. xx + 308 pp.

Constantine Tischendorf: The Life and Work of a 19th Century Bible Hunter, Including Constantine Tischendorf's When Were Our Gospels Written? London: Bloomsbury, 2015. x + 190 pp.

10.2 *Edited Books on Hermeneutics, History of Interpretation, and Interpretive Methodologies*

Crossing the Boundaries: Essays on Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder, co-editor with Paul Joyce and David E. Orton, and contributor. BibInt 8. Leiden: Brill, 1994. 381 pp.

Approaches to New Testament Study, co-editor with David Tombs, and contributor. JSNTSup 120. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995. 392 pp.

New Testament Interpretation and Methods: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 45. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997. 321 pp.

William Sanday, Essays in Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, co-editor with Craig A. Evans, with the assistance of Scott N. Dolff. Classics in Biblical and Theological Studies 1. JSNTSup 225. Sheffield: Trinity Academic / Sheffield Academic, 2001. 242 pp.

J. Arthur Baird, Holy Word: The Paradigm of New Testament Formation, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. Current Issues in Biblical Theology 1. JSNTSup 224. Sheffield: Trinity Academic / Sheffield Academic, 2002. 268 pp.

Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament, editor and contributor. NTTS 25. Leiden: Brill, 1997. xiv + 638 pp.

Dictionary of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, editor and contributor. London: Routledge, 2007. xii + 406 pp.

Biblical Hermeneutics: Five Views, co-editor with Beth M. Stovell, and contributor. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012. 224 pp.

Horizons in Hermeneutics: A Festschrift in Honor of Anthony C. Thiselton, co-editor with Matthew R. Malcolm, and contributor. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013. xvi + 301 pp.

The Future of Biblical Interpretation: Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics, co-editor with Matthew R. Malcolm, and contributor. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2013. xii + 162 pp. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013. 165 pp.

Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation. Vol. 1, *Prevailing Methods before 1980*. Vol. 2, *Prevailing Methods after 1980*, co-editor with Sean A. Adams, and contributor. McMaster Biblical Studies Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick (in press, 2016).

10.3 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Hermeneutics, History of Interpretation, and Interpretive Methodologies*

"Wittgenstein's Classes of Utterances and Pauline Ethical Texts." *JETS* 32 (1989) 85–97. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 239–54. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"Why Hasn't Reader-Response Criticism Caught on in New Testament Studies?" *Journal of Literature and Theology* 4 (1990) 278–92.

"Greek Grammar since BDF: A Retrospective and Prospective Analysis," co-author with Jeffrey T. Reed. *FN* 4, no. 8 (1991) 143–64.

"Reader-Response Criticism and New Testament Study: A Response to A. C. Thiselton's *New Horizons in Hermeneutics*." *Journal of Literature and Theology* 8, no. 1 (1994) 94–102.

"Understanding Pauline Studies: An Assessment of Recent Research." *Themelios* [Part 1] 22, no. 1 (1996) 14–25; [Part 2] 22, no. 2 (1997) 13–24.

"Canonical-Critical Perspective and the Relationship of Colossians and Ephesians," co-author with Kent D. Clarke. *Bib* 78 (1997) 57–86.

"Developments in German and French Thessalonians Research: A Survey and Critique." *CurBR* 7 (1999) 309–34.

"Eugene Nida and Translation." *The Bible Translator* 56, no. 1 (2005) 8–19.

"New Testament Greek Language and Linguistics in Recent Research," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. *CurBR* 6, no. 2 (2008) 214–55.

"What Difference Does Hermeneutics Make? Hermeneutical Theory Applied." *Jian Dao* 34/*Pastoral Journal* 27 (July 2010) 1–50.

"A Single Horizon Hermeneutics: A Proposal for Interpretive Identification." *MJTM* 13 (2011–12) 45–66.

"Hero or Thief? Constantine Tischendorf Turns Two Hundred." *BAR* 41, no. 5 (September/October 2015) 45–53, 66.

"The Authority of the Bible as a Hermeneutical Issue." *Evangelical Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (2014) 303–24.

"Critical Realism in Context: N. T. Wright's Historical Method and Analytic Epistemology," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 13 (2015) 274–304.

10.4 *Chapters in Books on Hermeneutics, History of Interpretation, and Interpretive Methodologies*

"Can Traditional Exegesis Enlighten Literary Analysis of the Fourth Gospel? An Examination of the Old Testament Fulfilment Motif and the Passover Theme." In *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, edited by Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, 396–428. Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 3. JSNTSup 104. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994.

"Bibliography of Michael D. Goulder." In *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays on Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce, and David E. Orton, 379–81. BibInt 8. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

"A Newer Perspective on Paul: Romans 1–8 through the Eyes of Literary Analysis." In *The Bible in Human Society: Essays in Honour of John Rogerson*, edited by M. Daniel Carroll R., David J. A. Clines, and Philip R. Davies, 366–92. JSOTSup 200. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995.

"Literary Approaches to the New Testament: From Formalism to Deconstruction and Back." In *Approaches to New Testament Study*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and David Tombs, 77–128. JSNTSup 120. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995.

"Problems in the Language of the Bible: Misunderstandings that Continue to Plague Biblical Interpretation." In *The Nature of Religious Language: A Colloquium*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 20–46. Roehampton Institute London Papers 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996.

"What is Exegesis? An Analysis of Various Definitions," co-author with Kent D. Clarke. *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 3–21. NTTS 25. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

"The Basic Tools of Exegesis of the New Testament: A Bibliographical Essay." In *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 23–41. NTTS 25. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

"The Genres of the New Testament," co-author with Brook W. R. Pearson. In *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 131–65. NTTS 25. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

"New Testament Studies in the Twenty-First Century: Between Exegesis and Hermeneutics. Observations from an Anglo-American Perspective." In *Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Autobiographische Essays aus der*

Evangelischen Theologie, edited by Eve-Marie Becker, 361–73. Uni-Taschenbücher 2475. Tübingen: Francke, 2003.

"New Perspectives on the Exegesis of the New Testament: Anglo-American Insights." In *Herkunft und Zukunft der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, edited by Oda Wischmeyer, 63–84. Neutestamentliche Entwürfe zur Theologie 6. Tübingen: Francke, 2003.

"Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation." In *Methods of Biblical Interpretation*, *Excerpted from Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, edited by J. H. Hayes, 35–40. Foreword by Douglas A. Knight. Nashville: Abingdon, 2004.

"Hermeneutics, Biblical Interpretation and Theology: Hunch, Holy Spirit or Hard Work?" In *Beyond the Bible: Moving from Scripture to Theology*, by I. Howard Marshall, with essays by Kevin Vanhoozer and Stanley E. Porter, 97–127. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004.

"Why Hasn't Literary Stylistics Caught on in New Testament Studies?" In *Discourse Studies and Biblical Interpretation: A Festschrift for Stephen H. Levinsohn*, edited by Steven E. Runge, 35–57. Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2011.

"Introduction: Trajectories in Biblical Hermeneutics," co-author with Beth M. Stovell. In *Biblical Hermeneutics: Five Views*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Beth M. Stovell, 9–24. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012.

"Interpreting Together: Synthesizing Five Views of Biblical Hermeneutics," co-author with Beth M. Stovell. In *Biblical Hermeneutics: Five Views*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Beth M. Stovell, 201–10. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012.

"The Linguistic Competence of New Testament Commentaries." In *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, 33–56. TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Commentaries on the Book of Romans." In *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, 365–404. TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Thiselton and Hermeneutics: An Introduction to a Celebratory Contribution," co-author with Matthew R. Malcolm. In *Horizons in Hermeneutics: A Festschrift in Honor of Anthony C. Thiselton*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, ix–xv. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.

"The Life and Work of Anthony Charles Thiselton," co-author with Matthew R. Malcolm. In *Horizons in Hermeneutics: A Festschrift in Honor of Anthony C. Thiselton*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, 1–12. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.

"What Exactly Is Theological Interpretation of Scripture, and Is It Hermeneutically Robust Enough for the Task to Which It Has Been Appointed?" In *Horizons in Hermeneutics: A Festschrift in Honor of Anthony C. Thiselton*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, 234–67. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.

"Introduction to Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics," co-author with Matthew Malcolm. In *The Future of Biblical Interpretation: Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, ix–xii. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2013; "Introduction," co-author with Matthew Malcolm. In *The Future of Biblical Interpretation: Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, 7–10. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2013.

"Conclusion: Remaining Hermeneutical Issues for the Future of Biblical Interpretation," co-author with Matthew Malcolm. In *The Future of Biblical Interpretation: Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, 126–34. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2013; 157–65. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2013.

"Biblical Hermeneutics and Theological Responsibility." In *The Future of Biblical Interpretation: Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm, 16–35 plus notes (137–40). Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2013; 29–50. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2013.

"The Legacy of B. F. Westcott and Oral Gospel Tradition." In *Earliest Christianity within the Boundaries of Judaism: Essays in Honor of Bruce Chilton*, edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck, Craig A. Evans, and Jacob Neusner, 326–45. Brill Reference Library of Judaism 49. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

"Biblical Criticism before around 1980: An Overview of Volume One." In *Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation*. Vol. 1, *Prevailing Methods before 1980*, co-editor with Sean A. Adams, and contributor. McMaster Biblical Studies Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick (in press, 2016).

"Biblical Criticism after around 1980: An Overview of Volume Two." In *Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation*. Vol. 2, *Prevailing Methods after 1980*, co-editor with Sean A. Adams, and contributor. McMaster Biblical Studies Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick (in press, 2016).

"The History of Biblical Interpretation: An Integrated Conspectus." In *Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation*. Vol. 1, *Prevailing Methods before 1980*; Vol. 2, *Prevailing Methods after 1980*, co-editor with Sean A. Adams, and contributor. 2 vols. McMaster Biblical Studies Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick (in press, 2016).

"History of Scholarship on the Language of the Septuagint." In *Handbuch zur Septuaginta*. IV, *Sprache*, edited by Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag (in press).

"So What Have We Learned in the Last Thirty Years of Greek Linguistic Study?" *Festschrift for David Alan Black* [provisional title], edited by Thomas W. Hudgins and Daniel Akin (submitted).

11 Rhetorical Criticism

Next to Greek language and linguistics, Stan may be most well-known for his work on rhetorical criticism. Technically, this could be grouped with interpretive methodologies above or with the social world of the New Testament below, but Stan's extensive work on this method in particular warrants its own section. For decades (beginning in 1993), Stan has continued to emphasize the point from a number of different angles that rhetorical and epistolary categories remained distinct in the ancient world and never merged into the form of a personal rhetorical letter. Consequently, application of rhetorical analysis to Paul's letters remains a vain pursuit. Stan has sought to show this in numerous publications by noting the inconsistency of rhetorical outlines of Paul's letters, the invention of rhetorical genres to describe Paul's letters in rhetorical categories, the invention of rhetorical speech components to account for specific parts of Paul's letters, and so on. Stan was not the only one making this point. Most notably, R. D. Anderson produced a monograph-length treatment (1996) that showed, along with the work of Stan and other scholars like Jeff Reed, that rhetorical analysis of Pauline epistolary literature was unviable. The problem was that Stan's work on rhetoric and the work of others making similar points made little impact on those practicing rhetorical criticism. Rhetorical-critical studies continued to proliferate, especially in Pauline studies, often without the proponents even acknowledging the numerous criticisms that had been previously made. Or, as in the case of Fred Long's *Ancient Rhetoric and Paul's Apology* (Cambridge, 2008), the critiques by Stan and others of rhetorical treatment of Paul's epistles were mentioned but without response! It had reached the point that Stan and I actually wrote an article about this tendency and described the phenomenon as the "pre-citation fallacy" (forthcoming in Porter and Pitts, eds., *Christian Origins and the Establishment of the Early Jesus Movement*, Brill), as though mentioning the fact that critiques have been made in some way justifies continuing to apply the method without response to current criticisms.

I say all of this, in some ways, to provide some background to perhaps what is most well known about Stan and his views on rhetoric, and it is not in one of his publications, but in a paper he delivered in response to Ben Witherington's presentation on rhetoric and the New Testament at IBR. Ben had been applying rhetorical analysis to the entire New Testament for many years and so far as I

(or, I think, Stan) know, had never responded to any of the critiques that had been made of this method and, for that matter, neither had any of the other advocates of rhetorical criticism of the New Testament.

Once the topic of rhetoric and the New Testament was chosen for the main IBR session, Ben was asked to give the case for rhetorical analysis of the New Testament and Stan was invited to give the opposing view. Stan informs me that he let the facilitators know that he would be very pointed in his critique. And he was—many would say (I know, because I have heard them say it), too pointed. More than defending Stan on this—those who were at the paper can make up their own mind—I think the context is important to understand. Rhetorical criticism and especially its application to Paul's letters had been extremely influential in New Testament studies over the last two decades and Ben, in particular, had been producing rhetorical commentaries on the entire New Testament for the last several years. I think with the large-scale ignoring of the prolific criticisms of rhetorical analysis of Paul across the discipline of New Testament studies, so that major monograph series were accepting rhetorical analyses of Paul that did not respond to these methodological objections (e.g., Malcolm, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reversal in 1 Corinthians* [Cambridge, 2013]), I think Stan felt he needed to make a very clear point that would not be ignored.

11.1 *Authored Books on Rhetorical Criticism*

The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology. WUNT 115. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999. x + 233 pp. Reprint, *Paul in Acts*. Library of Pauline Studies. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010.

11.2 *Edited Books on Rhetorical Criticism*

Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference, co-editor with Thomas H. Olbricht, and contributor. JSNTSup 90. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993. 538 pp.

Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology: Essays from the 1994 Pretoria Conference, co-editor with Thomas H. Olbricht. JSNTSup 131. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996. 438 pp.

The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference, co-editor with Thomas H. Olbricht, and contributor. JSNTSup 146. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997. 504 pp.

Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400, editor and contributor. Leiden: Brill, 1997. xvi + 901 pp.

The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference, co-editor with Dennis L. Stamps, and contributor. JSNTSup 180. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999. 394 pp.

Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible, co-editor with Dennis L. Stamps, and contributor. JSNTSup 195. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002. 571 pp.

Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context, co-editor with Bryan R. Dyer, and contributor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. xviii + 330 pp.

11.3 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on Rhetorical Criticism*

"The Argument of Romans 5: Can a Rhetorical Question Make a Difference?" *JBL* 110 (1991) 655–77. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 213–38. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"'When it was clear that we couldn't persuade him, we gave up and said, "The Lord's will be done"' (Acts 21:14): Good Reasons to Stop Making Unproven Claims for Rhetorical Criticism." *BBR* (in press, 2016).

11.4 *Chapters in Books on Rhetorical Criticism*

"The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature." In *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, 100–122. JSNTSup 90. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993.

"Paul as Epistolographer *and* Rhetorician?" In *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, 222–48. JSNTSup 180. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

"Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism." In *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and D. A. Carson, 63–92. JSNTSup 168. SNTG 5. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

"The Rhetorical Scribe: Textual Variants in Romans and Their Possible Rhetorical Purpose." In *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, 403–19. JSNTSup 195. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

"Paul and His Bible: His Education and Access to the Scriptures of Israel." In *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, 97–125. SBLSS 50. Atlanta: Scholars, 2008.

"Applied Rhetoric and Stylistics in Ancient Greece." In *Rhetorik und Stilistic / Rhetoric and Stylistics: Ein internationales Handbuch historischer und systematischer Forschung / An International Handbook of Historical and Systematic Research*, edited by Ulla Fix, Andreas Gardt, and Joachim Knape, 284–307. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 31.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.

"Hellenistic Oratory and Paul of Tarsus." In *Hellenistic Oratory: Continuity and Change*, edited by Christos Kremmydas and Kathryn Tempest, 319–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

"Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: An Introduction to a Continuing Discussion," co-author with Bryan R. Dyer. In *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer, 1–10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

"Ancient Literate Culture and Popular Rhetorical Knowledge: Implications for Studying the Apostle Paul." In *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer, 96–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

"Rhetoric and New Testament Studies." In *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, edited by Michael MacDonald. Oxford: Oxford University Press (in press).

12 The Social World of the New Testament

Another abiding interest of Stan has been investigation of the social world of the New Testament. He is the editor of two monograph series devoted in different ways to this field. TENTS deals with texts and editions for the study of the New Testament but this often means using ancient papyri to reconstruct the world of the ancient Christians, a topic Stan has devoted several articles to himself. There are also edited volumes in the series devoted entirely to texts and social constructs that help illuminate Christian origins, from the perspective of both the Greco-Roman world and Hellenistic Judaism. The Septuagint Commentary Series was conceived as a way of providing commentary on texts early Christians would have used. That is at least part of the reason a singular manuscript is chosen for analysis rather than an eclectic text. Stan also founded an influential journal dealing with the intersection of Christianity, Judaism, and the Greco-Roman world. The journal is unique in that it is first published online, then in print. This means that scholarship is released more quickly, efficiently, and accessibly online, with a print edition to follow. Stan has also edited a number of volumes dealing with the social world of the New Testament and the IVP *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, co-edited with Craig Evans, continues to be a staple especially for pedagogical purposes; it contains a good deal of excellent material useful for advanced scholarship as well.

12.1 *Series on the Social World of the New Testament*

Series Editor, with Wendy J. Porter, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study Series (TENTS), Brill, Leiden, 1998–current.

General Editor, with John Jarick and Richard S. Hess, Septuagint Commentary Series (SEPT), Brill, 1997–current.

12.2 *Journals on the Social World of the New Testament*

Senior Editor and Editorial Advisory Board Member, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*, Centre for Advanced Theological Research, University of Surrey Roehampton, 1998–2002; McMaster Divinity College, 2003–current: www.jgrchj.net (published by Sheffield Phoenix, vols. 1–11).

12.3 *Edited Books on the Social World of the New Testament*

New Testament Backgrounds: A Sheffield Reader, co-editor with Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 43. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997. 335 pp.

The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After, co-editor with Craig A. Evans, and contributor. Roehampton Institute London Papers 3. JSPSup 26. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997. 414 pp.

Dictionary of New Testament Background, co-editor with Craig A. Evans, and contributor. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000. xxxiv + 1328 pp. Translated into multiple languages. 2001 Gold Medallion Award for Reference Works/Commentaries, Evangelical Christian Publishers Association.

The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period, co-editor with Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, and contributor. JSJSup 71. Leiden: Brill, 2003. xiv + 343 pp. Reprint, Atlanta: SBL, 2007.

Empire in the New Testament, co-editor with Cynthia Long Westfall, and contributor. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010. xiv + 305 pp.

Paul's World, editor and contributor. PAST 4. Leiden: Brill, 2008. 284 pp.

Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament, co-editor with Andrew W. Pitts, and contributor. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 1. TENTS 9. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xii + 751 pp.

Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament, co-editor with Andrew W. Pitts, and contributor. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 2. TENTS 10. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xii + 619 pp.

Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman, editor and contributor. PAST 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008. xiv + 370 pp.

Paul and the Ancient Letter Form, co-editor with Sean A. Adams, and contributor. PAST 6. Leiden: Brill, 2010. xiv + 369 pp.

Paul and His Social Relations, co-editor with Christopher D. Land, and contributor. PAST 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xii + 387 pp.

The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development, co-editor with Andrew W. Pitts, and contributor. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 3. LBS 6. Leiden: Brill, 2013. x + 525 pp.

Paul and Gnosis, co-editor with David I. Yoon, and contributor. PAST 9. Leiden: Brill, 2016. xiv + 222 pp.

12.4 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on the Social World of the New Testament*

"Why the Laodiceans Received Lukewarm Water (Revelation 3:15–18)." *TynB* 38 (1987) 143–49.

"Thucydides 1.22.1 and Speeches in Acts: Is There a Thucydidean View?" *NovT* 32 (1990) 121–42. Reprinted and revised in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, by Stanley E. Porter, 173–93. SBG 6. New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

"The Pauline Concept of Original Sin, in Light of Rabbinic Background." *TynB* 41, no. 1 (1990) 3–30.

"Two Myths: Corporate Personality and Language/Mentality Determinism." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 43 (1990) 289–307.

"Romans 13:1–7 as Pauline Political Rhetoric." *FN* 3, no. 6 (1990) 115–39.

"Paul's Bible, His Education and His Access to the Scriptures of Israel," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. *JGRChJ* 5 (2008) 9–41.

"The New Testament and Political Theology," co-author with Hughson T. Ong. *Didaskalia* 25 (2015) 1–18.

12.5 *Chapters in Books on the Social World of the New Testament*

"From Qumran to Roehampton: Fifty Years of Research and Reflection on the Scrolls," co-author with Craig A. Evans. In *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, 15–21. Roehampton Institute London Papers 3. JSPSup 26. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

"The Genres of the New Testament," co-author with Brook W. R. Pearson. In *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 131–65. NTTS 25. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

"Resurrection, the Greeks, and the New Testament." In *Resurrection*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, Michael A. Hayes, and David Tombs, 52–81. Roehampton Institute London Papers 5. JSNTSup 186. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

"Ancient Understandings of the Christian–Jewish Split," co-author with Brook W. R. Pearson. In *Christian–Jewish Relations through the Centuries*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson, 36–51. Roehampton Papers 6. JSNTSup 192. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.

"Was Paul a Good Jew? Fundamental Issues in a Current Debate." In *Christian–Jewish Relations through the Centuries*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson, 148–74. Roehampton Papers 6. JSNTSup 192. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.

"Was Early Christianity a Millenarian Movement?" In *Faith in the Millennium*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, Michael A. Hayes, and David Tombs, 234–60. Roehampton Papers 7. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.

"Millenarian Thought in the First-Century Church." In *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco*, edited by Stephen Hunt, 62–76. London: Hurst, 2001.

"The Reasons for the Lukan Census." In *Paul, Luke, and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J. M. Wedderburn*, edited by Alf Christophersen, Carsten Claussen, Jörg Frey, and Bruce W. Longenecker, 165–88. JSNTSup 217. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

"The Concept of Covenant in Paul." In *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, 269–85. JSJSup 71. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

"Family in the Epistles." In *Family in the Bible: Exploring Customs, Culture, and Context*, edited by Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R., 148–66. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003.

"Baptism in Acts: The Sacramental Dimensions." In *Baptist Sacramentalism*, edited by Anthony R. Cross and Philip E. Thompson, 117–28. Studies in Baptist History and Thought 5. Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003.

"Ephesians 5.18–19 and Its Dionysian Background." In *Testimony and Interpretation: Early Christology in Its Judeo-Hellenistic Milieu. Studies in Honour of Petr Pokorny*, edited by Jirí Mrázek and Jan Roskovec, 68–80. JSNTSup 272. London: Continuum, 2004.

"Did Paul Have Opponents in Rome and What Were They Opposing?" In *Paul and His Opponents*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 149–68. PAST 2. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

"The Genre of Acts and the Ethics of Discourse." In *Acts and Ethics*, edited by Thomas E. Phillips, 1–15. NTM 9. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005.

"Magic in the Book of Acts." In *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment*, edited by Michael Labahn and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte, 107–21. LNTS 306. London: T. & T. Clark, 2007.

"Introduction: Empire, the New Testament, and Beyond," co-author with Cynthia Long Westfall. In *Empire in the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 1–16. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

"Paul Confronts Caesar with the Good News." In *Empire in the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 164–96. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

"The Context of Jesus: Jewish and/or Hellenistic?" In *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. Vol. 2, *The Study of Jesus*, edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 1441–63. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"The Greek of the Jews and Early Christians: The Language of the People from a Historical Sociolinguistic Perspective." In *Far from Minimal: Celebrating the Work and Influence of Philip R. Davies*, edited by Duncan Burns and J. W. Rogerson, 350–64. LHBOTS 484. London: T. & T. Clark, 2012.

"Greco-Roman Culture in the History of New Testament Interpretation: An Introductory Essay," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, 1–12. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 1. TENTS 9. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Recent Efforts to Reconstruct Early Christianity on the Basis of Its Papyrological Evidence." *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, 71–84. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 1. TENTS 9. Leiden: Brill 2013.

"Hellenistic Judaism and New Testament Interpretation: An Introductory Essay," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, 1–9. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 2. TENTS 10. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Was John the Baptist a Member of the Qumran Community? Once More." In *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, 283–313. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 2. TENTS 10. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Paul and His Social Relations: An Introduction," co-author with Christopher D. Land. In *Paul and His Social Relations*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Land, 1–6. PAST 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"How Do We Define Pauline Social Relations?" In *Paul and His Social Relations*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Land, 7–33. PAST 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"The Disclosure Formula in the Epistolary Papyri and in the New Testament: Development, Form, Function, and Syntax," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. In *The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development*,

edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, 421–38. Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 3. LBS 6. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Paul, Virtues, Vices and Household Codes." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by J. Paul Sampley. London: Bloomsbury (in press).

"Lessons from the Papyri: What Apocryphal Gospel Fragments Reveal about the Textual Development of Early Christianity." In *Fakes, Forgeries, and Fictions: Writing Ancient and Modern Christian Apocrypha*, edited by Tony Burke. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock (in press).

13 The Use of the Old Testament in the New

One of Stan's most recent monographs deals with the use of the Old Testament in the New (2016). This is another area that Stan has worked on for several years in the form of articles and chapters. Stan's primary contribution to this field of study has been, once again, methodological. He called into question, for example, the use of terms such as intertextuality (so often used in New Testament studies), a word borrowed from literary theory but misapplied to the use of text A (Old Testament) in text B (New Testament). Instead, intertextuality, as it was originally conceived by Kristeva, had more to do with interacting semiotic systems than literary dependence and borrowing. He also criticized Richard Hays for imprecise criteria for his "intertextual" categories. After criticizing Hays's analysis of ideas such as allusion, paraphrase, and echo, in another article Stan sought to create more precise definitions. His new monograph emphasizes many of the same points but includes several applications of Stan's model as well.

Several chapters in this book intersect with Stan's interest in the Old Testament in the New, including those by Boda, Peters, Olbricht, Perrin, and Stovell.

13.1 *Authored Books on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*

Sacred Tradition in the New Testament: Tracing Old Testament Themes in the Gospels and Epistles, with a chapter by Bryan R. Dyer. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2016. xxiv + 310 pp.

13.2 *Edited Books on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*

Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament, editor and contributor. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006. 316 pp.

The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice, co-editor with Thomas L. Brodie and Dennis R. MacDonald, and contributor. NTM 16. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006. xvi + 311 pp.

The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments, editor and contributor. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007. xiv + 268 pp.

As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture, co-editor with Christopher D. Stanley, and contributor. SBLSS 50. Atlanta: SBL, 2008. xii + 376 pp. Reprint, Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Christian Mission: Old Testament Foundations and New Testament Developments, co-editor with Cynthia Long Westfall, and contributor. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010. xii + 259 pp.

13.3 *Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*

"Paul's Bible, His Education and His Access to the Scriptures of Israel," co-author with Andrew W. Pitts. *JGRChJ* 5 (2008) 9–41.

13.4 *Chapters in Books on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*

"The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology." In *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, edited by Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 79–96. Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 5. JSNTSup 148. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

"Literature to the Third Degree: Prophecy in Zechariah 9–14 and the Passion of Christ," co-author with Mark J. Boda. In *Traduire la Bible Hébraïque / Translating the Hebrew Bible: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond / From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*, edited by Robert David and Manuel Jinbachian, 215–54. Sciences bibliques 15. Montreal: Médiaspaul, 2005.

"Introduction: The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 1–8. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

"Scripture Justifies Mission: The Use of the Old Testament in Luke–Acts." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 104–26. MNTS. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

"The Use of Authoritative Citations in Mark's Gospel and Ancient Biography: A Study of P.Oxy. 1176." In *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels*. Vol. 1, *The Gospel of Mark*, edited by Thomas R. Hatina, 116–30. LNTS 304. London: T. & T. Clark International, 2006.

"Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." In *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*, edited by Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter, 98–110. NTM 16. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006.

"Introduction: Tracing the Development of the Epistles—The Potential and the Problem," co-author with Thomas L. Brodie and Dennis R. MacDonald. In *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*, edited by Thomas Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter, 1–9. NTM 16. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006.

"Conclusion: Problems of Method—Suggested Guidelines," co-author with Thomas L. Brodie and Dennis R. MacDonald. In *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*, edited by Thomas Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter, 284–96. NTM 16. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006.

"Allusions and Echoes." In *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, 29–40. SBLSS 50. Atlanta: Scholars, 2008.

"Paul and His Bible: His Education and Access to the Scriptures of Israel." In *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, 97–125. SBLSS 50. Atlanta: Scholars, 2008.

"Introduction: Christian Mission: Old Testament Foundations and New Testament Developments," co-author with Cynthia Long Westfall. In *Christian Mission: Old Testament Foundations and New Testament Developments*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, 1–11. MNTS. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010.

14 Pedagogy and Philosophy of Education/Scholarship

Beyond the direct impact that Stan has had within New Testament scholarship, I think a reasonable case can be made that one of his greatest contributions has been in his exceptional ability to mentor and develop high-quality students who go on to become productive biblical scholars, often even before completing the PhD. Scholars that are as productive as Stan—and I cannot imagine that there are many out there—are typically forced to neglect their students so that they can spend additional time on their research. As one of his former students, I can say that this was certainly not true in Stan's case. Perhaps more impressive than his ambitious research agenda was his ability to be so productive and yet also make so much time for his students.

His philosophy of education is, perhaps, one of the distinctives that sets Stan apart as not only a mentor but a scholar. From the beginning (I did my MA and PhD with Stan), he viewed us his students as colleagues, and quickly brought us into his research and publishing lifestyle. He would have an idea, encourage us to research it, critique what we wrote, and usually, after several re-writes

and expansions/revisions from Stan, the article or chapter would be ready for publication. My first publication was in *JBL*, and Stan walked me through the entire process. He had a concern about a recent article on 2 Pet 1:20 in *JBL* and thought it warranted a response. So he asked me if I wanted to see what I could come up with. After about five drafts based on his corrections and redirections, he walked me through the process of submitting the article to *JBL*, noting things of importance when desiring to get an article such as this accepted into a journal like *JBL*. Once the article was accepted, he walked me through the process of dealing with proofs and the journal editors until finally we saw the article in print. On another occasion, he invited me to co-author a few articles on historical Jesus research with him. For these articles, he had me over to his house and we worked the entire day together researching and writing the articles so that I saw his research method firsthand. He continued to mentor myself and his other students in this way throughout the duration of our time at McMaster. Before completing my PhD there, I had already co-edited with Stan three books with Brill Academic and had written over thirty chapters and articles in various academic publications. This experience allowed me to constantly hone my research skills under the direct supervision of a senior scholar, seeing each publication from its initial research phases to final publication. I cannot imagine acquiring this experience anywhere else, nor have I heard of this level of involvement from a doctoral mentor in the work of his or her students.

Stan treats his students not only as colleagues, however, but as friends. Often, he would have a group of us over to his house for dinners that included amazing wine, cheeses, and gourmet food prepared by his wife, Wendy (though these were not McMaster sponsored events). He would also go to the pub with us whenever we requested, and talk about life or New Testament studies, or whatever. Still, at SBL, instead of spending time expanding his professional network or enhancing/establishing publisher relations (though I am sure he does some of this too!), he seems to spend much of his time having lunches or dinners or attending the receptions with his students and former students.

Stan's deep level of involvement in the life and research of students has led to the development of what is likely one of the most successful mentorship paradigms operative within biblical studies. At least, I am not aware of others involved in doctoral supervision who have produced the quality and quantity of published PhD theses that Stan has. There very well may be others—I am obviously more acquainted with Stan and his work—but there cannot be many. This can be seen by Stan's involvement in PhD supervision for a period of less than two decades at Roehampton University and McMaster Divinity

College. During this period, he supervised a total of thirty-two PhD theses, sixteen of which have been published in major monograph series.

During Stan's time at University of Surrey Roehampton, London (now Roehampton University), UK, he functioned as Director of Studies / Supervisor or Co-Supervisor of thirteen successful PhD theses, seven of which have been published in peer-reviewed monograph series: Gustavo Martín-Asensio 1999 ("Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles"—published); Stephanie L. Black 2000 ("Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: Καί, Δέ, Τότε, Γάρ, Οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse"—published); Brook W. R. Pearson 2000 ("Paul, Dialectic, and Gadamer: Conversation and Play in the Study of Paul in the Ancient World"—published); Richard A. Hoyle 2001 ("Scenarios, Discourse and Translation: The Scenario Theory of Cognitive Linguistics, Its Relevance for Analysing New Testament Greek and Modern Parkari Texts, and Its Implications for Translation Theory"); Matthew Brook O'Donnell 2002 ("The Application of Corpus Linguistics to the Study of Hellenistic Greek, with Specific Reference to the Greek of the New Testament"—published); Jacqueline C. R. de Roo 2002 ("'Works of the Law' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Paul's Letters to the Romans and Galatians"—published); Young-Chul Whang 2002 ("Ephesians 5.22–33: A Reflection of Genesis 2.22–24—A Discourse Analytical Approach to Ephesian Haustafel"); Ivan Kwong 2003 ("The Word Order of the Gospel of Luke and Its Foregrounded Messages"—published); Cynthia Long Westfall 2003 ("A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews: Relationship between Form and Meaning"—published); Timothy Farrell 2004 ("Metaphor in Matthew's Gospel: Its Cognitive Structure, Background, Cultural Dependence and Translatability"); Steve Gunderson 2005 ("John 2.23–4.42: Nicodemus and the Samaritan Woman: An Unexpected Tale?"); Sung-Gil Jang 2005 ("Discourse Markers, Cohesion, and Coherence in Prophetic Discourse: An Analysis of Jeremiah 30–33 in the Light of Textlinguistics"); Juil Choi 2006 ("Honour, Shame and Sexuality in the Pauline Letters in the Greco-Roman Cultures").

In his time at McMaster Divinity College (2006–current), in addition to supervising several successful MA students (two of whose theses were published as monographs with Brill), he has supervised nineteen successful PhD students, nine of whose dissertations have been published in major peer-reviewed monograph series, including: Lois K. Dow 2008 ("Eternal Jerusalem: Jerusalem/Zion in Biblical Theology with Special Attention to "New Jerusalem" as the Name for the Final State in Revelation 21–22"—published), Lang Her Wu (Toshikazu Foley) 2008 ("Chinese Bible Translation with Special Reference to Greek Verbal Aspect as Exemplified in John 18–19 and 1 Corinthians

15"—published), Jae Hyun Lee 2009 ("Toward a Peak[s] of Paul's Gospel in Romans: A Discourse Analysis of Romans 1:16—8:39"—published), Philip D. Burggraff 2012 ("A Corpus Linguistic Verb Analysis of the Pauline Letters: The Contribution of Verb Patterns to Pauline Letter Structure"), Beth Marie Stovell 2012 ("The Crucified and Exalted King of Israel: The Metaphor of Kingship in John's Gospel"—published), Ronald Dean Peters 2012 ("The Greek Article: A Functional Grammar of *Ho*-items in the Greek New Testament with Special Emphasis on the Greek Article"—published), James D. Dvorak 2012 ("The Interpersonal Metafunction in 1 Corinthians 1–4: The Tenor of Toughness"), Christopher D. Land 2013 ("The Integrity of 2 Corinthians from a Linguistic Perspective: Is There a Text in These Meanings?"—published), Rocky H. Fong 2014 ("Toward a Functional Description of New Testament Greek Conditionals with Special Reference to the Gospel of John"), Byung Pill Choi 2014 ("Luke's Thematic Characterization: The Infancy Narrative [Luke 1–2] and Beyond"), Francis G. H. Pang 2014 ("Perfectivity, Telicity, and New Testament Interpretation: Towards a Corpus Approach to Koine Event Typology"—published), Andrew W. Pitts 2015 ("The Genre of the Third Gospel and Authoritative Citation"), Xiaxia (Esther) Xue 2015 ("Paul's Viewpoint on the Relationship of God, Israel, and the Gentiles in Romans 9–11: An Intertextual Thematic Analysis of Romans 9–11"—published), Nathan Kin Yan Hui 2015 ("The Mission of the Jerusalem Apostles: An Authorial, Historical, and Canonical Reconstruction"), Hughson T. Ong 2015 ("The Multilingual Jesus: An Analysis of the Sociolinguistic Situation of Ancient Palestine with Special Reference to the Gospel of Matthew"—published), Adam Z. Wright 2015 ("Of Conflict and Concealment: The Gospel of Mark as Tragedy"), James A. Libby 2015 ("Disentangling Authorship and Genre in the Greek New Testament: History, Method, and Praxis"), Jonathan Joy Hong 2016 ("The Historical Jesus and Intentional Mosaic Typology").

Currently, Stan has another nineteen active PhD students, showing that his interest in mentoring biblical scholars remains as strong as (if not stronger than) his passion for biblical scholarship itself. I could see someone objecting that this is far too many students to mentor at one time. My contention would be that this depends on who is doing the mentoring. I had the same concern myself. Stan had a similar number of PhD students (maybe around 13) when I was there, and far from feeling neglected, I could meet with him as frequently and for as long (especially if it was toward the end of the day and he had no other meetings) as I wanted. I have had several friends who did PhDs in the UK, for example—one of the places Stan supervised PhD students!—and their supervisors tended to have only around four or five students, and these students counted themselves fortunate if they got a brief meeting once a month

with their mentor. My point is that fewer students does not always translate into more attention for those students. It depends upon the priorities, energy, and time-management abilities of the doctoral supervisor.

In addition to his active role as a mentor, Stan has also published several reflections on his philosophy of education and biblical scholarship, listed below.

14.1 *Authored Books on Pedagogy and Philosophy of Education/ Scholarship*

Inking the Deal: A Guide for Successful Academic Publishing. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010. xii + 191 pp.

14.2 *Edited Books on Pedagogy and Philosophy of Education/Scholarship*

Christian Worldview and the Academic Disciplines: Crossing the Academy, co-editor with Deane E. D. Downey, and contributor. McMaster General Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009. xxxviii + 503 pp.

On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday, co-editor with Eckhard J. Schnabel, and contributor. TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xxxviii + 493 pp.

Those Who Can, Teach: Teaching as Christian Vocation, editor and contributor. McMaster General Series 3. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2013. viii + 217 pp.

14.3 *Journal/Magazine Articles on Pedagogy and Philosophy of Education/Scholarship*

"Is a Doctorate All That Is Necessary?" *Faculty Dialogue* 20 (Winter 1993–94) 125–29.

"The Future of Theology and Religious Studies from a Confessional Standpoint." *MJTM* 11 (2009–2010) 121–38.

"Canadian Theological Education in the Twenty-First Century—An Update and Evaluation." *MJTM* 14 (2012–2013) 17–41.

"Is There a Secret to Supervising Doctoral Students?" *SBL Forum* (electronic publication at https://www.sbl-site.org/publications/article.aspx?ArticleId=278), June 2004.

"What Should Seminaries Be Doing?" *Christian Week*, vol. 19, no. 23, 17 February 2006, p. 9.

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"The Changing Face of Seminary: Students' Changing Needs Challenge Delivery of Top-Notch Theological Training." *Christian Week*, vol. 27, no. 02, February 2013, p. 11.

"Needed: A Venue to Discuss New Degree Options," letter to the editor, *In Trust*, Autumn 2014, p. 2.

14.4 *Chapters in Books on Pedagogy and Philosophy of Education/ Scholarship*

"How to Use This Book," co-author with Deane E. D. Downey. In *Christian Worldview and the Academic Disciplines: Crossing the Academy*, edited by Deane E. D. Downey and Stanley E. Porter, xxix–xxxviii. McMaster Divinity General Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009.

"A Christian Perspective on Biblical Studies." In *Christian Worldview and the Academic Disciplines: Crossing the Academy*, edited by Deane E. D. Downey and Stanley E. Porter, 88–105. McMaster General Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009.

"The Linguistic Competence of New Testament Commentaries." In *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, 33–56. TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Commentaries on the Book of Romans." In *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, 365–404. TENTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

"Developing a Philosophy of Education." In *Those Who Can, Teach: Teaching as Christian Vocation*, edited by Stanley E. Porter, 9–37. McMaster General Series 3. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2013.

PART 1

The Texts and Language of the New Testament

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CHAPTER 1

Setting Scholarship Back a Hundred Years? Method in the Septuagint Commentary Series

Richard S. Hess

This essay considers some of the methodological questions raised by scholars in relation to the value of the Septuagint Commentary Series (SEPT)[1] as a series of volumes intended to study specifically the selected biblical book from one ancient manuscript of the LXX (usually Codex Vaticanus) and to examine the literary form and emphasis of the work. Some of the issues raised will be: To what extent does this approach negate or eliminate the work of textual criticism of the LXX in terms of the evolution of an Urtext (or Urtexts) and in terms of its relationship to the Hebrew original? Does this approach require the assumption that the Greek text is nowhere a mistaken interpretation of a Hebrew original? To what extent is there value in considering what the first Greek readers would have understood of the text? This study will examine some evaluations of volumes in the SEPT series and consider the distinctive contribution that this series provides.

It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to Stan Porter, whose friendship I have valued for more than thirty years. Stan is one of the few people concerning whom I can pinpoint the day and time when we first met: September 30, 1986, at Tyndale House, Cambridge. Over the years our friendship has touched upon a variety of common academic points of interest. One of these has been SEPT, a project that Stan devised and spearheaded while teaching in London. Along with John Jarick, I have had the privilege of assisting in the editing of the volumes in this series. While I will draw upon and state what I believe to be generally accepted matters regarding the SEPT series, the following observations are my own and not intended to replace the stated purpose of the SEPT as, for example, may be found on the publisher's (Brill) website.[2]

1 SEPT is the Brill abbreviation for the series; an alternate abbreviation is SCS, which must not be confused with the abbreviation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, published by SBL.

2 For an official statement regarding the purpose of the series and for related information, see the publisher's site: http://www.brill.com/publications/septuagint-commentary-series. Accessed April 26, 2016.

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The title for this essay emerges from a conversation I had with a friend and respected scholar in LXX studies. We spoke shortly after the public announcement of the SEPT. At the time my friend expressed reservations about the publication of such a project, feeling that it would "set Septuagint scholarship back by one hundred years." Such a picturesque expression has remained in my mind over the past decade as we have seen the publication of thirteen volumes by outstanding LXX scholars.[3] Various critical observations of this kind have recurred during the period.[4] It seemed therefore appropriate to take this opportunity to provide a brief review of what the series has sought to achieve and what remains close to the core of its mission.

From the beginning, the purpose of the SEPT was distinct from that of many other published works on the LXX. It was designed to respect the various books of the LXX as literary compositions in their own right. We began this as a kind of investigation to understand what could be learned of the meaning and message of books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha that were preserved in Greek at the specific time and place when they appeared in Codex Vaticanus and, in some cases, the other early codices. Every volume is written with an introduction that relates the textual history of the book as well as the historical and theological significance.

There follows the Greek text of the version used for that particular biblical book. The critical apparatus at the bottom provides for the notation of significant variants in the major Greek manuscripts and textual editions. For many volumes, therefore, the reader can fairly simply reconstruct the wording of these manuscripts and editions without leaving the SEPT volume. The modern author's English translation is given on the page facing the relevant Greek. This allows the reader to compare the translation with ease.

The commentary itself focuses on the divisions of the book as found in Vaticanus (or the particular version used) and examines how these literary units (and other notes and peculiarities that appear in the uncial manuscript) function and what sense they convey for understanding the specific clauses and sentences of the text and for appreciating how each part fits into the whole of the book as a literary piece. This is a focus rather than an exclusive

3 At the time of writing this, I count thirteen volumes that have appeared. In chronological order they are as follows: Auld, *Joshua* (2005); Croy, *3 Maccabees* (2005); deSilva, *4 Maccabees* (2006); Brayford, *Genesis* (2007); Littman, *Tobit* (2008); Olley, *Ezekiel* (2009); Walser, *Jeremiah* (2012); Bird, *1 Esdras* (2012); Glenny, *Hosea* (2013); Gurtner, *Exodus* (2013); Glenny, *Amos* (2013); Adams, *Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah* (2014); Glenny, *Micah* (2015).

4 Recently, for example, I note the comments by the respected Septuagintal scholar Karen H. Jobes (Review of *Hosea*). While praising Glenny's work on Hosea, Jobes discusses the "questionable premise of the series."

requirement. It recognizes the legitimacy of occasional appeals to a Hebrew Vorlage or comparison with the Masoretic Text. However, the emphasis is a commentary on the Greek text as it has been received and become part of the fourth- or fifth-century codex. Thus the SEPT is more interested in the literary outline and structure of the argument as found in the LXX book than it is concerned with how this or that word may have required an understanding of Hebrew to appreciate its full semantic range. Behind this lies the assumption that the translators, editors, and sometimes authors that gave us a text such as Vaticanus had a message that they sought to convey, and that this message is in large part recoverable. Thus the SEPT volumes study the text that is written in Codex Vaticanus or the particular version used. They do not first and foremost see it as a text that has come from somewhere, i.e., from an Urtext or an earlier version of the Greek text. Nor do the published volumes see the book primarily as a text that is going somewhere, such as towards its appropriation by later writers and commentators in Christianity.

Such an approach has an important advantage. The text discussed is known to have existed in a manuscript from ancient times. Those who study the Hebrew Bible do so from this perspective, using a diplomatic text that is entirely based on a thousand-year-old manuscript. The same is true for those who study most ancient Near Eastern texts and Classical texts. With the abundance of manuscripts that provide evidence for the LXX, those who study it, like students of the New Testament, can use legitimate principles to weigh the many variants and to trace a genetic history back to one or more translations and recensions that the text experienced.[5] The result is an eclectic text made up of selections of variants. Such a text may have existed in ancient times and may even have formed the original text. However, we cannot know that point with certainty. This sort of research is legitimate but it is not the focus of the SEPT series. Indeed, so important is the study of the textual criticism that it has often dominated the field. The result has been that any attempt to ask other questions about the text is sometimes met with stiff resistance that assumes one cannot be studying the LXX or a particular book for any worthwhile purpose.

Far from setting the field back a century, however, the study of the LXX proposed by this commentary series benefits from textual criticism and benefits textual criticism itself. LXX textual criticism has laid great emphasis upon

5 This is not to assert that study of the Hebrew Bible and other ancient texts do not benefit by the study of variant manuscripts and the development of a textual history. Indeed, at times such textual criticism is essential. The point here is to contrast the choice of an eclectic text (the UBS Greek New Testament or the published volumes of the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint) and a diplomatic one.

preserving accurately the distinctive readings or variants in the manuscripts. Instead of being part of a religious tradition that destroys variant manuscripts, LXX textual criticism has enjoyed a community of scholars who for centuries have carefully identified, preserved, catalogued, and evaluated the ancient witnesses. While the results have not led to the belief that any single manuscript is the Urtext, the study has indicated the value and place of Codex Vaticanus (and the other uncial versions) in terms of their importance. Therefore, thanks to the work of textual criticism, the codices from which the authors of the SEPT have drawn their texts for study can be placed in their proper position in the history of the LXX and its reception among the faith communities.

The SEPT benefits textual criticism of the LXX by granting the student or scholar researching specific issues in this field a better understanding of literary and other reasons for the existence of translation variants. One of the overlooked areas of Septuagintal textual criticism that has received increasing emphasis in recent years is understanding the distinctive Greek character of each biblical and apocryphal book or, in some cases, groups of related books such as the Minor Prophets (or those witnessed to by a distinctive recension such as the *kaige* recension). The better that textual critics understand the existence of the translation character as reflected in various books, the more it is that they will be able to assess the nature of variants and the weight given to them in understanding how they came into being.

While one might argue that this aim is met with a commentary on the Göttingen editon of a given text, this is not necessarily the case. The decision to base an analysis upon an extant ancient text allows the scholar the opportunity to understand aspects of that book's character at a specific point in time and thereby to evaluate critically whether a reconstructed Urtext provides the same literary character, and if not, to ask the question, Why not? Thus, another dimension emerges from which to evaluate the text-critical product. It might also be noted that, as far as I am aware, at the time when Brill announced the SEPT project, no English language commentary series on the entire Septuagint was underway.[6] It has been gratifying to see that this is no longer the case and that other LXX commentary series, with different aims, are now intending to publish volumes that will contribute to the flourishing of scholarship in this field.

An important point should be mentioned here. The series does have a focus but it also allows a fair degree of latitude to compare the Greek with the Hebrew that may lie behind it. While this is not the main purpose of the series, it is incorrect to suggest that any such discussion runs contrary to any stated or

6 This was true even at the time of the publication of the first volume, Auld, *Joshua.* Although this book was copyright in 2005, it appeared in printed form in late 2004.

published goals for the SEPT by the editors or publisher.[7] However individual writers for the series may choose to express their own aims, the series does not limit itself to discussing only what a fourth-century Alexandrian audience might have understood when reading the text. This can certainly be part of the modern author's interest, but it is not intended to be the whole picture of what the literary form, structure, and purpose of the particular book seeks to convey. Such an understanding has regularly and legitimately led these authors to introduce discussion of the Hebrew text and other resources.[8]

Thus the vision of the SEPT does not eliminate any discussion of the Hebrew Vorlage or, for that matter, of extant Hebrew manuscripts such as Codex Leningrad. It does place this discussion subordinate to the literary concerns of the text, but it does not in any way refuse to consider the question of the Hebrew and its relation to the Greek. Certainly, there is no assumption that the Greek translation is somehow an inerrant rendering of the Hebrew behind it. However, neither is this an all-or-nothing option. Neither does the series assume that the Greek text is riddled with incomprehensible renderings so that only those who understood Hebrew as well as Greek could comprehend the message. The literary approach assumes that the Greek text is a literary work that makes sense. The volumes that have appeared have repeatedly demonstrated the literary nature of the extant Greek text being studied.

Since the SEPT has a literary emphasis, it is appropriate to ask what benefits this provides the reader in terms of better understanding the LXX and its contribution to the Christian, Jewish, and Greco-Roman worlds. We have already noted the important relation to issues surrounding textual criticism. However, this is secondary. The major gains in research occur with the literary emphasis on the text.

Thus, an understanding of the literary form and structure of the text provides a view into the manner in which the early Christian writers understood and appropriated the Old Testament. It also allows us to appreciate their struggles to understand what the New Testament writers intended when they quoted or referred to the Old Testament, applying them in ways that were not always obvious. It is of course true that writers of the first century did not use exactly the same manuscript as those copied in the fourth century. Even so, there is often a relationship of the earlier LXX text with that of the later codices. Thus the identification of the literary meaning and message of the later codex, which we have, gives insight into the overall purpose of the earlier text, which we usually do not possess. Further, a literary analysis of the text allows

7 E.g., Jobes, Review of *Hosea*, 404.

8 Cf., e.g., the first page of verse-by-verse commentary in the series's first volume, Auld, *Joshua*, 86.

us to examine fruitfully the exegesis of the patristic and early church period. We better understand the sense in which the hermeneutics of the period reflected those of the codex.

The nature of the LXX books as literary pieces in their own right may seem foreign to scholars who have used the work as a resource from which to mine philological and textual information. However, this commentary series attempts to provide a window into the translators and their own understanding of the biblical books. In so doing it creates an important key to unlock the value of the LXX for biblical, patristic, and Greek scholars, and the questions that they research.

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CHAPTER 2

The Past, Present, and Future of the OpenText.org Annotated Greek Corpus

Christopher D. Land and Francis G. H. Pang

1 Introduction

Over the course of his prolific (and still ongoing) career, Stanley E. Porter has either produced or overseen the production of a great many things, including not only countless books and articles but also a thriving graduate studies program at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, Ontario. Without a doubt, the field of New Testament studies has benefited greatly both from his generative ideas and from his tireless efforts in clarifying, editing and disseminating the ideas of others.[1] In this essay, however, we wish to focus our attention on an entirely different contribution, namely, the OpenText.org project, which was initiated by Porter over fifteen years ago together with Matthew Brook O'Donnell and Jeffrey T. Reed.

In many respects, OpenText.org was ahead of its time, both technologically and linguistically (within New Testament studies, at least), and so its development has not exactly proven to be a steady forward march. It is a visionary project, however, and its future prospects are rich and varied. By pooling together their diverse skills and resources more than fifteen years ago, O'Donnell, Porter, and Reed displayed the kind of collaborative and innovative spirit that has become characteristic of the digital humanities. Eschewing the isolation that so frequently characterizes scholars in the humanities, they set out to accomplish something that none of them could have accomplished independently.[2] Today, the OpenText.org project retains

1 Personally, we are indebted to Stan not only for his contributions to our academic formation, but also for his friendship, which has been a source of humor and laughter amidst all the toil. We have found Stan to be selfless and charitable, and we wish him well as he celebrates his 60th birthday and as he finishes out the remaining years of his career.

2 Many smiles were exchanged among friends and colleagues when, at the 2014 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, Porter—as the sole CSBS member among the three OpenText.org partners—won the Norman E. Wagner Award for the innovative use of technology relating to biblical scholarship. He was undoubtedly a worthy recipient,

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this same spirit, and the vision of its founding partners remains as relevant as ever.

Our goal in the present essay is not to advance a new argument but to narrate the story of OpenText.org. This is important partly for the sake of documentation, as scholarly contributions to digital humanities projects do not necessarily culminate in traditional publications. We also intend for the present essay to serve as an invitation. The OpenText.org project, as a collaborative online endeavor, is only able to advance towards its stated aims with the assistance of interested scholars. For this reason, after surveying the origins of the project and some intervening developments in digital humanities research, we will discuss the current state of OpenText.org and the potential that remains for its further development.

2 The Vision of the OpenText.org Project

The conception of the OpenText.org project involved the fusion of three distinct yet overlapping domains of research and innovation, each of which contributed to its early development, and each of which will remain an integral part of the project moving forward.

Most obviously, the project was launched by three New Testament scholars with the goal of producing resources that would aid in the study of the Greek New Testament. From its inception, therefore, the project has been associated with the field of biblical studies, and its primary participants have all been biblical scholars. The project—under its original name, the *Hellenistic Greek Text Annotation Project*—was first housed in the Centre for Advanced Theological Research at the University of Surrey Roehampton. Early presentations regarding the project were often given at society meetings related to biblical studies, including both annual and international meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society.[3]

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as the OpenText.org project would never have launched or succeeded without his inspiration, direction, and ongoing support. It was good for everyone involved, however, that his receipt of this award did not require him to give a talk regarding the technological aspects of the project.

3 Early presentations at biblical studies conferences in 2000 and 2001 include: Porter, "OpenText.org: Program and Prospects"; Porter, "Analyzing the Computer Needs of New Testament Exegetes"; Porter and O'Donnell, "Expanding the Boundaries of Grammar, Exploring the Word"; Porter, O'Donnell and Reed, "OpenText.org: A Collaborative Internet-based Project for the Linguistic and Literary Analysis of the Greek New Testament"; Porter, "Who Owns the Greek Text of the New Testament?"; Porter and O'Donnell, "OpenText.org

In fact, an entire series of publications was conceived in association with Sheffield Academic Press, with the idea being to supply tools and resources that would be not only linguistically and technologically sophisticated but also heuristically and pedagogically useful to biblical scholars.[4] In short, although the scope of the OpenText.org project was always much broader than the New Testament, it was viewed by its founders chiefly as a means by which to better understand the texts of the New Testament.

If biblical scholarship was the seedbed for OpenText.org, linguistics was the seed. For one thing, it was the application of linguistics to the study of the New Testament that first brought together the project's initial partners. In the early 1990s, Reed studied with Porter at Biola, using both GRAMCORD and the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG). Although some published work did come out of these early interactions,[5] there also emerged an underlying frustration with the technological limitations of the available resources, as well as a desire to move beyond the very limited information contained therein. For his part, O'Donnell opted to undertake doctoral studies with Porter in Roehampton after finding a copy of his *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* in a used bookstore. During the course of his doctoral research, which involved the application of corpus linguistics to the New Testament,[6] O'Donnell and Porter began work on a richly annotated corpus of Hellenistic Greek. Taking as a key inspiration the corpus-linguistic work being done at Lancaster University, and drawing heavily upon Systemic Functional Linguistics in order to isolate distinct annotation layers, they drafted an initial annotation scheme and then manually annotated all of Philemon.[7] Meanwhile, Reed had completed his

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and Recent Developments in Greek Textual Studies." Some have since been published (see the bibliography).

4 Specifically, the Biblical Languages: Greek (BLG) series was envisioned as a six-volume set, together with complementary digital resources. BLG 1 was to be an introductory grammar composed by Porter and Reed (now published as Porter, Reed, and O'Donnell, *Fundamentals of New Testament Greek*; BLG 2 was an intermediate grammar (Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*); BLG 3 was to be an advanced reference grammar undertaken in concert with Chrys Caragounis and Brook W. R. Pearson; BLG 4 was to be a corpus-based lexicon of Hellenistic Greek, derived from a digitally annotated corpus of Hellenistic texts by Porter, O'Donnell, and Pearson; BLG 5 was to be an advanced Hellenistic Greek reader undertaken by Porter and Pearson; BLG 6 was to be an instructor's guide to teaching Greek, together with software tools designed to aid both professors and students in the classroom.

5 See, e.g., Reed, "Infinitive with Two Substantival Accusatives."

6 See O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*.

7 Some of the early annotation guidelines can still be viewed at http://www.opentext.org/model/guidelines.html. Some of the early annotations of Philemon can be seen in O'Donnell,

doctoral work at the University of Sheffield, applying discourse analysis to the study of the New Testament.[8] Upon formally joining the project, Reed proposed the "open text" moniker by which the project is still known. Together, these three presented their research at linguistic society meetings, advocating for interdisciplinary work and advancing a strong case for the relevance of corpus linguistics to New Testament studies.[9]

Fifteen years ago (as still today), only a small minority of biblical scholars possessed any real expertise in linguistics. The interdisciplinary requirements of the OpenText.org project were even more specific than this, however, because the task of developing online digital resources demands technical expertise in computer programming and web development. Given the interdisciplinary and highly specialized nature of its ambitions, how could the OpenText.org project succeed in accomplishing its plans? Here OpenText.org took as its inspiration the open-source software movement, which in the 1990s was emerging as a significant force in the world of computer programming.[10] Its founders envisioned a small but collaborative community of technologically astute biblical scholars who would develop open-source tools. These tools would then be made available to a somewhat larger community of scholars, who would together annotate an entire corpus of Hellenistic Greek texts and thus produce the open annotation data so critical to the research opportunities being pursued by the project. In essence, this constituted an early pioneering attempt at crowd-sourcing, launched in the same year as Wikipedia.

Porter, O'Donnell, and Reed's goal of bringing together biblical scholarship, linguistics, and open-source web-development was highly ambitious for its time. Even fifteen years later, it remains ambitious, despite intervening developments in the digital humanities that have made it somewhat more feasible (see below). The goal also remains essential to the future development of biblical studies, inasmuch as there is a tremendous need for empirical research into the language of the New Testament. Scholars who wish to make well-founded

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Porter, and Reed, "OpenText.org: The Problems and Prospects of Working with Ancient Discourse," 421–22, and in the reprint, O'Donnell, Porter, and Reed, "OpenText.org and the Problems and Prospects of Working with Ancient Discourse," 120–21. See also O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 168–201; 253–72.

8 See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*.

9 Key presentations and publications in linguistic forums include: Porter, O'Donnell, and Reed, "OpenText.org and the Problems and Prospects of Working with Ancient Discourse"; Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues for Corpus Linguistics and the Study of Ancient Languages"; Porter, O'Donnell, and Reed, "OpenText.org: An Experiment in Internet-Based Collaborative Humanities Scholarship."

10 See O'Donnell, "Open Text? What Can Corpus-Based Projects Learn."

claims regarding the Hellenistic Greek language need to have at their disposal the sorts of resources envisioned by OpenText.org. Moreover, the ethos of the original OpenText.org project continues to offer an antidote to both the isolation that has long characterized the humanities and the commercialization that continues to characterize the development of software resources related to the Bible.[11] We conclude this section, therefore, with a brief summary of the core values that motivated the original vision of OpenText.org and that continue to guide the project today.

First, OpenText.org prioritizes the use of unrestricted Greek texts (i.e. texts that are either in the public domain or freely licensed under a suitable Creative Commons license).[12] We believe that a good case can be made against the legality (to say nothing of the logic) of applying a restrictive copyright to what is purportedly the closest that modern scholarship can get to the wording of an ancient text.[13] But if modern eclectic editions *are* in fact legally protected by copyright, then it becomes wholly impractical to employ them in web-based resources meant to be freely available. In short, either the copyright of the standard eclectic editions needs to be challenged, or projects like OpenText.org need to employ an alternative base text.[14]

Second, when markup is produced by scholarly annotators, it too should be made freely available to other researchers in a useable format.[15] After all, if the goal of annotating a Greek text is to advance knowledge of the text and its language, other scholars should be encouraged to not only examine the data in question but also to employ it in their own research and to incorporate it into newly created resources. Furthermore, interested scholars should

11 For an assessment along these lines, see Porter, "Analyzing the Computer Needs of New Testament Exegetes."

12 For information on Creative Commons licenses, see https://creativecommons.org/about.

13 See Porter, "Who Owns the Greek of the New Testament?."

14 In this respect, the SBLGNT is a step in the right direction, although its somewhat restrictive license is an unnecessary encumbrance. A better choice is perhaps the 1904 edition of the Nestle Greek New Testament, which has been made freely available in digital format by Diego Santos at https://sites.google.com/site/nestle1904/home. The OpenText.org project is also exploring the possibility of moving the project to a single manuscript (see the essay by Catherine Smith and Matthew Brook O'Donnell in this volume).

15 It is regrettable that the original OpenText.org annotations were not openly released. We are hopeful that new versions of the annotations will soon be released, provided that some outstanding issues can be resolved. If a new XML format is successfully developed in conversation with BiblicalHumanities.org (see below), this will help to make the data accessible to both individuals and other related projects.

be encouraged to alter the data in question by clarifying, correcting, or expanding it, thereby furthering the academic work of its originators. To the extent that this model of academic progress involves a vast and constantly changing scholarly community, the application of restrictive licenses to digital annotations is both impractical and counter-productive. To require attribution is sensible, since it is proper for academics to recognize the hard work carried out by predecessors; to require that other scholars make explicit requests for permission is to place a roadblock in the path of progress.

Third, the source code for resources related to the project should ideally be open and freely available. Because New Testament research projects are typically overseen by New Testament scholars—most of whom lack programming skills—it is paramount that willing programmers can quickly and easily make small contributions to the project. It is also vital to ensure that programming work is not wasted. Code should be recycled whenever possible, and ideally managed using a publicly available source code repository.[16]

Fourth, the project should be guided by sound linguistic principles. This encompasses everything from the selection of texts for annotation (i.e., the formation of a representative corpus),[17] to the definition of annotation layers (e.g., lexical, morphological, syntactic, discourse, contextual, etc.),[18] to the formulation of specific descriptive categories (e.g., Subject, Adjunct, etc.), to the design and use of tools for data analysis (e.g., tools for statistical analysis or even machine learning). Notably, this does not preclude the fact that the annotations themselves will almost certainly expose limitations or even flaws in the linguistic model that underlies them. Similarly, it does not entail the imposition of any particular linguistic theory or model. It does not even require that all elements of the project conform to a single theory or model. It entails only that linguistic theorization should accompany linguistic annotation, and that an informed team should guide the development of the OpenText.org resources so as to make them both reliable and useful.

16 The BiblicalHumanities.org community has recently brought together a number of relevant repositories. They can be viewed at https://github.com/biblicalhumanities.

17 See esp. O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 102–37; also O'Donnell, "Designing and Compiling," and Pang, *Revisiting Aspect*.

18 Concerning the importance of moving beyond word-oriented morphological annotations, see Porter, "Analyzing the Computer Needs of New Testament Exegetes." For a discussion of annotation layers, see O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 138–63. Regarding the use of XML for the encoding of ancient papyri, see also Land, "Digitizing Ancient Inscriptions."

3 The Launch of the OpenText.org Annotated GNT

The goals of the OpenText.org project were, unsurprisingly, difficult to realize. Nevertheless, owing to a few key individuals and organizations, important milestones were reached. A small community of collaborators was formed, a website was launched, and, for a brief time, an online discussion forum was maintained. The most significant milestone, however, was the production of the first syntactically-annotated electronic Greek New Testament.

Financially speaking, the development of the OpenText.org annotated GNT drew from three main sources. A special one-time grant was awarded to the project in the spring of 2000 by the Society of Biblical Literature, for the amount of US$10,000. In the same year, a private donor who believed strongly in the project contributed $22,500. With these two sources of money, O'Donnell was able to develop a web-based annotation tool and to begin the task of annotating grammatical units.[19] Subsequently, a third source of money emerged in the form of Logos Bible Software. After seeing successive presentations at SBL meetings, Logos became interested in the OpenText.org annotations.[20] Conversations ensued between Reed and Bob Pritchett, and in 2005 Logos committed $60,000 to the project, receiving exclusive rights to sell the OpenText.org annotations for a period of twelve years.[21] With this source of commercial funding, the first syntactically annotated Greek New Testament was completed in 2005, with most of the actual annotation work done by Randall Tan.[22]

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19 O'Donnell's web-based annotation tool was written in JavaScript and included a (then very cutting-edge) drag-and-drop interface.

20 In addition to the earlier presentations cited above, we note also O'Donnell, Smith, and Tan, "Discourse Grammar of Mark 13"; O'Donnell and Tan, "OpenText.org: Introducing a New Syntactically-Tagged Greek New Testament"; Tan, "Pauline Lexicon"; O'Donnell and Smith, "Caught in a Syn-Net."

21 The *OpenText.org Syntactically Annotated Greek New Testament* officially premiered in Logos Bible Software 3.0, released in 2006. Notably, the release of the annotations within Logos Bible Software was unhindered by copyright restrictions, because Logos had already licensed the use of the Nestle-Aland text.

22 O'Donnell did some of the annotation work himself. Also, Robert Picirilli took time to assist the project, working especially on Mark's Gospel. For his part, Tan began annotating Romans during the course of his doctoral work (see Tan, "Fulfilling the Law") and then completed the majority of the annotation work following the involvement of Logos. Because a manual annotation process was used, errors were inevitably made. Some of these have been found and corrected in the project XML, but the implementations of the

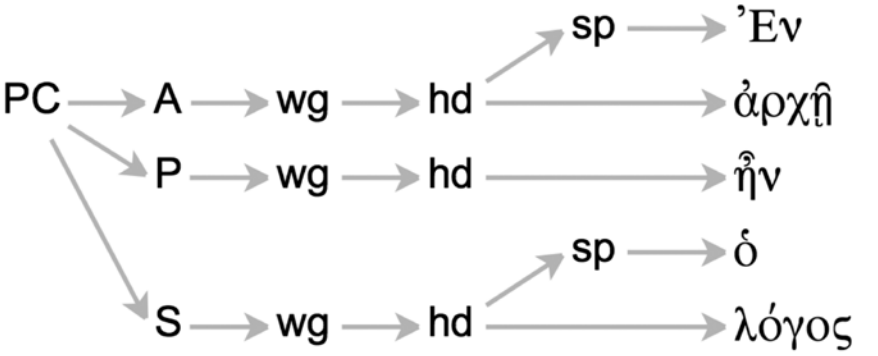


FIGURE 2.1 *The Logos Bible Software Display.*

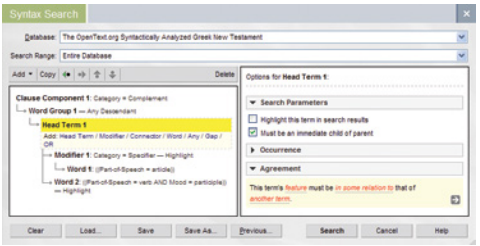


FIGURE 2.2 *The Logos Bible Software Search Interface.*

For their part, the Logos team reworked the initial data in order to produce a horizontal directed graph (see Figure 2.1: The Logos Bible Software Display).[23] In subtle ways, this display runs the risk of misrepresenting the linguistic model underlying the annotation; it does, however, consolidate multiple levels of annotation into a single graph, making it possible to see all of the annotation at once. Moreover, grammatical structures were made searchable in the Logos implementation, making it possible for the end user to find particular structures or to identify words occurring in certain structures. In our opinion, the original search interface supplied by Logos was a bit clunky and unwieldy (see Figure 2.2: The Logos Bible Software Search Interface), but it represented a crucial step forward in the history of biblical studies and it opened up avenues of research that would have been far less feasible without machine-readable annotations.

XML—both in the Logos software and on the project website—have not been consistently updated to account for the corrections.

23 For a reflection on Logos Bible Software's decision to use a directed graph, see the brief account in Brannan, "Greek Linguistic Databases." We want to express our gratitude to Rick Brannan for providing some of the images used in this article.

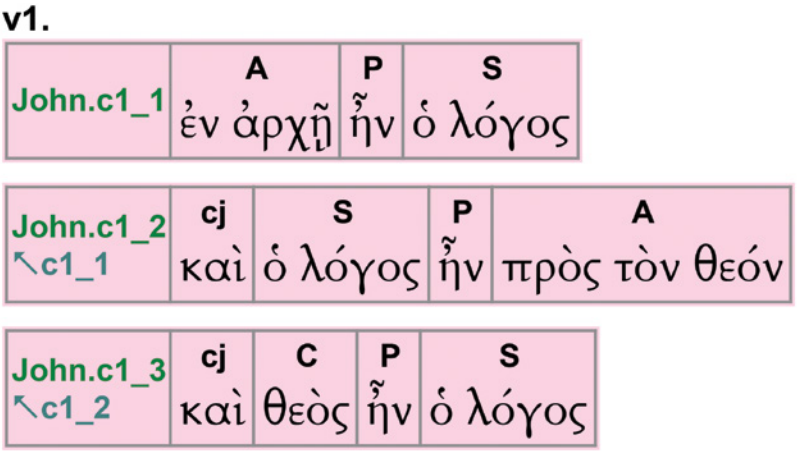


FIGURE 2.3 *The OpenText.org Clause Display.*

Around the same time that the Logos implementation became commercially available, the OpenText.org team released freely-available HTML displays on the project website. These displays took the form of box diagrams, with separate visualizations for clauses and word groups (see Figure 2.3: The OpenText.org Clause Display and Figure 2.4: The OpenText.org Word Group Display).[24] Although these displays were more legible than the Logos graphs, and although they better captured the underlying linguistic model of the annotation, the web displays provided on the OpenText.org website were static and non-searchable, which prevented scholars from making full use of the project resources. A web-based search interface was successfully developed by Catherine Smith as an MSc CompSci (Master of Science in Computer Science) dissertation project, but when issues surrounding the project's XML database made it difficult to immediately employ the interface on the OpenText.org website, work on implementing the web-based search interface languished and only a handful of individuals have benefited from Smith's efforts.[25]

Without at all downplaying the absolutely bold and progressive accomplishments attained in the initial launch of the OpenText.org project—many of which were on the cutting edge of corpus linguistics and web-development, to say nothing of biblical scholarship—we observe that the OpenText.org project, after reaching the crucial milestone of annotating the complete New

24 A third type of display, dubbed the functional clause display, was also produced. Unfortunately, this display was never made available for the entire New Testament.

25 Smith, "Implementing a Corpus Browser."

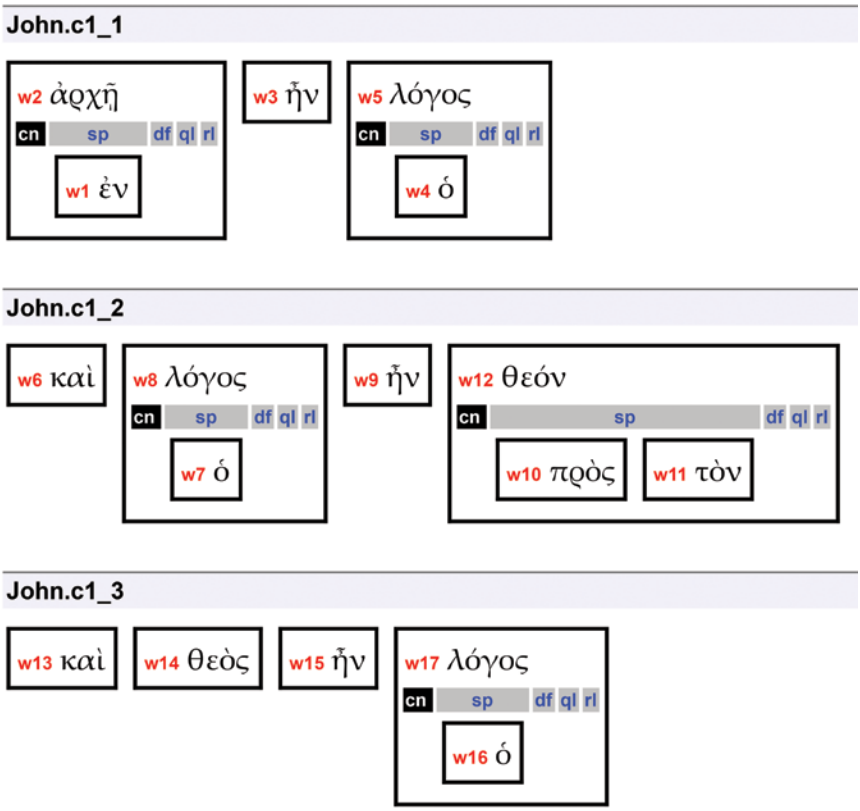


FIGURE 2.4 *The OpenText.org Word Group Display.*

Testament, failed to make rapid progress on its other stated aims. Its key players continued to work behind the scenes, with occasional presentations being made, but the initial momentum was lost.[26]

4 Intervening Developments in the Digital Humanities

Although progress slowed for the OpenText.org project following the completion of the initial New Testament annotations, the same cannot be said for progress in the digital humanities generally. To the contrary, numerous

26 For an example of work carried out in the intervening years, see Smith and O'Donnell, "Interactive Corpus Annotation."

advances have been made in the area of digital humanities and web technology, and many of these relate directly to the goals of the OpenText.org project. In addition, other grammatical annotations of the GNT have been released during the last decade. Scholars who are actively involved in these areas will already be familiar with key developments, but we will nevertheless provide a brief recount for the sake of less well-acquainted readers. This should make it easier for New Testament scholars to understand the current status of the OpenText.org project and the opportunities that are available for its further development.

Most importantly, the past decade has seen an explosion of research in what was formerly known as humanities computing, so much so that the field now known as the digital humanities is becoming a significant player in academic research.[27] The digital humanities is an interdisciplinary field of study concerned with the relationships that exist between human knowledge and digital media. Notably, it does not merely study how scholars employ computational tools; it also studies how computational tools affect the scholarship of those who use them. Roberto Busa, who is sometimes called the father of humanities computing, writes that

> In this field one should not use the computer primarily for speeding up the operation, nor for minimizing the work of the researchers. It would not be reasonable to use the computer just to obtain the same results as before, having the same qualities as before, but more rapidly and with less human effort. . . . Today's academic life seems to be more in favor of many short-term research projects which need to be published quickly, rather than of projects requiring teams of co-workers collaborating for decades . . . [But] it would be much better to build up results one centimetre at a time on a base one kilometre wide, than to build up a kilometre of research on a one-centimetre base.[28]

The growth of the digital humanities is thus the growth of a community of scholars who seek to promote, and ultimately produce, research projects that are not only digital, but also visionary, long-term, collaborative, and open. Clearly, the growth of such a community represents a positive development for OpenText.org and for related projects within the field of biblical scholarship.

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27 An early overview of the digital humanities is available online in Schreibman, Siemens, and Unsworth, *Companion to Digital Humanities*. A more recent overview is Gardiner and Musto, *Digital Humanities*.

28 Busa, "Annals of Humanities Computing," 89.

A simple example involves the use of XML (eXtensible Markup Language) as a serialization format. Already at its inception, the OpenText.org project was XML-based, despite the fact that XML was at that time a newly emerging standard.[29] Today, XML representation is the *de facto* standard within the digital humanities due to its human readability and the widespread availability of tools for machine processing.[30] Perhaps even more importantly, major steps have been taken within the past decade in the direction of XML-based text encoding standards, so that numerous humanities projects are not only using the same serialization format but also encoding their data using standardized markup. This standardization is meant to ensure that the data produced by contemporary digital humanities projects is not like the data of their predecessors, which very quickly became obsolete and was rarely compatible with the systems used by alternative projects. It is preeminently manifested in the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), a member-funded non-profit corporation that aims "to develop, maintain, and promulgate hardware- and software-independent methods for encoding humanities data in electronic form."[31] The TEI guidelines encompass a wide range of markup, including structural and non-structural elements, unit boundaries, non-hierarchical structures, feature structure markup, and so on.[32] Not all projects follow these guidelines, but the prominence of the Text Encoding Initiative demonstrates that there is a vibrant and ongoing discussion within the digital humanities with regard to XML and its effective use in annotation projects. This conversation was already underway at the time OpenText.org was founded, but it has grown and advanced considerably in the meantime.

Because the use of interoperable representation formats is just as vital in the case of linguistic annotations as in the case of text encoding, work continues on the establishment of standard formats for linguistic annotations.[33] The

29 Initial conceptual work on OpenText.org was being carried out even as XML became a W3C Recommendation in February of 1998.

30 Crucially, an XML serialization of a data model can be employed as a pivot format, allowing annotations in one representation to be transformed into another representation. For example, an elaborate and complicated XML document can be very easily transformed into a simplified representation—or even into HTML—using either XSLT or XQuery.

31 TEI Consortium, "TEI: History." A number of large scale collaborative projects use the TEI format, including the Oxford Text Archive and the Perseus Project. For a list of projects using TEI, see http://www.tei-c.org/Activities/Projects/.

32 The latest TEI guidelines (P5) are available at: http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/.

33 Ide and Romary identify eleven general requirements aimed at ensuring interoperability among application-specific representations at various stages of implementation, including explicitness, uniformity and consistency, and support for partial results and

TEI guidelines encompass linguistic annotation, and, as Stührenberg points out, several of the more recently proposed linguistic annotation frameworks have been influenced by the TEI guidelines.[34] Yet here, more than in the area of text encoding, there are significant alternatives to TEI.[35] Notably, a subcommittee of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) has been working to formulate *de jure* (i.e., obligatory) standards.[36] The objective of this group is to prepare standards and guidelines for effective language resource management by developing "principles and methods for creating, coding, processing and managing language resources."[37] Here again, therefore, the maturing of the digital humanities has provided the OpenText.org project with a vast and continually growing resource in the form of related projects working to address similar or identical issues.

In addition to these developments with respect to text encoding and linguistic annotation, there have been other developments related to web-development. In particular, the flowering of the collaborative software development model and the open-source model have provided a more mature infrastructure for digital humanities projects, with numerous tools and platforms having been developed in the past decade. Github, for example, is a web-based software repository that offers distributed versioning control and source code management functionality, both essential to collaborative software development.[38] Open-source XML databases and application platforms such as eXist-db and BaseX have continued to mature, and they provide a stable and free platform on which scholars can develop XML resources. And of course, the emergence

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ambiguities. See Ide and Romary, "International Standard"; Ide and Romary, "Towards International Standards." In addition to the Linguistic Annotation Framework (LAF) discussed by Ide and Romary, further examples include the Syntactic Annotation Framework (SynAF), the Penn Treebank, and the Morphosyntactic Annotation Framework (MAF). See Declerck, "SynAF"; Marcus et al., "Penn Treebank"; Abeillé, *Treebanks: Building*; Clément and Villemonte de la Clergerie, "MAF." We have also taken note of FoLiA (Format for Linguistic Annotation), available online at https://proycon.github.io/folia. See van Gompel and Reynaert, "FoLiA."

34 See Stührenberg, "TEI and Current Standards."

35 See, however, Bański, "Why TEI Stand-Off Annotation Doesn't Quite Work."

36 Subcommittee 4 (Language Resource Management) of the technical committee 37 (Terminology and Other Language and Content Resources). See http://www.iso.org/iso/home/standards_development/list_of_iso_technical_committees/iso_technical_committee.htm?commid=297592 for more detail. For a discussion regarding the subcommittee, see Stührenberg, "TEI and Current Standards," 2–14.

37 Ide and Romary, "International Standard," 211.

38 See https://github.com.

of so-called Web 2.0 technologies such as HTML5 and cross-platform JavaScript libraries (such as Prototype and jQuery) make it easier to handle graphical display and dynamic or interactive content, which is essential for creating the dynamic front-end interfaces and graphical displays originally envisioned by OpenText.org. Taken together, these new (or improved) technologies provide a more robust environment for collaborative digital humanities projects, and hence an improved environment within which the OpenText.org project can continue to pursue its original goals.

There is not just a changed technological environment, however. Changes have also taken place with regard to the digitization of the Greek New Testament and the creation of linguistic annotations.[39] Around the time that a commercialized version of OpenText.org was released by Logos Bible Software, the Perseus project launched their own endeavor to create treebanks for ancient Greek materials, and a number of non-biblical texts have now been analyzed.[40] A few short years later, Logos released both the Lexham Discourse Greek New Testament and the Cascadia Syntax Graphs of the New Testament, with the latter being derived from work by the Global Bible Initiative (GBI; formerly Asia Bible Society). A year later, in 2010, the PROIEL (Pragmatic Resources in Old Indo-European Languages) treebank was launched. Some of these resources are only available commercially, but the tide is slowly turning in favor of open source-code and open data, with Creative Commons licenses having been adopted by the Perseus Digital Library, the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical Greek, the Global Bible Initiative, and the PROIEL project.[41]

For digital biblical scholarship, there is one additional development that is especially noteworthy. Together, Jonathan Robie and Randall Tan have launched BiblicalHumanities.org with the goal of bringing together like-minded computer scientists and biblical scholars.[42] With respect to each of the above areas, they are seeking to facilitate collaboration among diverse biblical studies projects, providing a hub around which communication can take place. Already, they have brought together a GitHub repository that provides easy access to various digital resources related to biblical studies (e.g. texts,

39 For an overview, see Brannan, "Greek Linguistic Databases."

40 For a list of analyzed texts, see https://perseusdl.github.io/treebank_data/.

41 Other projects have annotated parts of the Greek New Testament, including the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical Greek (http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~janabeck/greek-corpora.html) and the Accordance grammatical syntax database module (http://www.accordancebible.com/store/details/?pid=GNT28-T.syntax).

42 The technical advisory board, headed by Jonathan Robie, is listed at http://biblicalhumanities.github.io/about/.

syntactic treebanks, morphological analyses, lexicons, etc.), with multiple high quality treebanks of the Greek New Testament already available in XML format (including the aforementioned GBI syntax trees). In addition, talks have begun with regard to the use of a common interchange format for all of these projects, a step that would further encourage collaboration and hence overall progress. We are encouraged by all of these developments, since they serve to confirm that the OpenText.org vision is one shared by others within biblical scholarship.

5 The Current Status of the OpenText.org Project

Whereas the wider field of the digital humanities has been very active for the past decade and many crucial advances have taken place, progress for the OpenText.org project has been slow.[43] A handful of scholars have used the annotated GNT both in teaching and in research, with a number of publications explicitly citing the data or seeking to explore its possible expansion.[44] Moreover, interested scholars have continued to make contributions to the OpenText.org corpus, despite the original annotation tools becoming unusable in current web browsers.[45] A number of project goals have not yet been

43 An important example of ongoing work is the aforementioned work on anaphora resolution. See Smith and O'Donnell, "Interactive Corpus Annotation."

44 See, for example, from those directly involved in the project: Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions, Clines and Levels of Discourse"; Porter and O'Donnell, "Comparative Discourse Analysis"; Porter and O'Donnell, "Building and Examining Linguistic Phenomena"; O'Donnell and Smith, "Discourse Analysis of 3 John"; Porter and Pitts, "Πίστις with a Preposition"; Pitts, "Greek Clause Structure." Many of Porter's works are related to the OpenText.org project, including Porter, "New Perspectives"; Porter, "New Testament Studies and Papyrology"; Porter, "Greek of the Gospel of Peter"; Porter, "Prolegomena"; Porter, "Buried Linguistic Treasure"; Porter, "Babatha Archive." See also, Lee, *Paul's Gospel in Romans*; Burggraff, "Corpus Linguistic Verb Analysis"; Peters, *Greek Article*; Dvorak and Walton, "Clause as Message"; Xue, *Paul's Viewpoint on God*, etc. James A. Libby has employed the OpenText.org annotations in various computational projects, e.g., Libby, "Demonstrating an Advanced Computational Linguistics Software Tool"; Libby, "Disentangling Authorship and Genre"; Libby, "Pauline Canon."

45 Andrew W. Pitts and Sean A. Adams implemented an algorithm for detecting paragraph divisions in narrative Greek discourse using the OpenText.org database, presenting their findings at the Society for Textual Scholarship 14th Biennial International Interdisciplinary Conference, New York, NY, 14–17 March 2007. We are also grateful for the work of Mark Proctor and his students at Lee University, who on their own initiative produced an annotation of the Gospel of Peter during the summer of 2012. A handful of

accomplished, however, and it is fair to say that the number of active contributors to the project has not grown enough to warrant the epithet *crowd-sourced*.

Notwithstanding these realities, we are convinced that a great deal of life remains in the OpenText.org project and that it may yet succeed in accomplishing its initial aims. A new affiliation has been established between OpenText.org and the Centre for Biblical Linguistics, Translation, and Exegesis (CBLTE) at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, Ontario, and within the context of the Centre, we have been working together in order to assess the current status of OpenText.org and to chart a course for further progress. In the process, we have renewed some of the technological infrastructure of the project and created some working prototypes that will eventually form the basis for an upcoming relaunch of the OpenText.org website.

In what follows, we will describe the current status of the OpenText.org project by tracing some of the key steps that we ourselves have taken in recent years.[46] Because most of our efforts have taken place "under the hood," so to speak, they will perhaps be of little direct interest to the majority of biblical scholars. Our discussion, therefore, will aim to highlight how the culmination of these efforts will make the OpenText.org website more useful. We will include just enough detail to satisfy the interest of technologically-oriented biblical scholars who might consider participating in a project of this sort.

5.1 *New XML Working Format*

As already mentioned above, the initial annotation produced by OpenText.org was encoded in XML. One of the many advantages of using the XML encoding format is that an XML representation can be easily transformed into another XML representation. Moreover, the XML language is very tightly integrated with the HTML used to create web pages, so that XML can be very easily transformed into a web page using a stylesheet language called eXtensible Stylesheet Language (XSL). The core of the original OpenText.org website, therefore, consisted of HTML displays generated by means of XSL from underlying XML data.

Although different XML formats were employed in the OpenText.org project at different times for different purposes, the XML that was used for the original web displays was organized in such a way that each annotation layer for each chapter in the New Testament was stored in a separate XML document. This

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additional annotation efforts were also made by a variety of others, and we are cautiously hopeful that the results of these efforts will eventually be publicly released.

46 For recent work by others involved in the project, see the contribution of Catherine Smith and Matthew Brook O'Donnell to this volume.

permitted the data to be updated easily, because the files were of a small size and were easy to manage without a version control system. Within each annotation layer, information was encoded in keeping with an explicit annotation specification. Moreover, different XML elements were used for each annotation layer in order to isolate the relevant units and components defined by each layer.[47]

Inasmuch as the OpenText.org project was, from the outset, oriented towards the study of texts rather than merely grammatical units, the annotation specifications also made room for additional information as well. This information was typically assigned to one or another of the grammatical annotation layers and then incorporated by way of attributes and/or empty elements. For instance, information regarding Louw and Nida's semantic domains was included for each word in the corpus.[48] Preliminary work was also carried out with respect to such things as the semantic roles performed clausal participants (e.g. agent, patient, etc.), the various ways in which adjuncts could supply circumstantial information (e.g. *where, when, what*, and *how*), the ways in which different clauses related to one another,[49] and the different ways that entities are introduced and/or tracked within Greek discourses (i.e., grammaticalized, reduced, implied).[50] Only some of this information was actually annotated for the entire GNT, but it is important to understand that the original plan was to incorporate a range of additional linguistic features into the core grammatical, morphological, and lexical annotation.

At the outset of our recent efforts to prepare for a relaunched OpenText.org website (see below), we assessed the XML format used to generate the original web displays and found that it was not well-suited for the work we intended to do. It did not straightforwardly permit the range of interfaces we saw ourselves designing, and some of its strengths made it less accessible to biblical scholars lacking computer programming experience.[51] We therefore devised a new XML

47 Initially, the higher levels of annotation (i.e., paragraph, clause, and word group) were each assigned to a distinct XML namespace, although this approach was later abandoned.

48 For a discussion of semantic domains and the (now dated) theoretical framework behind Louw and Nida's lexicon, see Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek*; Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*.

49 In this respect, the initial OpenText.org annotations distinguished between primary, secondary, and embedded clauses according to their function within a discourse. For each primary and secondary clause, the annotation also identified a nearby clause to which the clause in question was related.

50 See O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 156–58.

51 Given that so few skilled computer programmers bought into the initial OpenText.org launch, one of our current goals is to develop efficient resources that can be customized

format, and this new format is the working format that is employed in our current web prototypes.[52]

In developing our XML format, we chose to rigidly maintain the canonical word order of the base texts being annotated. This complicates the annotation in cases where grammatical units or components are discontinuous, because the words of a discontinuous unit or component cannot be brought together into a single XML element. With canonical word order preserved, however, the complexity in the XML annotation mirrors the complexity in the underlying text, making it very intuitive both to read and to query. In technical terms, we have moved away from a standoff format and towards an inline format, and as part of this move, we have moved away from the use of separate XML documents for each annotation layer in favor of a single XML document comprising all of the annotations. In upcoming presentations and publications, we will present this new working format and explain its design. Here, it must suffice to say that we have taken steps to make the OpenText.org code easier to work with and hence more accessible to biblical scholars interested in using and improving the XML.

5.2 *The (Re-)Launch of the OpenText.org Website*

As mentioned above, we are presently formulating plans for a re-launch of the OpenText.org website, including some new web-based resources that expand on the functionality of the earlier website. Given the nature of the work, these new resources will be released gradually over a period of time. It should not be very much longer, however, before a new OpenText.org website will be in place. This will provide the project with a new public face, in order to reflect the fact that the project remains an active one. It will serve as a central hub and will bring together interested parties, including not only scholars, students, and programmers but also anyone else who is interested in the Greek New Testament. In the immediate future, it will allow us to consolidate our existing resources and to unveil prototypes of the new resources that we are developing; eventually, it will host a suite of web-based tools that will enable the

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and extended by any motivated biblical scholar with a technological bent, even if the scholar in question does not have any formal training in computer science.

52 When we discuss the work that we have been doing for the OpenText.org project in connection with a new annotation format and some new web displays, it should be understood that this represents only an initial proof of concept. Our efforts have culminated in a working prototype, but the final implementation (if there is such a thing in the digital humanities) will no doubt vary from our prototype due to the input of others.

production, correction, visualization, and analysis of diverse linguistic annotations. The amount of time that intervenes between the launch of the new website and the launch of the new resources will be determined by the extent to which the requisite people and resources are made available to the project.

At the time of writing, we have designed a working prototype to facilitate multiple display options, and these new displays will—for now, at least—serve as the backbone of the new OpenText.org website. Whereas the earlier website presented either a static clause display or a static wordgroup display, the user of the new interface is presented with a single viewing area within which the properties of the display can be toggled (see Figure 2.5: The New Display Prototype). For instance, if the clause display setting is activated, the display presents clause tables with internal cells for each structural component; if it is not selected, the text still displays but as plain flowing text. Along the same lines, the user can choose whether or not to display wordgroup structures, with each unit type being controlled independently of the others in real-time. With respect to grammatical structures, our new prototype allows users to show and hide specific structural components within each of the different grammatical units, with the display indicating hidden components by means of solid bands of varying thicknesses.[53] Users can choose to display full or abbreviated labels—or no labels at all, which is useful for pedagogical purposes—and they can decide whether the labels should distinguish between component subtypes if the annotation offers them (e.g., direct vs. indirect object). We have made it possible for users to choose whether or not they wish to display structures for embedded grammatical units, as it is sometimes only necessary to view the structure of a single top-level unit. Finally, we have included chapter and verse references even when they occur within a grammatical unit, as this facilitates working with extended passages (as opposed to just query hits).

Implicit in the above discussion is the fact that our new prototype allows its users to view all of the annotation layers in a single display. In developing this functionality, we have identified some weaknesses in the earlier annotation

53 To cite a simple example, a user might choose to hide all of the Adjuncts in a passage in order to focus specifically on core transitivity structures. Our prototype implements this by having checkboxes for each of the structural components. When a checkbox is unchecked, the relevant components are eliminated from the display along with all of their contents. In their place, however, orange bands are displayed, alerting the user in a non-intrusive manner to the fact that some of the text has been hidden. These bands vary in thickness depending on the number of structural components that have been hidden at a particular point in the overarching structure.

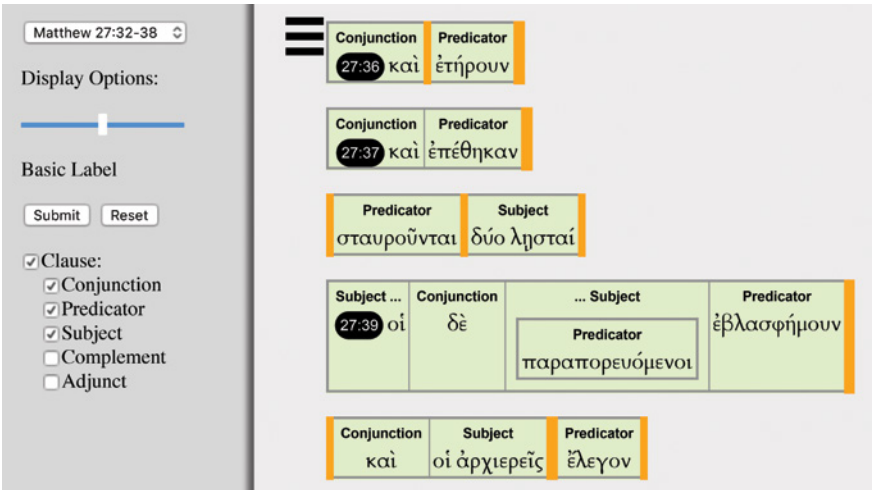


FIGURE 2.5 *The New Display Prototype.*

scheme, and we have taken the opportunity to develop newer strategies that we find preferable. When the Greek article specifies a participial clause, for example, the resulting unit contains a clause but is itself a wordgroup. The original OpenText.org annotation, however, analyzes the article as part of the participial clause, placing it within the Predicator component (see Figure 2.6: Three Renderings of Gal 2:9).[54] This is undesirable from a theoretical and pedagogical point of view, since it obscures the fact that the article specifies the entire clause without itself being a component within it. It also obscures the very close relationship between the participle δοκοῦντες and the infinitival clause στῦλοι εἶναι, since the wording οἱ δοκοῦντες has the appearance (at a quick glance) of being a complete wordgroup. Keeping issues like this in mind, we designed our prototype display so that the article is consistently kept out of the Predicator component. When both layers of structure are shown, the article is placed in a distinct wordgroup component; when the wordgroup

54 In context, this wording is a part of the grammatical subject of an overarching clause, being the last of a series of four wordgroup (Ἰάκωβος | καὶ Κηφᾶς | καὶ Ἰωάννης | οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι). Whereas the original OpenText.org does not clarify that the wordgroup οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι is related to all three of the preceding groups, this sort of information is integrated into the new XML format, with sympathetic highlighting allowing the display to reveal that the final group elaborates on the previous three groups.

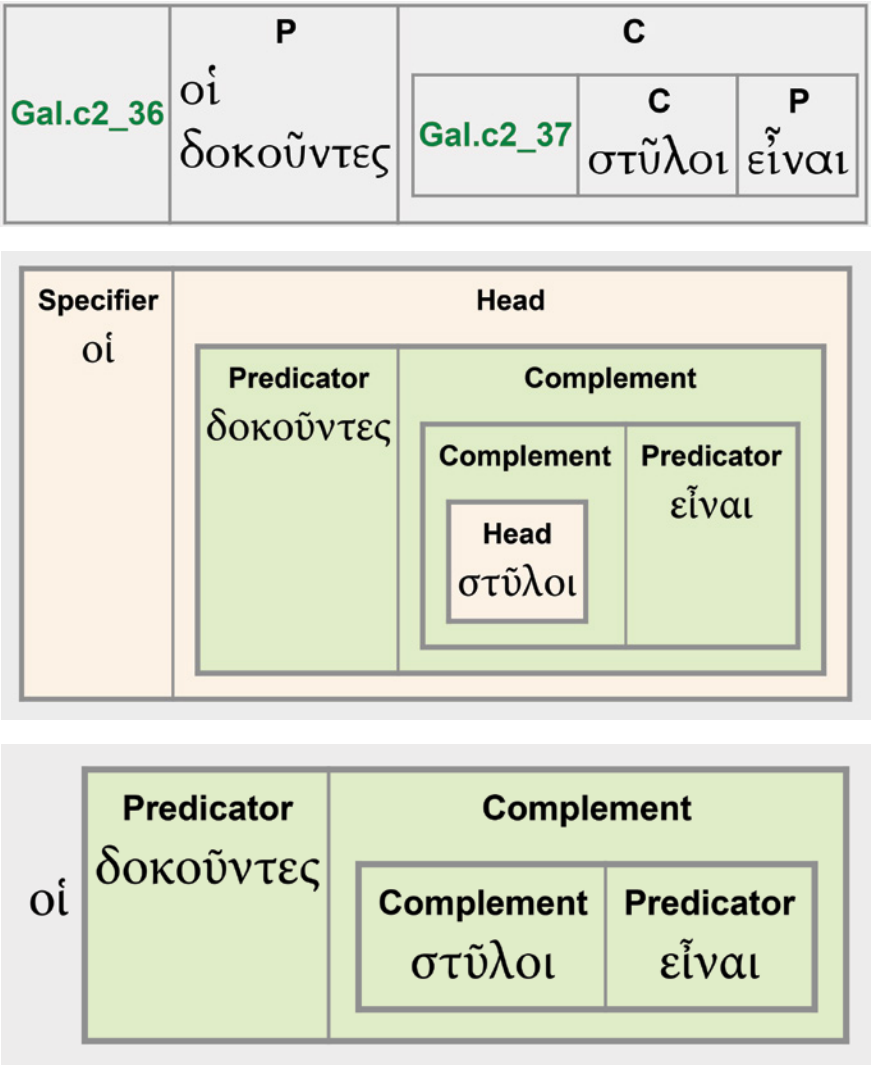


FIGURE 2.6 *Three Renderings of Gal 2:9.*

structure is hidden, the article is still kept outside of the participial clause so that the user can more clearly see the internal structure of that clause.

Another challenge that we have addressed in our new prototype involves the annotation of discontinuous units. Our prototype uses the same table structure for displaying grammatical units that was employed in the original clause displays. Now, however, the words of the text proceed consistently from left

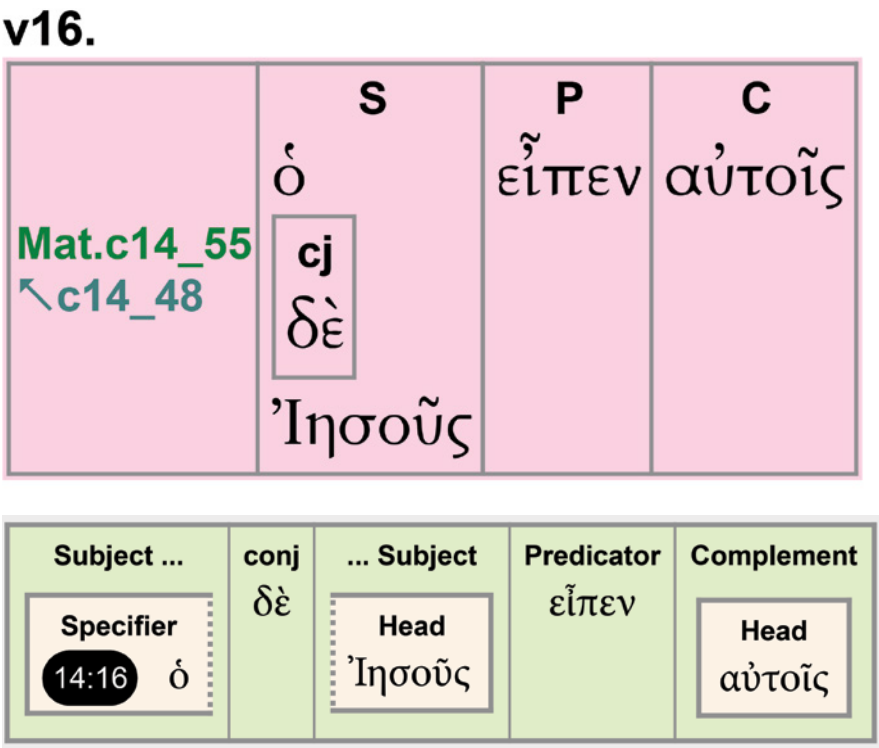


FIGURE 2.7 *Displaying Discontinuity in Matt 14:16.*

to right and top to bottom in their canonical order, and the structural components of a unit are consistently displayed with their cells and labels vertically aligned in a single row. These changes should help to avoid some recurring misunderstandings that we have repeatedly needed to clear up when using the OpenText.org displays in Greek classrooms.

A simple example can be seen in Matt 14:16, where the conjunction δέ is not a part of the Subject comprised of the words ὁ Ἰησοῦς (see Figure 2.7: Displaying Discontinuity in Matt 14:16). The old web displays present the conjunction within the discontinuous Subject component, preserving the word order by using a top-to-bottom flow within the Subject. In the case of postpositives, this is fairly transparent, but in more complex cases, the presentation confuses the end user, causing many of our students to think that the vertically embedded wording is a sub-component of the Subject rather than an intervening component belonging to the overarching clause. Our prototype avoids this confusion by keeping all of the components of the overarching clause aligned.

It inserts ellipses before and after the component label of any discontinuous component, and it uses a dotted line for the left or right border of any discontinuous grammatical unit.

When we turn to even more complicated instances of discontinuity, the advantage of a single displays with all annotation layers become even more readily apparent. Consider the opening clause in Heb 10, with its fairly complex initial Adjunct (see Figure 2.8: Two Displays of Heb 10:1). In the original OpenText.org web display, it is only the absence of an identifier that enables the user to discern that the Predicator ἔχων is an intervening component in the overarching clause Heb.c10_2 whereas the Predicator μελλόντων is part of the embedded clause Heb.c10_3. The display also departs from the canonical word order owing to the complexity of the various discontinuities, obscuring the canonical location of both γάρ and ὁ νόμος. Our new prototype display is still complex and difficult to read at first glance, but it is consistent in preserving the canonical word order, consistent in horizontally aligning the various components of a unit, and consistent in using nested boxes only for embedded structures. Accordingly, it is possible to see that γάρ and ὁ νόμος are both components of the top-level clause, and also to see that these two wordings separately interrupt the linear expression of the participial clause constructed around ἔχων, producing a circumstantial clause with three discontinuous segments.

To conclude this section, we present our new display of Matt 14:16. This screenshot captures many of the developments on which we have been working, as well as the potential that exists for real-time features such as pop-up windows and sympathetic highlighting.[55] This final figure also provides a glimpse of an embedded text, in that it displays some of the words of Jesus. We encode embedded texts in the same manner as the New Testament texts themselves, except that we annotate each text as a first-, second-, or third-order text (i.e. a text, or a text-within-a-text, or a text-within-a-text-within-a-text, etc.). Then, for all of the texts in our corpus, we supply information regarding their

55 Whenever a user hovers over a word, for instance, the prototype supplies a pop-up display with lexical information about that word, with the information being customizable in various ways. This has been available on the original OpenText.org website, but only for certain parts of the New Testament. In releasing the new prototype, we will extend this very useful functionality to the entire corpus. Eventually, we hope to expand the prototype so that non-hierarchical relations can be displayed via highlighting (e.g., when a user hovers over an appositional component, we might highlight the earlier wording with which it is in apposition).

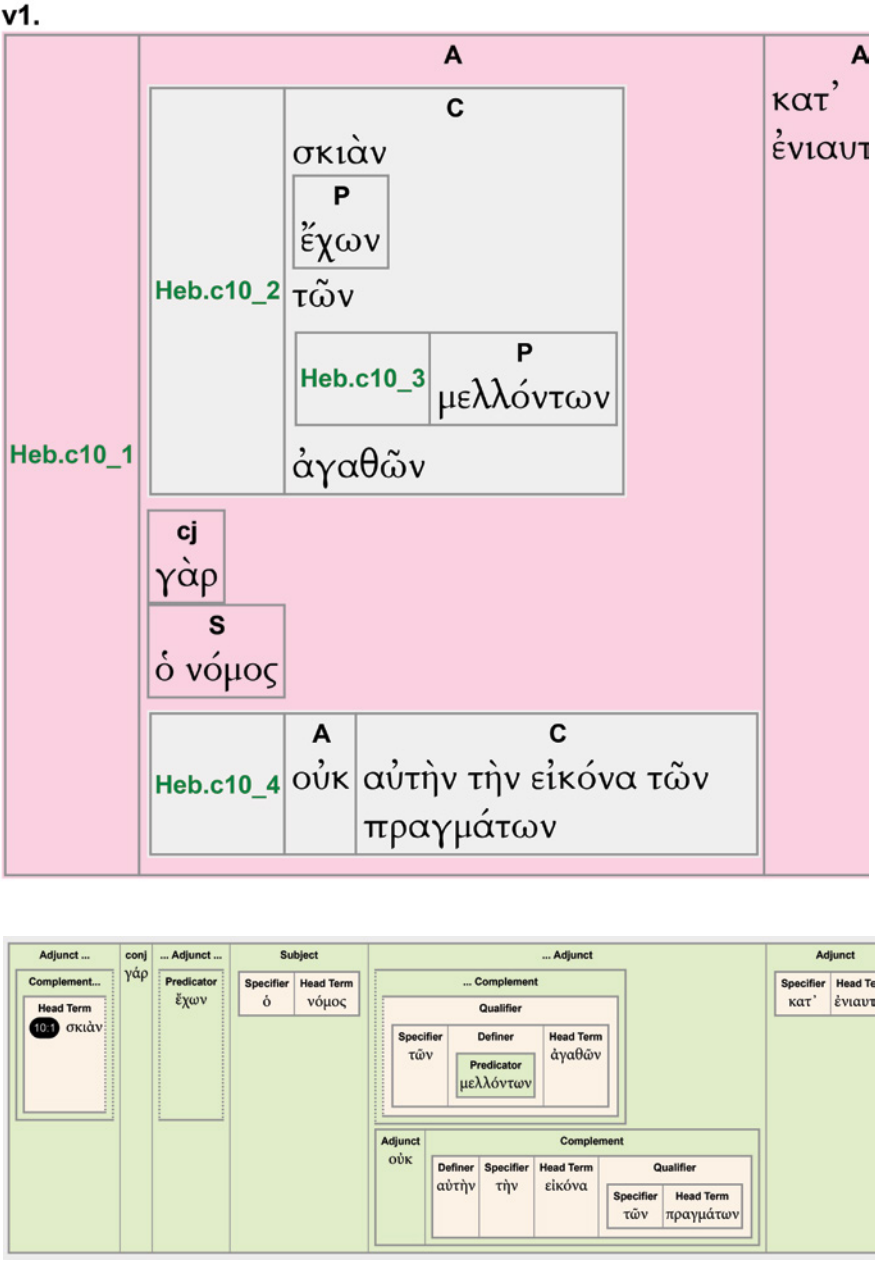


FIGURE 2.8 *Two Displays of Hebrews 10:1.*

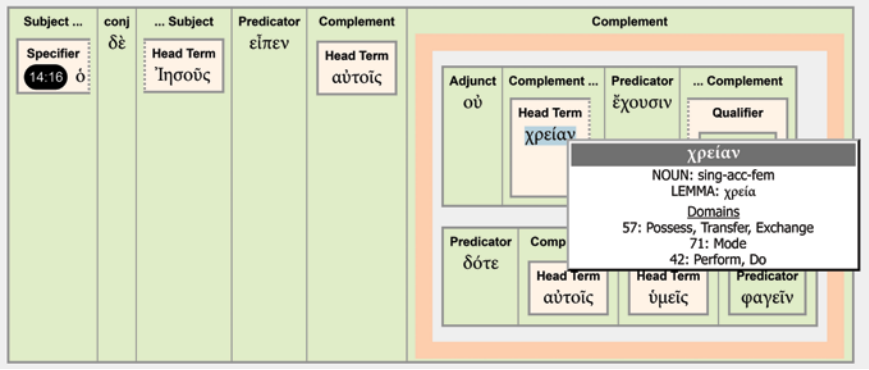


FIGURE 2.9 *Matthew 14:16 with Lexical Pop-Up.*

context of situation (e.g., who is speaking, to whom, in speech or writing, etc.). This will facilitate, for example, analyses of spoken conversations within narrative texts, or analyses that wish to extract or exclude quotations from Paul's letters.

5.3 *Authoring of Companion Handbook*

In tandem with the original launch of the OpenText.org website, a number of guides were written by individuals associated with the project and then posted to the website.[56] These brief introductions sought to explain the goals of the project, the data available in the annotations, and the visual displays made available on the website. They also sought to give some guidance for people interested in either annotating new texts or using the existing displays in classroom contexts. Despite these efforts, however, it remained difficult for people to understand what exactly was being represented by the annotations. Reflecting on various confusions, we see at least two obstacles that will need to be addressed as the OpenText.org project moves forward.

In the first place, many users approached the OpenText.org annotations with little to no familiarity with linguistics. Admittedly, we are basing this claim on anecdotal evidence, but we have heard such a wealth of testimony to

56 For instance, the articles included O'Donnell, "Introducing the OpenText.org Syntactically Analyzed Greek New Testament"; Tan, "Introduction to the OpenText.org Annotation Model from a Pedagogical Perspective"; Tan, "Guide through the OpenText.org Clause Annotation Process"; Tan, "Guide through the OpenText.org Word Group Annotation Process"; Pitts, "Semantic Domain Theory: An Introduction to the use of the Louw-Nida Lexicon in the OpenText.org Project"; and Adams and Burggraff, "Using Linguistic Features to Analyze Romans 5: An Application of the OpenText.org Discourse Model."

this effect that it seems safe to make a cautious generalization. For these users, the brevity of the online web articles was an impediment to clear understanding. Simply put, they needed more documentation than the OpenText.org project was able to provide on its website. They needed a basic introduction to linguistics and grammar, an introduction to the issues involved in explicitly modelling grammatical structures, and some additional help understanding the various labels and conventions used on the OpenText.org website. While we do not suppose that all of this information needs to be directly composed by the OpenText.org project, we take seriously the fact that students and scholars need some additional help in becoming familiar with our annotations, and we plan to substantially increase the amount of introductory documentation that accompanies the project.

Whereas for some, the general idea of grammatical modelling was itself an obstacle, for others the devil was in the details. These users of OpenText.org already knew about linguistics and grammar, but they nevertheless failed to fully appreciate why certain decisions were made in the process of designing the annotations and the accompanying displays. Much of their confusion, we suggest, can be chalked up to the (understandable but nonetheless misguided) expectation that XML encodings and HTML displays should transparently mirror one (and only one) theoretical model of language. According to this assumption, if Subject, Predicator and Adjunct elements are encoded as the children of a clause element, or else displayed as the three cells of a clausal box diagram, then the Subject, Predicator, and Adjunct are being explicitly modelled as daughter constituents and hence as grammatical siblings in a hierarchical tree. Notably, it follows from this premise that the annotation underlying the Logos graphs is a complete theoretical muddle, given that these graphs include such bizarre representations as Figure 2.10. In this display, nodes and branches are displayed identically, and there would appear to be a strange fusion of constituency and dependency (e.g., with each wordgroup having as its sole *constituent* the head of an apparent *dependency* structure).[57]

The short explanation of this confusion is that there need not be a simplistic one-to-one correspondence between: (a) the encoding scheme used to represent grammatical phenomena in XML; (b) the visual representations used to display grammatical units in HTML; and (c) the theoretical model of grammar being employed by an annotator or end user. To the contrary, XML by its very nature imposes a hierarchical tree structure, yet this tree can be used to represent diverse data models in various different ways. Similarly, the horizontal

57 Evidence of the confusion that this display prompted can be seen in the effort exerted by Michael Aubrey in his attempts to make theoretical sense of the Logos graphs (see Aubrey, "New Testament Greek Syntax Databases").

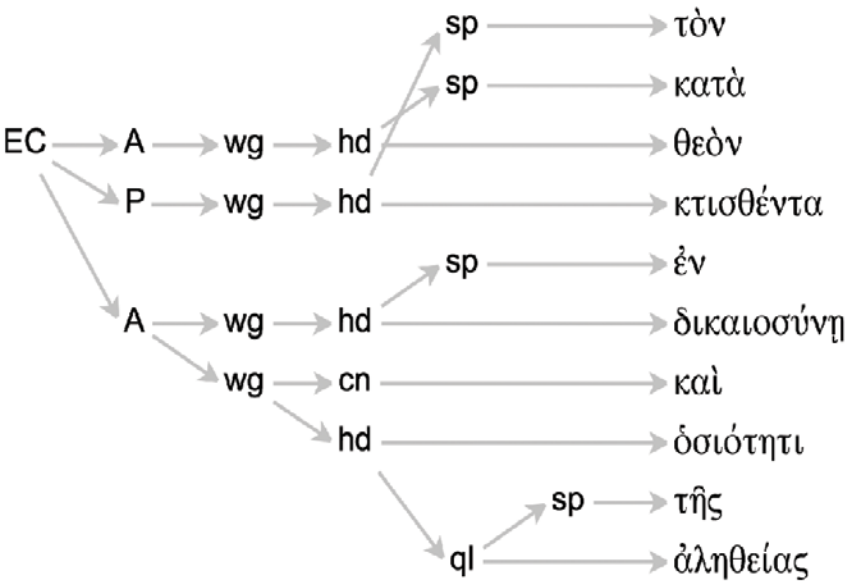


FIGURE 2.10

box diagram displays employed on the OpenText.org website are an extremely useful convention because of their flexibility and legibility, yet they do not necessarily entail a (fairly flat) constituent structure. They indicate that certain linguistic tokens are interrelated in a recurring way, but there is nothing to prevent a user from interpreting an S–P–A box diagram to entail: (1) that the wording in the Subject box is an argument of the verb in the Predicator box, and (2) that the wording in the Adjunct is an adjunct of the same verb. Granted, these relations will, for some theories, involve only the grammatical heads of the wordings in the respective various boxes, but here again—if lower level annotations consistently allow the end user to identify whatever part of the component's wording is regarded as its grammatical head, then the annotation has succeeded in encoding and representing the information that is needed by the user who wishes to study the relevant grammatical relations using a dependency model.

As mentioned above, the new OpenText.org resources that we are developing will differ from the earlier resources in various ways, with some of these changes involving the XML format and the HTML displays and other changes involving the annotation model itself (e.g., the extraction of Greek articles from the Predicator component of substantive participles). In tandem with these changes, we are preparing an extensive annotation handbook that will document our descriptive categories. This handbook will provide a detailed

introduction to OpenText.org for users who are unfamiliar with linguistics and uncertain how to understand the web displays. Similarly, it will draw connections between our annotations and a number of different linguistic models currently in use, so that linguistically-informed users can better understand how annotation decisions were made and how the relatively flat descriptions provided by the annotations can be leveraged by analysts of diverse theoretical persuasions. One of us (Chris) has already written a draft of the handbook, and we are exploring how best to proceed with its release.

5.4 *Collaboration with BiblicalHumanities.org*

As mentioned above, several open-source and open-data projects are now annotating Hellenistic Greek texts, and BiblicalHumanities.org is working to bring these projects together. By the time this essay is in print, initial progress will have been made in the direction of common data formats for linguistic annotations, with the idea being to make it possible for the OpenText.org annotations to incorporate data from other projects (and vice versa) and for various projects to use some of the same tools and graphic user interfaces. The different voices participating in these talks represent distinctive perspectives on Hellenistic Greek, but the idea is not to efface these distinctives. Rather, the goal is to encourage the shared development of core resources, even if those resources are customized in certain ways when implemented by a particular project. We are excited to be participating in these discussions, and we anticipate that they will enable OpenText.org to release its annotations in a shared XML format in the not-too-distant future.

In addition to these preliminary conversations regarding grammatical annotation formats, we see three areas where the work of BiblicalHumanities.org will have a significant impact on OpenText.org and its annotation efforts. First, in the area of textual criticism and the establishment of the text(s) of the Greek New Testament (and eventually other texts as well), BiblicalHumanities.org is pursuing a shared infrastructure that will enable digital projects to base their annotations on standard texts and to use standard references for defined segments within those texts. Second, in the area of morphology, we are interested in the continued development of the MorphGNT, another project affiliated with BiblicalHumanities.org. We are interested not only because of the information MorphGNT has produced with respect to the New Testament, but because of its potential to supply morphological analyses for other texts within our planned corpus.[58] Third, in the

58 The home of the MorphGNT project, which is carried out by James Tauber and Ulrik Sandborg-Petersen, can be found at http://morphgnt.org.

related area of lexicography, we are interested in how BiblicalHumanities.org will standardize the identification of lexical items, as we anticipate the development of lexical resources and wish to ensure that any efforts in this respect will interface as fully as possible with work being done by others.

Perhaps most of all, this last development gives us hope for the future of OpenText.org, as it indicates a growing interest in the development of open-source biblical resources and hence a growing community within which OpenText.org can continue to mature and expand. We unashamedly invite interested readers to visit BiblicalHumanities.org and OpenText.org and to consider the possibility of becoming involved.

6 Future Prospects

Biblical scholars who find it useful to employ grammatical displays in research or teaching will perhaps be interested in a new OpenText.org website with new interactive web displays. And those who are actively interested in the digital humanities will be pleased to hear that OpenText.org aims to release its data and its source code and to do so in ways that will make the data and the code easy to access and use. For everyone else—and in particular, for the scholar in whose honor the present Festschrift has been prepared, a man who has been waiting patiently for a long time—we will conclude by mentioning two additional resources that we are now beginning to design. These resources seek to address some very pressing needs—namely, the need for a user-friendly annotation and editing interface, and the need for a user-friendly search and analysis interface.[59] Certainly, we would welcome input and assistance from interested biblical scholars.

6.1 *Designs for a New Editor*

As mentioned above, the initial annotation tool designed by O'Donnell was, for its time, a cutting-edge example of web-development, employing an early drag-and-drop interface long before HTML5. Today, there remains a need for a similarly user-friendly annotation tool that can facilitate the production of manual annotations by scholars who lack technical expertise, including not only grammatical annotations but also pragmatic or discourse-related annotations. Such a tool, we suggest, should seek not only to facilitate the initial process of annotation, but also the subsequent processes of correction

59 See Brannan, "Greek Linguistic Databases," 4.

and revision, inasmuch as these have similar requirements.[60] At one time, OpenText.org began to develop such an editor, but it never reached maturity and was never released for public use.

The dynamic visual displays that we have been developing provide an important resource for the development of an annotation editor, and we have intentionally designed both our XML and our HTML displays so that a web-based editor can effectively leverage the XQuery Update Facility, which is now a W3C Recommendation. Moreover, by employing a fairly flat inline markup influenced by TEI, we have succeeded in producing a very straightforward correspondence between our logical data model and our visual displays. At present, we are focusing our attention on designing intuitive visual interfaces both for the editing of unit and component boundaries and for the editing of component labels.

6.2 *Designs for a New Analysis Interface*

As already explained, when Logos released the OpenText.org Syntactically Analyzed Greek New Testament, they included a search interface that allowed Logos users to search the annotations using grammatical search criteria. The web-based search interface developed by Smith, however, was never widely announced or made easily accessible on the OpenText.org website, with the result that scholars interested in the OpenText.org annotations were forced to purchase the Logos implementation or else manage without any search functionality.

Along with the design of a new annotation editor, work is once again underway on the development of a web-based search interface. In keeping with our underlying linguistic model, we envisage an interface that uses both structural components and systemic features as search criteria, with the two being integrated for complex searches.[61] One of our current interface designs, for instance, involves the creation of a search query through the drawing of a box diagram, with systemic features being added in pop-up boxes. This simplifies the process of designing a query, because the user defines the query using graphic conventions with which he or she is already familiar. Along with

60 For an interesting and somewhat related development along these lines, see the Son of Suda On Line, which "enables multi-author, version controlled, peer reviewed scholarly curation of papyrological texts, translations, commentary, scholarly metadata, institutional catalog records, bibliography, and images" (www.papyri.info).

61 The present essay is chiefly concerned with the annotation of grammatical structures. The annotation of grammatical features, while important to our overall aims, is thus peripheral to our concerns here and not something we can discuss extensively.

simple search results, we would also like to provide end users with some analyses of their search results. For instance, hits might be ordered in flexible ways (e.g., not only by canonical order, but by sub-corpus, or by a chosen grammatical system, etc.), or statistics might be shown for particular systemic features associated with the search results (e.g., the proportion of the retrieved clauses that are transitive vs. intransitive).

7 Conclusion

One of our goals in this essay has been to document various ways in which the OpenText.org project has had a significant past. Another has been to present some of the work that we are currently undertaking and to extend an invitation to anyone who is interested in collaborating on this sort of work. Our final goal has been to communicate the fact that the OpenText.org project continues to have a bright future. We trust that the same will be true for Stanley Porter, without whom this narrative would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER 3

Computer-Aided Linguistic Analysis for a Single Manuscript Witness: Preparing to Map the OpenText.org Annotation

Catherine Smith[1] *and Matthew Brook O'Donnell*

1 Introduction

> I would suggest that we recognize what tacitly is the case and move away from an idealized eclectic text that never existed in any Christian community back to the codices that still form the basis of our modern textual tradition.[2]

Porter is a strong advocate of adopting the text of a single manuscript as the basis for studying the New Testament rather than the more widely used critical texts. The core of Porter's argument is that our modern eclectic texts are heavily reliant on a few of the major codices, namely Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, that formed the "Neutral" text of Westcott and Hort in their edition of 1881, and were considered by the editors to be the closest to the original. This edition, along with the 8th edition of Tischendorf (1868–72), itself heavily influenced by his own discovery of Codex Sinaiticus in the years since the publication of his 7th edition, formed the basis of Nestle's first edition of 1898.[3] Porter notes that when the first edition of Westcott and Hort and the 8th edition of Tischendorf were published, only one papyrus was known and only parts of that were published.[4] From the third edition onwards, Nestle also used Weiss's edition, but only seven papyri were known when that was published in 1900;[5] the running text of NA[25] was estimated by the editors themselves to

1 Catherine Smith's research in this chapter has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) under grant agreement no. 283302 (COMPAUL).

2 Porter, "Why So Many Holes," 176–78.

3 Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 74. For a more detailed discussion of the development of printed editions see ibid., 36–51.

4 Ibid., 73.

5 Ibid.

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differ from the Westcott and Hort text in only 558 places, and the first Nestle text in only 700.[6] Porter also quotes Robinson's calculation that the text of NA[26] is 99.5 percent the same as the Westcott and Hort edition, showing the limited impact of the discovery of the papyri and the continued reliance on a few major codices.[7] He notes that Petersen finds that there is no place in the critical apparatus of NA[27] where a reading is supported on the basis of papyrus evidence or papyrus and patristic evidence alone,[8] concluding that the papyri "do not so much represent a text as support readings and push back in time readings found in the major codexes."[9] Elsewhere, Porter also argues that it is perhaps wise not to give too much weight to the papyri, given how little we know of their original purpose and compositional character.[10] An additional reason to use a single manuscript as the basis of analysis is that our modern editions are eclectic and do not conform to any single manuscript. According to Porter, this means that "the critical text of the New Testament today is only as old as nineteenth-century scholarship,"[11] and instead he suggests that "those seeking the original text of the New Testament consider seeking it through individual manuscripts."[12] Porter summarises his conclusions as follows:

> If Westcott and Hort's edition is clearly based on the two major codexes, and the current text is 99.5 percent the same—that is, with all of the other evidence that has been bought to bear, including papyri and all else, only 0.5 percent different—it seems as if we are already in essence using the text of the two major codexes. If our goal is to seek the earliest text that we legitimately can find, without abandoning the claim to be seeking the original even if we know that we can only get back so far, then it makes sense to use the earliest actual texts we can find . . . These actual texts were written and used in the early church, and in reality they get

6 Ibid., 72.

7 Robinson, "Appendix," 551, cited in Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 72.

8 Petersen, "What Text," 138, cited in Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 73. In his response to Petersen at the SBL annual meeting in 1998, Parker cited a number of examples where the papyri may not be the only evidence cited but do seem to have influenced the reading present in the editorial text of NA[27]. These are Matt 20:30; Luke 11:11; Heb 11:37 and 1 Pet 2:5. In each of these cases (excepting von Soden for 1 Peter) NA[27] is the first of the critical editions to include these readings in the critical text: all with support from at least one papyrus. We are grateful to Professor Parker for providing a copy of his response.

9 Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 73, after Petersen, "What Text," 138–39.

10 Porter, "Why So Many Holes," 176.

11 Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 74.

12 Ibid.

> closer to the original autographs in terms of quantifiable evidence than a text edited in the nineteenth, twentieth, and now twenty-first centuries.[13]

Two other major strands of Porter's research are discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, fields in which the choice of text is of particular relevance. Two studies in this area, both focusing on the book of Acts, have addressed this particular question, and support Porter's call to select a single manuscript witness. Read-Heimerdinger's work published 2002[14] looks at the contribution of discourse analysis to textual criticism, while Snyder's 2014 work[15] takes a sociolinguistic approach to studying the construction of Christian identity in the texts with a particular focus on the social context. Along with the book of Acts, Snyder's study also includes two apocryphal texts, the Acts of John and the Acts of Philip. Snyder reports that it was not until she began to study the two apocryphal texts, which survive in far fewer and far more divergent witnesses than the book of Acts, that she began to question her initial approach of using the Nestle-Aland text as the basis for her analysis of the New Testament text.[16] After being forced by the nature of the witnesses to select a single manuscript approach to the apocryphal text, Snyder then followed the same path for the book of Acts and selected Codex Vaticanus as the basis for her analysis.[17] While Snyder freely admits that her choice of text and her selection of linguistic variables for analysis produced results that are no different than they would have been had she used the Nestle-Aland text[18] the theoretical point is still an important one. The crucial observation, which agrees with Porter's line of argument, is this: "one must generally choose a particular version to analyze, or have it chosen on one's behalf, because reconstructed texts of ActsAp [the book of Acts] such as the Nestle-Aland already privilege certain versions while disfavoring others".[19]

Similarly, Read-Heimerdinger selects Codex Bezae as her text for analysis, one of the witnesses less favored in critical texts, but like Snyder she admits that many linguistic studies of the book of Acts based on the Nestle-Aland text are not particularly problematic due to the strong influence of Alexandrian

13 Ibid., 75.
14 Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*.
15 Snyder, *Language and Identity*.
16 Ibid., 19.
17 Ibid., 36.
18 Ibid., 38.
19 Ibid., 20.

manuscripts in the editorial text.[20] With regards to the text of Codex Bezae in the book of Acts, Read-Heimerdinger argues that the lack of a consensus is due to it being studied in its context as an example of the disparate group of manuscripts classified under the Western text-type rather than as a text in its own right, reinforcing the need to use single manuscripts as the basis for analysis.[21] Her work deals specifically with the application of techniques from discourse analysis to questions of textual criticism. This throws even more focus on the choice of text. Her selection of linguistic features also deliberately targets areas that can contribute to the discussion of textual variation[22] and, she claims, often relate to areas that are traditionally seen as insignificant by textual critics and that frequently go unrecorded in modern eclectic texts.[23] Read-Heimerdinger concludes, "In examining a text from the perspective of discourse analysis, it makes much more sense to work from the text of actual MSS, for the interest of a discourse analyst is precisely in elucidating rules from what has been said or written."[24] She also echoes the quotation from Porter at the start of this article, saying that her analysis is "based on a comparison of the texts transmitted in early MSS that can be assumed to have been used by actual communities,"[25] reflecting the concern of discourse analysis with the possible audiences of a text. The importance of Porter's suggestion, then, is certainly felt among those researchers interested in questions of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. Snyder sums up the situation for sociolinguistic analysis as follows but it is just as applicable to discourse analysis and similar studies:

> If one uses an eclectic text to address sociolinguistic questions, one is essentially comparing words drawn from manuscripts of different dates and provenances, a strategy that only makes sense if one assumes that every individual whose words are reflected in the various manuscripts used language in the exact same way. Surely this is a dangerous assumption to make given how language changes over time and how the cultural background, geographical origin, and life experiences of individuals affect the way they speak. A sociolinguistic study of a modern reconstructed text could yield interesting insights into the linguistic

20 Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 52.
21 Ibid., 5.
22 Ibid., 44–49.
23 Ibid., 42, 52.
24 Ibid., 52.
25 Ibid.

> sensibilities of modern scholars, but it would not necessarily elucidate the nuances of how ancient writers used words.[26]

Once the decision to use a single manuscript witness as the text for analysis is made, several further questions arise, the most obvious being which manuscript to select. Codex Sinaiticus (manuscript 01) is the oldest surviving witness to the entire Greek New Testament and Porter suggests we use this as a replacement for modern critical editions.[27] He also acknowledges that for individual books one could use Codex Vaticanus, like Snyder, or a particular papyrus, such as P^{46} for the Pauline Epistles.[28] Since the OpenText.org annotation is available for the entire New Testament, this paper will follow Porter's suggestion and focus primarily on Codex Sinaiticus. Another question that arises is how the exact text of the selected manuscript should be determined. This is an issue that has not been addressed in detail by any advocates of this model. Snyder, Read-Heimerdinger, and Porter all make the point that a single manuscript is still an eclectic text but an ancient eclectic text rather than a modern one.[29] Porter and Pitts go further in their introduction to New Testament textual criticism stating that this approach "leaves the text-critical responsibilities with the ancients"[30] but in reality, if a scholar choses to use a single manuscript as the basis of their analysis, they should be prepared to take on the text-critical responsibilities themselves as described below. Ignoring the history of the transmission of the text represented in a manuscript can be as problematic as adopting a modern critical edition without any regard to the way that text has been created. You must become the editor of your own text.

Porter and Pitts do draw attention to some editorial decisions that must be made noting, "What it means to use a singular manuscript like Codex Sinaiticus as the basis of a modern edition might vary in some people's minds (e.g., whether spelling was regularized or clear errors in the text were corrected)."[31] Elsewhere, Porter also states "the various correcting hands of Sinaiticus attest to its use, but also raise a number of important critical issues"[32] without going any further into how these critical issues could be addressed. A certain amount of text-critical knowledge and maybe even paleographical

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26 Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 20.

27 Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 75.

28 Ibid.

29 Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 39; Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 5; Porter and Pitts, *Fundamentals*, 95.

30 Porter and Pitts, *Fundamentals*, 95.

31 Ibid.

32 Porter, *Using Codex Sinaiticus*.

skills would be needed to determine which spelling conventions should be regularized and to identify what are clear errors and decide how to correct them. The issue of the different hands present in a manuscript is a particularly important one in Codex Sinaiticus, one of the most heavily corrected biblical manuscripts we have.[33] Several layers of correction can be determined in Codex Sinaiticus, and many hands can be identified consistently. The corrections range from those contemporary with the first hand to far later corrections stretching into the twelfth century.[34] Milne and Skeat in particular note that corrections made in the scriptorium are easily distinguishable from the later correctors.[35] In order to use the text of Codex Sinaiticus, an editorial decision must be made as to which of these strands of correction is to be treated as the text of the manuscript. Since so much is known about the correction layers in Codex Sinaiticus, for the purposes of this study we will take the text of Codex Sinaiticus to be the manuscript text as it looked when it left the scriptorium as far as that can be reconstructed. That is, corrections by the first hand and the corrector known as S1 will replace the initial first hand text where they differ, and any later corrections will be ignored.[36] For other manuscripts about which little or nothing of their production process is known, the decision of which text to select may be simpler but perhaps less accurate. The key thing when selecting both a text to use and, if a single manuscript text is selected, the choice of text to extract, is that it should be a conscious choice, and whatever is selected, the text, its creation, and perhaps transcription, are fully understood and handled appropriately.

The OpenText.org project[37] arose out of O'Donnell's doctoral research on the application of corpus linguistic methodologies to the study of the Greek New Testament[38] with Porter as a primary partner. The project aims to create a linguistically annotated corpus designed for the study of New Testament Greek with a particular focus on discourse analysis.[39] The annotation is based on a systemic-functional model and includes analysis at word, word group, clause,

33 Wachtel, "Corrected New Testament Text," 97.

34 Ibid.," 98.

35 Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 40.

36 In the rest of this paper this particular textual strand will be referred to as the text of Codex Sinaiticus although it should be understood as the text we selected from the multiple texts attested in Codex Sinaiticus.

37 http://www.opentext.org.

38 O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*.

39 For a discussion of the design of the corpus, see O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 102–37 and Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues"; for an introduction to the annotation model that is discussed further below, see O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 168–201 and O'Donnell, *Introducing*.

and discourse levels. For ease of annotation, each phase of the analysis was initially completed separately and stored in separate XML files. When the project started investigating search options, these different layers were pulled into a single XML file for ease of processing. This results in a complex XML structure: one of the questions addressed in this study is whether or not this resulting structure is suitable for mapping to another base text. Open-source and open data philosophies were central to the development of OpenText.org,[40] so basing the analysis on texts that can be further distributed along with the annotation is an important factor when considering a change in text.

The original plan for OpenText.org was to use the text of Codex Sinaiticus as the text for annotation, but the text of Codex Sinaiticus was not available in electronic form and several modern editions were.[41] Indeed, one of the main reasons that eclectic texts have been chosen as the basis of annotation is that they have been the most readily available electronically. Copyright issues aside, a number of parsed and annotated texts of various editorial texts have been available on the internet for several decades.[42] In recent years, digitization projects have made manuscripts more accessible for study through high quality digital images available online.[43] A few projects have also sought to improve access for non-specialists by providing transcriptions alongside the images.[44] In the case of the Codex Sinaiticus project, the transcriptions are also linked word for word to the images, going even further to help non-experts explore the manuscript for themselves.

While manuscript images have become readily available for transcription, changes to editorial practices in the digital age have also rendered this step

40 Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, 39–46, in particular 45–46.

41 The OpenText.org annotation is based on the NA[27] text, but since, with the exception of the Catholic Epistles, the text is the same, in the present article we will use NA[28] for the mapping, as transcriptions of this edition were available in the appropriate format for the collation editor.

42 For a discussion of copyright issues around the Greek New Testament, see Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, 17–28.

43 See, for example, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/ http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/ http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/ http://gallica.bnf.fr/ http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/scan/link.jsp http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca/index.jsp http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/ and the New Testament specific websites http://www.csntm.org/Manuscript and http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de.

44 See, for example, the Codex Sinaiticus project website hosted by the British Library http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/ and the Codex Bezae digital edition available from the university of Cambridge http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/194 (select "diplomatic transcription" from the "view more options" menu on the right hand side to see the transcription for the images).

optional for those seeking the electronic text of a manuscript to form the basis of their linguistic annotation. Historically, critical editions were created by selecting a base text and recording for each manuscript only those places where it differed from the base text, using the resulting tables to create the final text and apparatus for a published edition.[45] Since the late 1990s the editorial teams behind the Editio Critica Maior (ECM) have adopted a digital editing workflow. This workflow involves making full text transcriptions of each of the manuscripts to be included as witnesses for a particular biblical book.[46] The transcriptions form the basis of computer-assisted collations and genealogical analysis that inform the critical edition, but in addition the transcriptions are also made available under a creative commons license.[47] The transcriptions are annotated and stored in TEI P5 XML, the current standard exchange format in the digital humanities.[48]

With annotation there is a balance to be struck between recording everything one can see in a manuscript, how much is required for the current task, and how much time is available for transcribing.[49] The ECM teams record the text of the manuscript in some detail, including marking corrections, capitalization, some marginalia, nomina sacra and a variety of other abbreviations. However, accents (with the exception of places where the accents are required for disambiguation, such as future forms of liquid verbs) and script changes (with the exception of supplements) are not recorded. Some physical information about each manuscript is also recorded; page, column, and line breaks are recoded as standard, as well as physical damage to the page, but other features not considered pertinent to the creation of an editorial text such as ink color, illustrations, and chapter numbers or titles are not normally recorded.[50] So, just as it is important to be aware of the transmission history of

45 Parker, "Through a Screen," 396–97 and Parker, *Introduction*, 95–100.

46 For a more detailed discussion of the development and adoption of the digital workflow, see Houghton, "Electronic Scriptorium," 31–37.

47 Transcriptions made of the Gospel of John by ITSEE/IGNTP can be found here http://www.iohannes.com/XML/start.xml. Transcriptions made by the INTF/IGNTP teams can be found here http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/community/vmr/api/transcript/get/?gaNum=01&indexContent=Romans&fullPage=true&format=teiraw (replace the gaNum and the indexContent for other manuscripts and biblical books).

48 For the general TEI guidelines. see http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/P5/. For a description of the schema used for the IGNTP transcriptions, see Houghton "Electronic Scriptorium."

49 Houghton, "Electronic Scriptorium," 37–38.

50 The Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Bezae projects mentioned in footnote 44 recorded a far greater amount of details than is typical for transcriptions made by the IGNTP, INTF and ITSEE teams. The transcriptions made as part of the Codex Sinaiticus project could have been used for this study, but their XML schema differs from that currently used and there-

the manuscript you select, if you are using third-party transcriptions you must be aware of the original transcription policy. Editorial decisions such as the normalization of spelling, the addition or removal of punctuation, and expansion of abbreviations (e.g., nomina sacra, superline nu, and kai compendia), as well as a number of other things, may have been made in process of transcribing. Even something as simple as how words should be divided is not always straightforward when transcribing Greek manuscripts. For a user of third-party transcriptions it is crucial to be aware of these decisions, and for a producer of transcriptions it is important that as many of these editorial decisions as possible are documented.[51] These cautions aside, the possibilities created by having full manuscript transcriptions available under a creative commons license are great, and make the mapping of the OpenText.org annotation to single manuscript texts more realistic.

There are several stages involved in mapping the OpenText.org linguistic annotation from the NA[27] text to multiple single manuscript texts. The first task is to compare the text in the target manuscript to that of the NA[27]. This will show up places where the text is identical and places where the text differs. The nature of the differences will be varied and the different types of variation will have different levels of impact on the linguistic annotation. Understanding the extent and nature of the differences between the texts is essential for planning the annotation mapping. Once the differences have been evaluated, a computer assisted mapping process can be used to automate the mapping where there are no changes and flag up the areas where user input is required to check the mapping attempted automatically. Where the changes are too complex, it can present the text to the user alongside the original linguistic analysis for re-annotation.

2 Comparing the Texts

At the same time as making full text manuscript transcriptions available, the adoption of a digital editing workflow for the ECM has led to a focus on the computational collation of texts. There are a few software packages available to choose from,[52] but here we will use a collation editor developed by ITSEE

fore would need more preprocessing before they would work with rest of the workflow. Instead, simpler transcriptions available from the INTF were used.

51 See, for example, the Introduction to the IGNTP edition of the majuscules of the Gospel of John http://www.iohannes.com/majuscule/index.html.

52 These include CollateX (http://collatex.net/), tustep (http://www.tustep.uni-tuebingen.de/tustep_eng.html) and juxta (http://www.juxtasoftware.org/). The first collation soft-

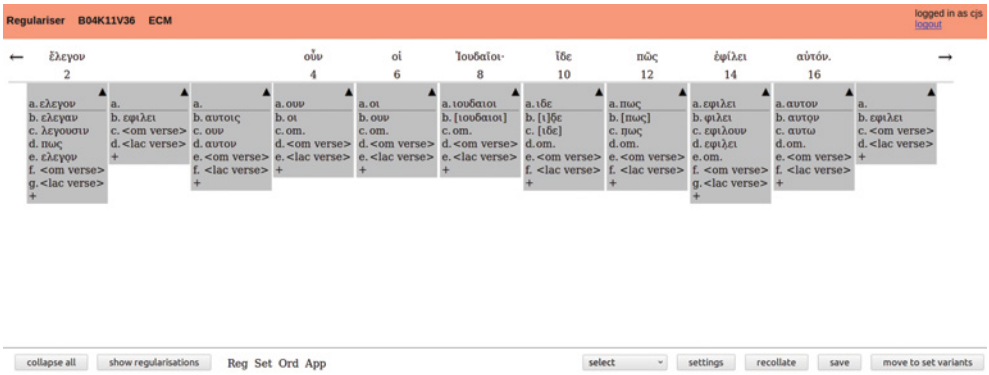


FIGURE 3.1 *Screenshot of the collation editor showing a collation of all the manuscripts included in the ECM of John.*

at the University of Birmingham. A screenshot of the collation editor in use for the ECM edition of the Gospel of John can be seen in Figure 3.1.[53] The collation editor is a wrapper around the CollateX software,[54] and is the software used by the ECM teams to make their editions. It is designed to be a fully interactive system, allowing editors to go from full text transcriptions of manuscripts to a published apparatus.

CollateX provides an initial computerized comparison of the texts which the editor can then manipulate in the collation editor interface. It includes tools for regularizing unimportant differences such as spelling variation and abbreviations, setting the length of each variant, and ordering the readings in each unit. The experience of using the collation editor in the making of the ECM edition of John's Gospel is that once regularization is complete, CollateX does a good job of collating the 236 manuscripts in the edition where there are not too many large multi-word omissions, additions, or transpositions in a verse. The task of comparing just two texts is of course far simpler than the

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ware widely used in the humanities was collate and then collate2 and collate3, created by Peter Robinson. See Robinson, *Collate*. This software is now obsolete, but was certainly the trail blazer in this area and was used by the INTF and IGNTP for making editions of biblical texts. See Wachtel, "Editing the Greek New Testament," and Parker "Electronic Religious Texts." CollateX was designed to be the successor to Robinson's Collate; see http://collatex.net/about/

53 The collation editor was developed as part of a collaborative Anglo-German project called "The Workspace for Collaborative Editing," which was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft between 2010 and 2013.

54 CollateX was developed by Ronald Dekker and the Huygens Institute as part of the EU-funded interedition project; see www.interedition.eu.

task of comparing over 200 and therefore it is reasonable to expect that the comparisons produced by CollateX will be a good starting point for the current investigation. This does not mean that the alignment will always be correct, but the level of error should be small, and finding and correcting these errors will be far less time-consuming than producing the alignments by hand.

When the collation editor is used for creating an edition of a text the regularization phase is circular. Regularization rules are made and then the texts are re-collated and over several iterations; as irrelevant differences are removed, the alignment produced by CollateX gradually improves. For just two texts the effort required in this stage is not practical: instead, we want minimal human intervention in the process. In the collation editor a certain amount of preparation happens to all of the data automatically before it is passed to CollateX in order to achieve the most accurate alignment possible from CollateX. All of the text is turned to lower case, markers for unclear and supplied text are removed, simple abbreviations are expanded, and superline nus are replaced with the actual character. These changes only affect the data sent to CollateX for alignment; the way the words are displayed in the interface will not necessarily be the same tokens that were sent to CollateX but instead will be determined by the settings selected by the user. This same preparation was used for the current task. We also used a set of global rules created for the ECM John project that expand all of the common nomina sacra abbreviations to their full text form, which is how they appear in NA[27]. Each book was batch processed verse by verse to produce alignment tables that could be analyzed to give an overview of the scale of the challenge ahead. The data was also made available in the collation editor interface so that the results could be more easily compared with the existing annotation to establish impact of the changes.

3 The Extent of the Challenge

To assess the scale of the challenge, the first four Pauline epistles were selected for testing. These books were batch processed with the collation editor using NA[28] as the base text. The collation editor provides an alignment table in JSON[55] for each verse, and these alignment tables were analyzed for the volume and nature of the differences using a specially written Python script. The structure of the tables reveals whether the changes (assuming changes from the base text) are additions, omissions, or substitutions, as well as being able to calculate the total number of the verses that differ from NA[28]. Verses with no

55 JSON (JavaScript Object Notation) is a standard data exchange format. See http://www.json.org.

differences will be straightforward when it comes to mapping the annotation, those with differences will be more complex, and the type of the differences will affect the mapping in different ways. The transcriptions used for this study are those produced by the INTF and are available through the NTVMR.[56]

Along with Codex Sinaiticus, we decided to include another manuscript in the test to see how effectively the methodology used in this study could be generalized to mapping the OpenText.org annotation to other manuscripts. Since Codex Sinaiticus is an example of the Alexandrian text-type that forms the core of our modern critical texts, we might expect it to be very similar to the Nestle-Aland text. In contrast we selected P^{46} as a comparison. P^{46} is not fully extant in the four books we have selected; it begins midway through chapter 5 of Romans and has a few lacunose or omitted verses in the other books. This is not of concern for this study as lacunose or omitted verses are generally irrelevant for the annotation mapping process; the only places where this might be of concern is for verses that are partly lacunose or places where an annotation unit wraps verse boundaries and one of the verses involved is lacunose. P^{46} is an important manuscript in the study of the development of the Pauline Epistles, and while the manuscript itself is not of particularly great standard, it is thought that the *Vorlage* is of particularly high quality.[57] Zuntz points out that "[t]he scribe committed very many blunders,"[58] and also notes that "the omission of whole clauses owing to homoioteleuton [eye-skip] is an outstanding characteristic of P^{46}."[59] Despite this, the manuscript has a far lower level of correction than Codex Sinaiticus, so in P^{46} we will ignore all corrections since none in the books we are using have been identified as having been made by the first hand.[60] Zuntz considers P^{46} to belong to a group of manuscripts representing the proto-Alexandrian text-type, which is generally similar to the Alexandrian text-type but which also has many readings more typically found in the Western text-type.[61] That, along with the error-prone nature of the text, leads us to predict that P^{46} will present a greater challenge

56 http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/community/vmr/api/transcript/get/?gaNum=01&indexContent=Romans&fullPage=true&format=teiraw, http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/community/vmr/api/transcript/get/?gaNum=P46&indexContent=Romans&fullPage=true&format=teiraw.

57 Holmes, "Text of P^{46}," 189; Zuntz, *Text*, 56.

58 Zuntz, *Text*, 18.

59 Ibid., 19.

60 If there had been any first hand corrections in the transcriptions, we would have replaced the initial first hand text with the first hand correction.

61 Zuntz considers that the proto-Alexandrian text-type preserves readings that came to be lost from the Alexandrian tradition but remained in the Western tradition. Zuntz, *Text*, 156; Holmes "Text of P^{46}," 199.

when it comes to mapping the OpenText.org annotation. It will also serve as a representative of the vast majority of New Testament witnesses that are not of such a high quality as Codex Sinaiticus in order to see how generally applicable the methodology developed might be to a wider range of New Testament texts.

An initial comparison between the number of verses affected by differences in Codex Sinaiticus (labelled 01) and P^{46} is shown in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2. This shows that, as expected, P^{46} has far more verses with differences than Codex Sinaiticus, although even in this witness more than half of the verses for each book have at least one difference from NA^{28}. In P^{46} this rises to an average of around 70 percent of verses. (In each case percentages are calculated as the proportion of extant verses in the witness for the given book, rounded to the nearest whole number). There is a remarkable consistency in the percentages between the books in each witness, particularly in Codex Sinaiticus.

In terms of mapping the annotation, this shows that it should be possible to map the OpenText.org annotation directly to Codex Sinaiticus for just under half of all verses, although the data for P^{46} suggests that this figure will be lower for other witnesses. The number of differences per verse will also have an impact on the complexity of the task. Table 3.3 shows the total number of points of difference between each witness and NA^{28} per verse. OpenText.org has annotation down to the word group level and therefore each word has the potential to require changes to the annotation. For this reason, Table 3.3 is based on the number of words that differ from NA^{28} per verse; percentages are given as the percentage of verses with differences from Tables 3.1 and 3.2. This data has not been separated out into individual books, as in each witness the distribution curves for the different books are very similar. Table 3.3 shows that, as well as having fewer verses with differences, in Codex Sinaiticus there are generally fewer differences per verse. Nearly 60 percent of all verses with differences in Codex Sinaiticus have only one word that is different from NA^{28}; the figure for P^{46} is roughly half that. Nearly a quarter of all the verses with differences in P^{46} involve five or more words, but that figure is dramatically lower in Codex Sinaiticus, at around 3 percent. A closer examination of the verses with a difference of 10 or more words shows that all but two of them are caused by the presence of a lacuna (typically at the bottom of pages where the leaves of P^{46} are damaged).

As mentioned above, we know from work on the ECM of John that CollateX does not always do a good job of alignment when large lacunae are involved, and therefore misalignment of the text that is present could be inflating these counts above the number of words actually missing. The two examples not influenced by lacunae are 2 Cor 1:7 and 2 Cor 8:19. These two cases are examples of the homoioteleuton noted by Zuntz and discussed above. Based on

TABLE 3.1 *The number of verses with and without changes in Codex Sinaiticus when compared with NA[28]*

	Extant verses	Verses without changes		Verses with changes	
		Raw count	Percentage	Raw count	Percentage
Romans	432	212	49	220	51
1 Corinthians	437	213	49	224	51
2 Corinthians	256	126	49	130	51
Galatians	149	66	44	83	56

TABLE 3.2 *The number of verses with and without changes in P[46] when compared with NA[28]*

	Extant verses	Verses without changes		Verses with changes	
		Raw count	Percentage	Raw count	Percentage
Romans	247	82	33	165	67
1 Corinthians	433	125	29	308	71
2 Corinthians	254	66	26	188	74
Galatians	140	35	25	105	75

Zuntz's observation, we should expect that the instance of omissions in P[46] will be high. If these homoioteleuton are of clauses as hinted at by Zuntz and CollateX has managed to correctly align the extant text, then their impact on the OpenText.org annotation should be minimal, since most of the annotation works on the clause level or below. This demonstrates that the type of changes as well as the extent of them will have an impact on how complex the annotation mapping will be.

The CollateX alignment tables can be easily analyzed to see into which of three categories the differences can be placed. The three categories are addition, omission, and substitution. The collation output has not been checked for accuracy, so it is not possible to say for certain that a difference should definitely belong to a particular category, just that it is the category in which the automated collation has assigned it.

Even so, an examination of the categories should give a good overview of the type of changes present in the witnesses. Table 3.4 shows the volume by word

TABLE 3.3 *The number of differences (counted in words) per verse for each witness against* NA[28]

Total differences in words per verse	01		P[46]	
	Raw count	Percentage	Raw count	Percentage
1	388	59	240	31
2	168	26	179	23
3	62	9	114	15
4	22	3	52	7
5	11	2	40	5
6	3	0.5	26	3
7	2	0.3	20	3
8	0	0	20	3
9	1	0.2	17	2
10+	0	0	57	7

TABLE 3.4 *The type of changes (counted in words) for each witness against* NA[28]

	01		P[46]	
	Raw count	Percentage	Raw count	Percentage
Addition	78	7	143	5
Omission	115	11	1597	58
Substitution	883	82	1025	37

of each type of correction in the two witnesses. The contrast here is stark. Over 80 percent of the differences in Codex Sinaiticus (01) are categorized as substitutions, with omissions and additions playing a much smaller role. P[46] meanwhile has a far higher percentage of omissions, as we might expect. While a good number of these will probably be caused by the more fragmentary nature of the manuscript, they will also include the omissions due to homoioteleuton noted by Zuntz. In P[46] there are also still a large number of substitutions, but again, additions play a minor part.

The importance of the substitution category in both manuscripts, but particularly in Codex Sinaiticus, is good news for the mapping procedure. In most cases substitutions will be easier to handle than omissions or additions (with the exception of potential whole clause omissions noted earlier). A quick scan

through the list of substitutions for each manuscript shows that many of them are merely orthographic differences, such as the change of ει to ι (e.g., ημις for ημεις, γεινεσθε for γινεσθε), or the reduction or doubling of consonants (e.g., απολυε for απολλυε, ανηγγελλη for ανηγγελη), which will make no difference to the annotation. Some are also caused by the nomina sacra that have not been encountered in our collation of John, and are therefore not yet on the list of nomina sacra expansions that we have applied (e.g., εσταν for εσταυρωσαν). A closer analysis of the data for Romans in Codex Sinaiticus shows that of the 342 points of difference, 237 belong to one of these orthographic categories. This is nearly 70 percent of all differences. Once the substitutions that can be classified as orthographic are removed from the data, only 74 verses in Romans differ from NA^{28} in Codex Sinaiticus; this is around 17 percent of the extant verses. It is possible that rules could be generated that would allow these purely orthographic changes to be detected so that verses containing only such differences could be treated as identical verses and have the annotation mapped automatically.

The remaining differences are the those that will, or that at least could, require a change in annotation. Of the remaining examples, some are differences in the grammatical form of the word, which may or may not require a change in annotation above the word level (e.g., οφιλοντες for οφειλετε, σφραγισαμενοις for σφραγισαμενος). Others could be orthographic but could also be grammatical changes depending on the context (e.g., επιμενομεν for επιμενωμεν, διωκομεν for διωκωμεν). Others are lexical substitutions that make sense in the context (e.g., κακον for φαυλον, πετρος for κηφας, οτι for και). Others are difficult to see as genuine substitutions, and are most likely due to incorrect alignment (e.g. Rom 9:16 where a word order change in P^{46} means τρεχοντος has been classified as a substitute for θελοντος and vice versa, and Rom 15:17 in P^{46} where different wording has resulted in ην being treated as a substitute for ουν, and εχω as a substitute for την. In this particular case there is an εχω in NA^{28}, but the change in word order has led to this being classified as an omission in P^{46}).

This survey of the extent and nature of the changes in Codex Sinaiticus and P^{46} has shown that the level of difference is fairly extensive, even in the manuscript that is one of the closest to the critical text currently used for the OpenText.org annotation. However, if the orthographic changes could be identified automatically, then the problem would be reduced considerably. The disparity in both volume and type of differences between the two manuscripts selected is also large, and therefore suggests that mapping the annotation to multiple manuscripts may not be a practical option, as a solution that works well for one manuscript may not work as well for another. The remainder of this paper then will focus on Codex Sinaiticus, Porter's suggestion for

a replacement text for NA[28], and the text that was initially intended to form the annotation base for OpenText.org. We cannot guarantee that the alignment provided by CollateX is always accurate, and this might cause further problems for the mapping process. We can, however, be confident that all the verses marked by the collation editor as not having any changes are genuinely the same, and can have the annotation transferred automatically. Most importantly, this survey has provided a list of verses that have differences from our current text and that therefore need further investigation to see what impact the differences in them might have on our annotation.

4 The Linguistic Impact of Differences

The current OpenText.org syntactically annotated Greek New Testament separates this analysis into two main levels: the word group level and the clause level. The word group level focuses on the direct connections between pairs of words. It is based on dependency grammar where pairs of related words have asymmetric relations, so one is the head and the other is the modifier. A modifying word can belong to one of four categories: specifier (sp) where the modifier provides specification to the modified word (e.g., articles and prepositions); definer (df) where the modifier provides further definition of the modified word (e.g., apposition, attributive adjectives, predicate adjectives); qualifier (ql) where the modifier limits the scope of the modified word (e.g., genitive and dative modifiers and word group negation); and relator (rl) where the modifier is in a prepositional relationship with the modified word (e.g., prepositional phrases within word groups). Each word in a word group can be modified by other words in the word group and therefore these relations are often nested.[62] The word group relations are visualized in the OpenText.org annotation using a series of nested boxes as in the examples below.[63] The modifier slots are labelled in the shaded row and words are placed in the column that defines the way they modify the numbered word in the top row. The first column labelled *cn* is used for conjunctions. Conjunctions are only included within word groups if they function at word group level (e.g., to join two modifiers). Conjunctions that function to join word groups are marked at clause level.[64]

62 O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 179–80.

63 As proposed in ibid., 180.

64 Ibid., 175.

The clause level annotation groups words together into functional clause components. The four core clause components are: subject (S), which is the grammatical subject of the clause; predicator (P), which is the verbal element of the clause; complement (C), which is the word or word groups that complete the predicate of the clause; adjunct (A), which are adverbs, adverbial clauses and prepositional phrases that modify the verb. In addition to these core components, OpenText.org also uses two further categories: addressee (add), which is used for vocative forms or other forms functioning to call attention, and conjunction (cj), which is for words that function to link clauses together.[65] There are three levels of clause in the OpenText.org model:

a) primary clauses are independent clauses that usually contain a finite verb form and are not subordinate to any other clause;
b) secondary clauses are clauses that are subordinate to another clause. These are commonly relative clauses and clauses beginning with words such as ὡς/καθώς and ὅτε/ὅταν, although non-embedded participial and infinitive clauses are also classed as secondary;
c) embedded clauses are clauses that occur inside a component of another clause. These clauses usually have non-finite verb forms but finite clauses can also be embedded.[66]

In the following sections we explore the impact of switching from an eclectic text to a single manuscript on higher levels of linguistic annotation such as these by focusing on the differences between the texts of NA[28] and Codex Sinaiticus in Romans. The data is organized into the following categories: (1) omissions, (2) insertions, (3) wording changes, and (4) word order changes.[67]

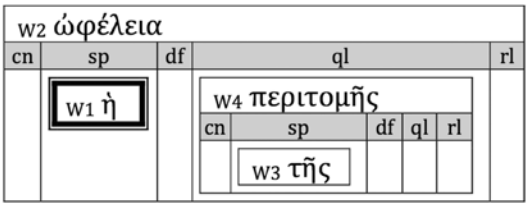
4.1 *Omissions*

The impact of omissions on the annotation varies hugely, according to the nature of the omission. The omission of the article, which happens relatively frequently in our example text, requires minimal changes to the word group annotation. In this example from Rom 3:1, Codex Sinaiticus omits the article ἡ from the phrase ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς.

65 O'Donnell, *Introducing*.

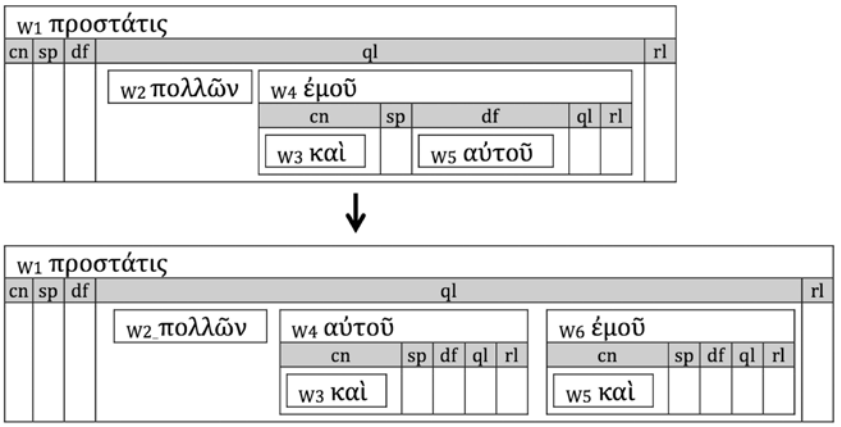
66 Ibid.

67 In this section we will refer to these categories as changes to, omissions from, and insertions into the NA[28] by Codex Sinaiticus purely because NA[28] is the text currently used for the OpenText.org annotation and it is therefore changes to this text that we are interested in. It is not intended to reflect the reality of text transmission.



This change would only require removing the specifier-specified relation between ἡ and ὠφέλεια; all other relations in the word group would remain the same. The same is true of the other examples of article omission such as Rom 3:25 ἱλαστήριον διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως; 4:11 καὶ αὐτοῖς [τὴν] δικαιοσύνην and 10:5 τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ [τοῦ] νόμου.

There are no straightforward examples of omitted head terms in the Codex Sinaiticus text of Romans, but in Rom 16:2 we do have an example of insertion that involves a rearrangement of the word group, resulting in the loss of a head term. In this example, Codex Sinaiticus replaces the last three words of the phrase προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ in NA[28] with καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ.[68] In NA [28] αὐτοῦ is a definer of the head term ἐμοῦ, but the addition of the conjunction makes this phrase two word groups rather than one, and the first word group loses its head term as ἐμοῦ becomes the head term of the second word group.



68 ἐγενήθη is not part of the word group here, but instead the predicate of the main clauses that is embedded within this complement word group.

With only a single modifier of ἐμοῦ, the decision about which to promote is simple and could perhaps be automated, but in more complex situations, annotator input will be required to deal with this.

The examples of omissions discussed so far have no impact on the clause level annotation. The omission of a modifier within a word group, as in our first example, will have no effect on the clause component in which it is contained. Similarly, if a clause component contains more than one word group, and one of them is removed, or rearranged as in our second example, this will likely not change the category of the clause component itself. The simplest of the omissions that do impact the clause annotation are examples where the words omitted comprise a complete clause component that can be removed from the clause structure. For example, in Rom 11:21 the first two words, μή and πως, are omitted in Codex Sinaiticus. This requires removal of the first two adjuncts in the clause.

Primary	A	A	A	C	P
	μή	πως	οὐδὲ	σοῦ	φείσεται

A similar example can be seen in Rom 16:7, where Codex Sinaiticus omits the nominative plural relative pronoun οἵ in the second of a pair of secondary clauses, which has a S-cj-A-P-A structure. This results in the removal of the subject component from the second secondary clause.

Secondary 1	S	P	C
	οἵτινές	εἰσιν	ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις

Secondary 2	S	cj	A	P	A
	οἳ	καὶ	πρὸ ἐμοῦ	γέγοναν	ἐν Χριστῷ

There are no examples of longer omissions (more than a couple of words) in the text of Romans in Codex Sinaiticus that have not been identified and corrected by a scriptorium hand. There are two examples in 1 Corinthians, although even in these cases the omitted text has been added in the lower margin of the page by one of the later correctors (C^a). In 1 Cor 15:27 the first clause is omitted, but as the clause diagrams show, this is a primary clause with no dependents, so the

full clause can be omitted without requiring any other changes to the annotation other than to connect the second primary clause in the diagram (labelled Primary 2) to the primary clause immediately before the one deleted.

Primary 1	C	cj	P	A
	πάντα	γὰρ	ὑπέταξεν	ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ

Secondary 1 (connect P2)	cj	cj	P
	ὅταν	δὲ	εἴπῃ

Secondary 2 (connect S1)	cj	S	P
	ὅτι	πάντα	ὑποτέτακται

Primary 2 (connect P1)	C
	δῆλον

Secondary 3 (connect P2)	cj	A			
	ὅτι	Embedded 1	P	C	C
			ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος	αὐτῷ	τὰ πάντα

In 1 Cor 15:54 there is an example of what is most likely homoioteleuton in which the words φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρσίαν καί are omitted from Codex Sinaiticus. This results in two parallel secondary clauses being combined into one in the clause annotation. The following two clauses in NA[28],

Secondary 1	cj	cj	S	P	C
	ὅταν	δὲ	τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο	ἐνδύσηται	ἀφθαρσίαν

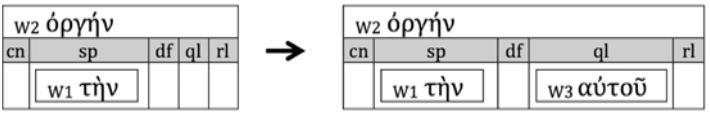
Secondary 2 (connect S1)	cj	S	P	C
	καὶ	τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο	ἐνδύσηται	ἀθανασίαν

become this single clause in Codex Sinaiticus:

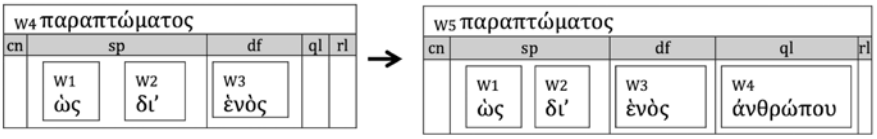
Secondary 1	cj	cj	S	P	
	ὅταν	δὲ	τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο	ἐνδύσηται	τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν

4.2 *Insertions*

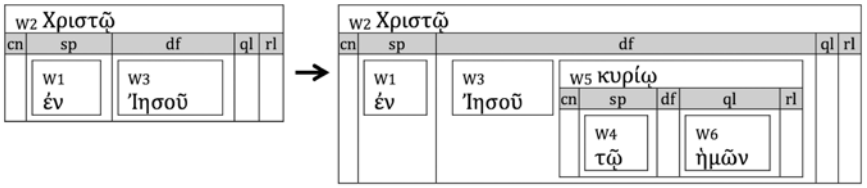
Insertions necessitate additional annotation, since the new word or words must be assigned to word groups and clauses. The simplest cases are additions to the existing word group structures, as these do not necessitate changes or additions to the clause level annotation. In Rom 3:5, for example, the phrase ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργήν has αὐτοῦ added at the end in Codex Sinaiticus, and only necessitates the addition of a qualifier relation between αὐτοῦ and ὀργήν in an existing word group.



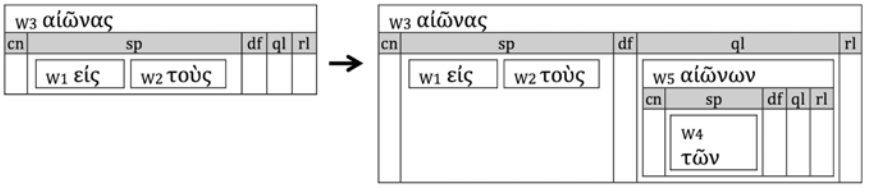
Similarly, in Rom 5:18 Codex Sinaiticus adds ἀνθρώπου as a qualifier of παραπτώματος in the phrase Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου παραπτώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκριμα, leading to the following change in word group structure.



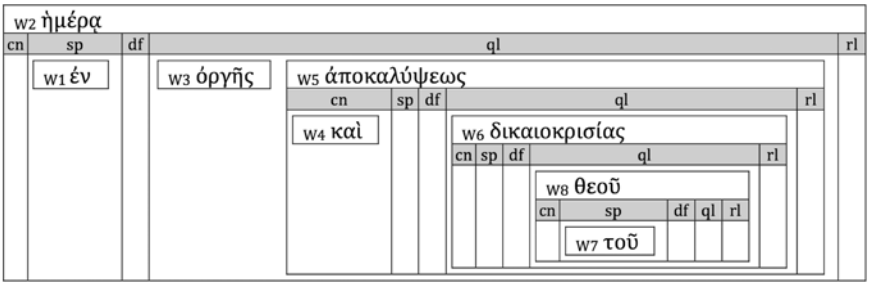
Even when the additions are of multiple words, if they are only additions to the word group structure, the impact is minimal. For example, in Rom 6:11 the word group ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ has the addition of the defining phrase τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν immediately following it. This insertion requires a change in the word group annotation but again does not impact any of the existing word group relations or the annotation at the clause level.



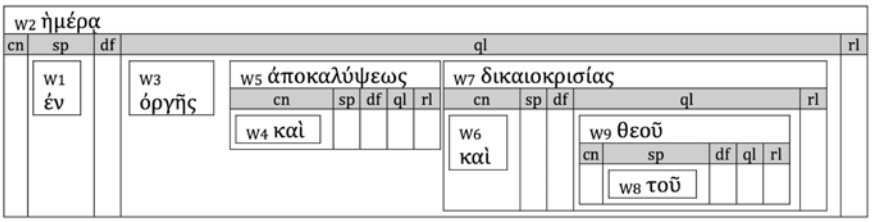
In the final clause of Romans, at 16:27, Codex Sinaiticus adds the words τῶν αἰῶνων to the word group εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, resulting in a qualifier-qualified dependency between αἰῶνων and αἰῶνας. Again no changes are needed in the clause annotation.



In Rom 2:5 the addition of a single conjunction necessitates a reorganization of the existing word group. Again, the changes required are confined to the word group level. The text in question here is ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ, with the underlined καί being the insertion in Codex Sinaiticus. In the NA[28] word group annotation, there is a qualified-qualifier relation between ἀποκαλύψεως and δικαιοκρισίας, as shown below.



The insertion of the conjunction in Codex Sinaiticus places δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ on equal level with ὀργῆς and ἀποκαλύψεως and thus δικαιοκρισίας becomes an additional qualifier of ἡμέρᾳ, and καί is added as a connective relation of δικαιοκρισίας resulting in the following word group structure.



Other changes require additional components to be added to clauses at the clause level (in addition to creating new word groups at the word group level). In Rom 8:34, for example, Codex Sinaiticus adds ἐκ νεκρῶν at the end of the phrase Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθείς. In the current clause level annotation, this phrase in its entirety is the complement of a clause and includes two embedded clauses. The addition in Codex Sinaiticus requires an adjunct to be added to the second of the two embedded clauses. The resulting clause structure for the final embedded clause is shown below.

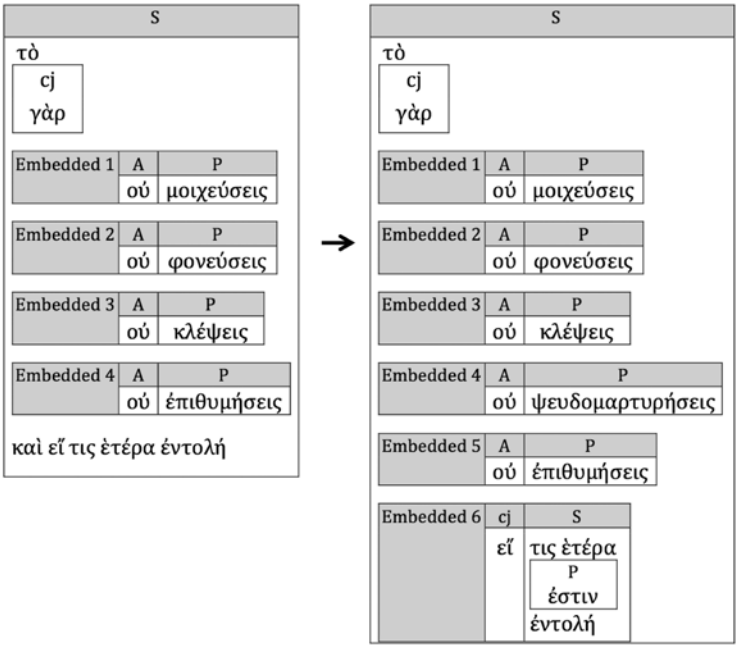
Embedded	A	cj	P	A
	μᾶλλον	δὲ	ἐγερθείς	ἐκ νεκρῶν

Some additions require new clauses to be created; for example, in Rom 11:2 (οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω. ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν Ἠλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή, ὡς ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ;) Codex Sinaiticus appends λέγων to the end of the verse before the quotation. This requires an additional adjunct in the final clause of this verse, with the adjunct being comprised of an embedded clause of which λέγων forms the lone predicate component.

Secondary	cj	P	C	A	A	
	ὡς	ἐντυγχάνει	τῷ θεῷ	κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ	Embedded	P
						λέγων

A more substantial example of this can be found in Rom 13:9. There are two additions here that affect the subject component of the single clause that represents the whole verse. Codex Sinaiticus adds the extra commandment οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις into the list of commandments and also the verb ἐστιν later on. The full phrase in Codex Sinaiticus (with additions underlined) is τὸ γὰρ οὐ

μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα ἐστιν ἐντολή. These two additions require two additional embedded clauses to be added to the already complex subject component.[69]



4.3 *Wording Changes*

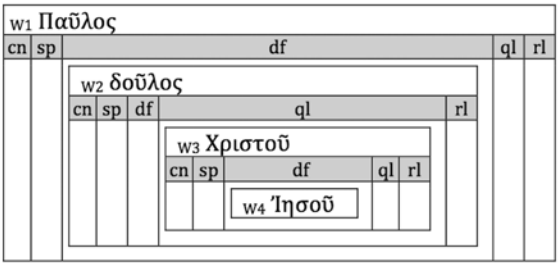
Some of the observed changes between the NA[28] text and Codex Sinaiticus involve individual word changes that do not require the word group or clause level annotation to be altered in any way, with the orthographic changes noted above included, this would be by far the largest category of changes in Codex Sinaiticus. These are often lexical changes such as in Rom 10:17, where διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ in NA[28] becomes διὰ ῥήματος θεοῦ in Codex Sinaiticus. Here the qualifier-qualified relation between ῥήματος and Χριστοῦ is the same for ῥήματος and θεοῦ, so no changes to the word group annotation are required beyond changing the word itself. Similarly, in Rom 8:35 in the word group ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Codex Sinaiticus replaces the Χριστοῦ in NA[28] with θεοῦ as a qualifier of ἀγάπης. The first clause of Rom 14:20 has an example of

69 This diagram only shows the subject component of the main clause. The full clause diagram can be seen here http://www.opentext.org/texts/NT/Rom/view/clause-ch13.vo.html.

a simple lexical change in the predicator with κατάλυε in NA[28] replaced by ἀπόλλυε in Codex Sinaiticus. This requires no changes to either level of annotation. Likewise, the last clause of Rom 9:26 τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται in NA[28] becomes τὸ κατάλειμμα σωθήσεται in Codex Sinaiticus. The S-P clause structure and specifier-specified dependency relations in the first word group are not affected by this purely lexical change. In Rom 3:19, there is another switch of verb from λέγει in NA[28] to λαλεῖ in Codex Sinaiticus, which has no impact on any of the linguistic annotation. Where wording changes are combined with related insertions, the insertion means that annotation changes will be required. There is an example of this in Rom 15:32, where διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ in NA[28] becomes διὰ θελήματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Codex Sinaiticus. This introduces no changes to the clause level annotation but at the word group level, Ἰησοῦ qualifies θελήματος in place of θεοῦ and Χριστοῦ is added as a definer of Ἰησοῦ.

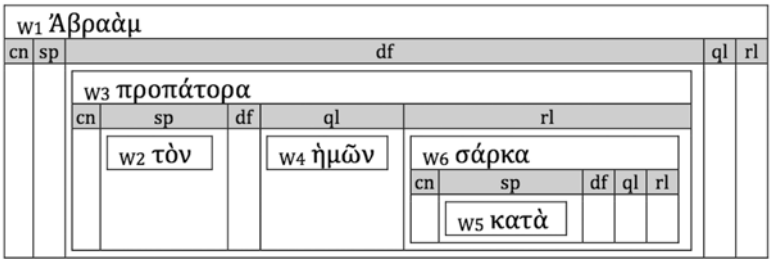
4.4 *Word Order Changes*

Word order changes can have an impact on the OpenText.org annotation at both clause and word group levels. Rom 1:1 is an example of a straightforward word order change that has minimal impact. NA[28] reads Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ whereas Codex Sinaiticus reads Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The word group annotation for the NA[28] text is below.

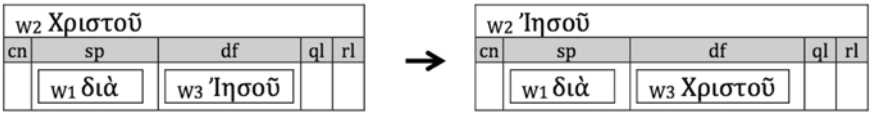


The word pair Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ is an example of two co-defining words that might be seen in equal relation to other. The definer relation captures this grammatical situation, and in the NA[28] annotation, Χριστοῦ is the head word modified by Ἰησοῦ to follow word order. The change in word order in Codex Sinaiticus results in a shift of these positions with Ἰησοῦ becoming the head and Χριστοῦ the defining modifier. Not all of the relations at word group level would be affected in this way by a change of word order. For example, if δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ became Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ δοῦλος, the qualifier relation would remain between δοῦλος and Χριστοῦ. This would be the same for words

with a relator relation. Consider the word group Ἀβραὰμ τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα in Rom 4:1, where there is such a relation between προπάτορα and σάρκα.



Imagine a word order change that placed κατὰ σάρκα before προπάτορα, that is, τὸν κατὰ σάρκα προπάτορα ἡμῶν. In this case the roles would be unchanged. The fourth word group relation, the specifier-specified role, such as that between τόν and προπάτορα, is unlikely to be found in alternate word orders for grammatical reasons. That is, it is not possible to have προπάτορα τόν and have the relation remain. Instead, the relation between the two words would need to be removed, as the article would no longer be acting as a specifier of προπάτορα. It therefore seems possible to derive mapping rules for the word group annotation changes needed to capture word order changes between the NA[28] text and a single manuscript. A slightly more complex version of the word order change in Rom 1:1 can be found in Rom 2:15. Here again we have an inversion of Χριστοῦ and Ἰησοῦ, but as part of the prepositional phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In this instance two "rewiring" changes are required: (1) the specifier-specified relation between διά and Χριστοῦ is now between διά and Ἰησοῦ, and (2) the roles in the definer-defined pair Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ are switched.



The first clause of Rom 15:2 is an example of a word order change that impacts the clause level annotation. The NA[28] text reads καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει and Codex Sinaiticus reads καὶ πάλιν λέγει Ἡσαΐας. The annotated clause structure is cj-A-S-P, so this change results in a cj-A-P-S structure, with the position of the predicator and subject components switched.

cj	A	S	P
καὶ	πάλιν	Ἡσαΐας	λέγει

→

cj	A	P	S
καὶ	πάλιν	λέγει	Ἡσαΐας

A similar example that results in a reordering of clause components is found in an embedded clause in Rom 15:32, where ἵνα ἐν χαρᾷ ἐλθών with a cj-A-P structure in NA[28] is changed to ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐν χαρᾷ, a cj-P-A structure, in Codex Sinaiticus. Word order changes such as these are most likely to have implications for the annotation when the words involved are head terms in their respective word groups. Therefore, these cases can be identified and changes attempted automatically, and then flagged for annotator verification.

More complex changes can also be required because of word order changes. An example of this can be seen in Rom 10:5. Here the word ὅτι is moved in Codex Sinaiticus to a position just a few words earlier in the verse, but the resulting syntactic changes require the reconfiguration of two clauses. The clause annotation for these two clauses in NA[28] is shown below.[70]

Primary 1	S	cj	P	A
	Μωϋσῆς	γὰρ	γράφει	τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου

Primary 2	cj	S			P	A
	ὅτι	Embedded 1	P	C	ζήσεται	ἐν αὐτοῖς
			ὁ ποιήσας	αὐτὰ		
		ἄνθρωπος				

In Codex Sinaiticus the word order is changed, with ὅτι being placed after the predicate of the first primary clause, changing the clause boundaries. Alongside this, perhaps even because of this, there are also changes to the structure of the second clause. The αὐτά in the embedded clause is omitted: its place is taken by τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου from the first primary clause. The final αὐτοῖς is also replaced by αὐτῇ, changing the antecedent from αὐτά to τὴν δικαιοσύνην. The clause annotation of this verse in Codex Sinaiticus is shown below.

70 In this example, the embedded clause in the subject of the second primary clause is a definer of ἄνθρωπος at the word group level.

Primary 1	S	cj	P
	Μωϋσῆς	γὰρ	γράφει

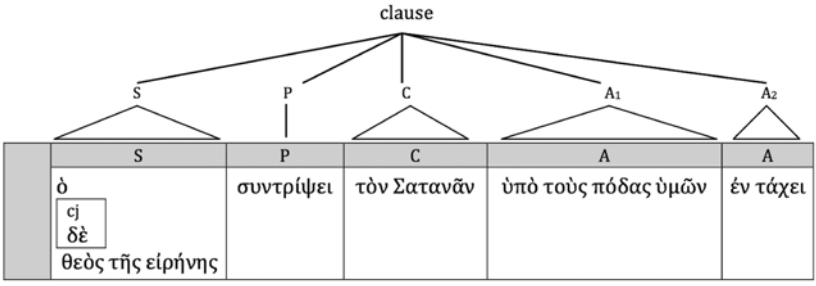
Primary 2	cj	S			P	A
	ὅτι	Embedded 1	C	P	ζήσεται	ἐν αὐτῇ
			τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου	ὁ ποιήσας		
		ἄνθρωπος				

This level of change is not possible to automate completely. However, since word order changes are typically signaled by the collation editor through pairs of omissions and additions of the same word within the same verse, it should be possible to identify places where this is happening and present them to an annotator for evaluation.

5 Mapping the Annotation

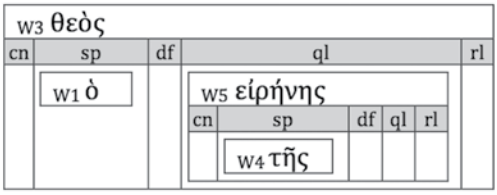
In the existing OpenText.org annotation, the clause and word group levels have been treated as related but separate streams of annotation. Part of the reason for this decision was that they capture different types of grammatical analysis. The clause annotation is a constituency analysis that uses a relatively flat hierarchy to capture the functional components in each clause. For example, in this clause from Rom 16:20, there are six components:

||S ὁ (cj δὲ) θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης |P συντρίψει |C τὸν Σατανᾶν |A ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν |A ἐν τάχει ||

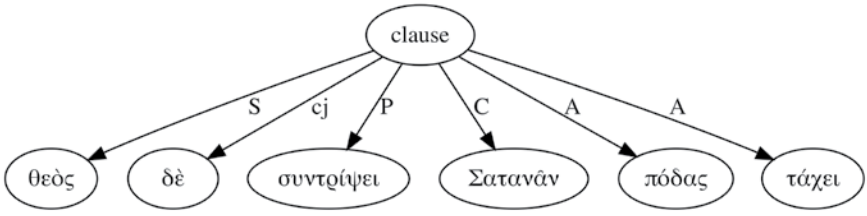


The word group level annotation, in contrast, is a dependency based analysis that captures the relations between pairs of words. For example, in the subject

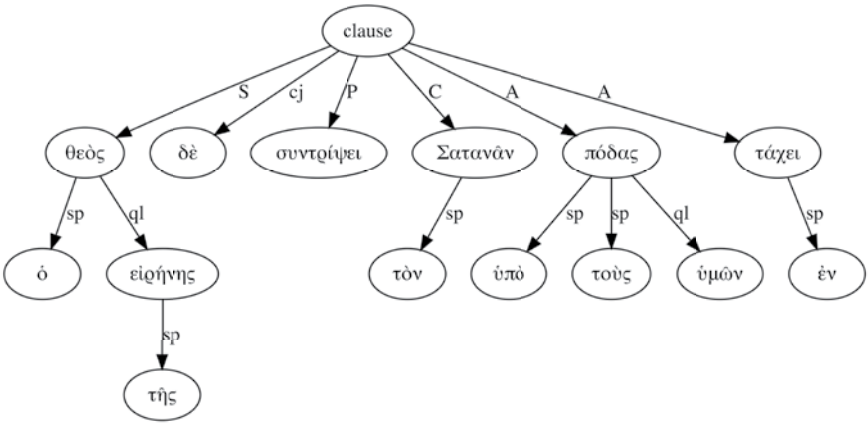
of this clause there is a single word group of which θεός is the head. This head term is modified in turn by ὁ, through a specifier relation, and εἰρήνης, through a qualifier relation. Finally, the qualifier εἰρήνης itself has a specifier in the form of the article τῆς.



These two levels of annotation could be integrated into a single dependency-based analysis. Under such an analysis, the clause would serve as the root node that would have links to the head terms of the word groups within the clause components:



Then the remaining words are linked to their head terms and the relation between them used as the label on the edge:



The same analysis is captured, but the second example offers a single dependency graph. This representation has particular advantages for adapting the annotation to different base texts. Further, it would open the possibility of capturing different annotations over different base texts in a single graph.

This evaluation of the scale of the challenge suggests that mapping the OpenText.org annotation to a single manuscript witness is an achievable goal. It has also highlighted that the nature and scale of the challenge will differ depending on the manuscript selected. The collation editor seems to do a good job of highlighting the nature of the differences that exist between two texts. Algorithms could also be established for working out which differences are most likely to be orthographic, and can therefore be ignored, and which will require closer inspection. Some elements of the annotation mapping processes could also be automated as detailed above. This study has also highlighted the need to look again at the XML structure used to store the annotation, with a view to moving towards a more flexible solution. In future work, we plan to explore the use of a full dependency style representation of the OpenText.org syntactical annotation with multiple base texts, to put the choice of text in the users' hands.

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CHAPTER 4

Überlegungen zur angeblichen Textverderbnis von Apg 17,27 (Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis) und zu Joh 8,25

Hans Förster[1]

1 Einleitung

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D 05) ist bekanntlich eine der wichtigsten Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. Es handelt sich um einen bilinguen Codex, der auf gegenüberliegenden Seiten jeweils griechischen und lateinischen Text der vier Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte bietet. Textkritisch ist dieser Text von außerordentlicher Bedeutung: Der griechische Text dieser Handschrift weist eine ganze Reihe von Eigenheiten auf, die in jedem einzelnen Fall einer genauen Überprüfung bedürfen, schließlich wurde der griechische Text anhand einer "vorzüglichen Handschrift des Frühtextes" an einer ganzen Reihe von Stellen von einem Redaktor umgestaltet. "Da, wo D *mit* der alten Überlieferung geht, hat die Handschrift wirkliche Bedeutung, wo sie *gegen* diese läuft, bedarf sie (einschließlich ihrer Vorgänger und Nachfolger) sorgfältiger Prüfung."[2] Gerade deswegen ist ein korrektes Verständnis des von dieser Handschrift überlieferten griechischen Textes von herausragender Bedeutung. Exemplarisch soll in diesem Beitrag gezeigt werden, dass die These, es handele sich bei dem Text von Apg 17,27, wie er sich in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis findet, und bei den Formulierungen von Joh 8,25b, die so in einer Vielzahl von Handschriften bezeugt werden, um einen "verderbten" Text, nicht auf eine korrekte grammatikalische Analyse des griechischen Textes aufbaut. Vielmehr wurde offensichtlich versucht, den in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis bezeugten lateinischen Text zumindest als korrekte Übersetzung des griechischen Textes dieses Codex zu deuten. Für Apg 17,27 wurde sogar die Frage aufgeworfen, ob nicht der griechische Text als direkt vom ebenfalls in Codex

1 Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojekts, das vom Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung finanziert wird (FWF-Projekt P28821; funded by the Austrian Science Fund). Die Herausgeber danken Michael R. Jost für seine Mitarbeit bei der formalen Korrektur des Beitrags.

2 Aland und Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 118–19.

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Bezae Cantabrigiensis überlieferten lateinischen Text beeinflusst zu verstehen sei. Für Apg 17,27 wird ein derartiger Einfluss durchaus explizit behauptet; für die Annahme, dass es sich bei Joh 8,25 um einen verderbten Text handeln könnte, ist dies implizit vorauszusetzen, da die lateinische Überlieferung dieser Passage durchaus nicht unproblematisch ist. Allerdings, dies ist an dieser Stelle vorauszuschicken, stimmt an dieser Stelle (Joh 8,25) der von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis überlieferte Text mit der sonstigen griechischen Überlieferung überein. Der lateinische Text von Joh 8,25 ist in der Tat schwer zu verstehen, der griechische Text (auch und besonders in der Form der Darbietung des Textes, wie er in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis bezeugt ist) ist jedoch korrektes und gut verständliches Griechisch. Hier hilft die Gestaltung der Handschrift dem Verständnis, sodass auch für Joh 8,25 einmal mehr die große Bedeutung des in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis überlieferten Textes unterstrichen wird. Es ist also zu zeigen, dass an den angegebenen Stellen der griechische Text keinesfalls vom lateinischen Text beeinflusst ist und auch keine wörtliche *und* korrekte Übersetzung des griechischen Textes durch den lateinischen Text geboten wird (für Apg 17,27 in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, für Joh 8,25 in der gesamten lateinischen Überlieferung). Die hier kritisierte Hypothese führte allerdings zu dem Ergebnis, dass der griechische Text der beiden Stellen als verderbt wahrgenommen wurde. Deswegen muss betont werden: Der griechische Text sollte als eigenständiger Text unabhängig vom lateinischen Text und sogar als potentielle Vorlage des lateinischen Textes wahrgenommen werden—damit sind die auf der lateinischen Überlieferung von Apg 17,27 aufbauenden Rückübersetzungsversuche, die dazu dienen sollen, den korrekten ursprünglichen Text dieser Stelle zu rekonstruieren, als methodisch jedenfalls problematisch zu bezeichnen. Dieser Forderung einer vorbehaltlosen Berücksichtigung der griechischen Überlieferung liegt im Falle von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis die nicht völlig abwegige Annahme zugrunde, dass eine griechische Handschrift des Neuen Testaments—selbst wenn es sich um den griechischen Teil einer Bilingue handelt—durchaus als verständliches Griechisch wahrgenommen werden möchte und auch als solches wahrgenommen wurde, wenn sich keine Korrekturen an der Stelle finden, die den modernen Interpreten als korrupt erscheint. Immerhin haben zahlreiche Korrektoren den griechischen Text von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis überarbeitet. Deswegen bedarf eine derartige Passage nur dann einer Interpretation oder Berichtigung durch die lateinische Parallele, wenn tatsächlich gesichert ist, dass der griechische Text nicht als korrekter Text verstanden werden kann. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass der Text grammatikalisch genau so konstruiert sein muss, wie die Interpreten dies von ihm erwarten. Allerdings ist es durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass trotzdem ein Teil der textlichen Probleme von

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis als tatsächliche Fehler identifiziert werden können, auch wenn man nach der hier vorgelegten Analyse von Apg 17,27 wohl nur noch unter Vorbehalt dem Urteil von James Hardy Ropes bezüglich Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis zustimmen können wird: "The codex … is badly written. On the Greek side the scribe is guilty of many obvious blunders and misspellings on nearly every page … In innumerable instances the endings are wrong, so that nonsense results, or, for instance, a pronoun does not agree in gender with the noun to which it refers.[3]" Zumindest bezüglich Apg 17,27 muss dieses Urteil korrigiert werden.

Die unsinnige Annahme, dass es sich bei Joh 8,25 um inkorrektes Griechisch handeln könnte (die Stelle galt in der exegetischen Diskussion unverständlicher Weise als "grundsätzlich verderbt" und "emendierender Korrekturen bedürftig[4]"), war andernorts berichtigt worden[5], sodass im vorliegenden Beitrag im ersten Teil eine kürzlich vorgetragene, problematische Korrekturhypothese zu Apg 17,27 vorgestellt und diese in ihren methodischen Zugängen sowie ihrer Prämisse als haltlos zurückgewiesen werden kann. Der zweite Teil des Beitrags wird die lateinische Überlieferung beider Stellen als Ursache für die "Entdeckung" eines "Problems" erweisen, das im griechischen Text nur dann existiert, wenn das Lateinische als direkte Entsprechung des Griechischen in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis aufgefasst wird. Dieses Ergebnis wirft die Frage auf, ob nicht auch weitere Stellen zu untersuchen sind, an denen der lateinischen Überlieferung bei der Interpretation des von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis bezeugten griechischen Textes zu viel Gewicht beigemessen wird.

2 Die Randglossenhypothese zu Apg 17,27

2.1 *Einleitung*

Grundsätzlich gilt die vom D-Text bezeugte Variante von Apg 17,27, soweit sie in der exegetischen Literatur behandelt wird, als grammatikalisch verderbt. Diese Textvariante scheint nur durch eine paraphrasierende Übersetzung[6]

3 Ropes, *Text of the Acts*, lxix.

4 Omanson, *Textual Guide*, 185, unter Verweis auf Beasley-Murray, *John*, 12; und Carson, *John*, 345–346: "The words of Jesus, Τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν, are an incomplete sentence. They have been called 'the most obscure sentence in the Gospel and the most uncertain how to translate.'"

5 Förster, "Überlegungen zur Grammatik von Joh 8,25."

6 Es handelt sich um μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν, was Clare K. Rothschild so überträgt: "Most things exist in order for [people] to seek the divine." Vgl. Rothschild, *Paul in Athens*, 33 Anm. 30.

bzw. einen Eingriff in den Text überhaupt verständlich. Nach dem neuesten Vorschlag von Robert M. Calhoun soll die Variante des D-Textes in Apg 17,27 am besten dadurch zu verstehen sein, dass hier ursprünglich eine Randglosse gestanden hätte, die nachträglich bei einem Kopiervorgang in den Text gewandert sei. Merkwürdig ist, dies ist bereits an dieser Stelle hervorzuheben, dass der durch die Randglosse grammatikalisch verderbte Text keinem der zahlreichen Korrektoren von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis als solcher aufgefallen ist.

Diese "Randglossenhypothese" bildet die Grundlage für die Forderung von Calhoun, dass andere Stellen dieses Codex auf die Möglichkeit vergleichbarer Veränderungen überprüft werden sollten: "Acts 17:27 may provide a clue regarding the editorial procedure behind the D-text, i.e., that at least in some cases the scribe/editor is working from a fund of existing corrections in order to revise the text. A single unit of variation cannot, of course, solve the mystery of the D-text's origin and relationship to other editions of Acts. However, it raises the question of whether the text exhibits similar errors elsewhere, which might cumulatively lead to new inquiry[7]." Gerade aufgrund der weitreichenden Forderungen, welche Calhoun aus seiner Hypothese ableitet, muss diese kritisch geprüft werden.

Die grundsätzliche Frage, die aufzuwerfen ist, besteht darin, ob es sich bei der Veränderung des Textes am Beginn von Apg 17,27 im D-Text tatsächlich um einen "Fehler" in der Handschrift handelt, für den vergleichbare "Fehler" gefunden werden können. Damit ist von der Sache her die Struktur des Beitrags vorgegeben. In einem ersten Schritt ist die textkritische Hypothese von Calhoun darzulegen und anhand handschriftlicher Beispiele auf ihre sachliche Angemessenheit zu überprüfen: Immerhin stellt die von ihm vorgeschlagene Randglosse in ihrer konkreten Ausgestaltung eine Hinzufügung zum Text dar, die so eigentlich in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung nicht zu erwarten ist. In einem zweiten Schritt sind die grammatikalischen Probleme dieser Stelle des D-Textes, wie sie in der Diskussion aufgezeigt werden, darzulegen. In einem dritten Schritt ist zu zeigen, warum gerade Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis aufgrund seiner kodikologischen Besonderheiten zur Annahme zwingt, dass es sich bei der Textvariante durchaus um verständliches und grammatikalisch korrektes Griechisch handelt. Eine darauf aufbauende grammatikalische Analyse der Passage, die dann die Grundlage für einen Übersetzungsvorschlag bildet, welcher ohne irgendwelche Ergänzungen oder Änderungen des Textes auszukommen vermag, zeigt, dass es sich um eine bewusste und theologisch durchaus tiefsinnige Veränderung des Textes durch den Redaktor von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis handelt. Die Hypothese von Calhoun wie auch seine

7 Calhoun, "D-Text of Acts 17:27," 233–34.

Annahme, dass der Text verderbt sei, sind dann auf der Basis dieser Analyse zurückzuweisen.

2.2 *Die Randglossenhypothese und griechische Codices mit neutestamentlichen Texten*

Zur "Lösung" der textlichen Probleme des D-Textes von Apg 17,27 schlägt Calhoun vor, dass es sich bei diesem Text ursprünglich um eine Randglosse gehandelt hätte, die als solche einen kompletten Satz dargestellt habe, welcher später in den Text hineingeraten sei. In der Randglosse habe gestanden: μάλιστα "ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν" ἐστιν. Damit habe ein Korrektor des Textes mitteilen wollen: "Besser ist Folgendes zu lesen: ‚das Göttliche zu suchen[8].'" Der Korrektor habe also angenommen, dass ein Leser verstünde, dass μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν eigentlich als μάλιστα "ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν" ἐστιν zu deuten sei. Diese Annahme ist nicht unproblematisch, schließlich widerspräche eine derartige "Randglosse" völlig dem, was bisher als Praxis der Korrekturen in griechischen Handschriften bekannt ist. Dabei sind mehrere Aspekte zu unterscheiden. Griechische Handschriften kennen keine Anführungszeichen oder ihnen entsprechende Zeichen—und nur mit Anführungszeichen ist eine derartige "Randglosse" verständlich. Das heißt, es müsste angenommen werden, dass an dieser Stelle eigentlich Folgendes stand: μάλιστά ἐστιν· ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖον. Dieses wäre dann nachträglich zu μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν transponiert worden. Schließlich wäre überhaupt nur bei dieser Reihung der Wörter—wobei dann die vorgeschlagene Textverbesserung (ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖον) durch Kolon von der Notiz, die eine Meinung des Korrektors zum Text angibt (μάλιστά ἐστιν·), getrennt würde—die Randglosse für einen antiken Leser verständlich[9]. In der von Calhoun vorgeschlagenen Form ist sie schlicht unverständlich.

Ferner sind Korrektoren meist nicht so zurückhaltend, wie von Calhoun angenommen, dass sie am Rande eine andere Lesart vorsichtig als "besser" charakterisieren würden, ohne dies im Text deutlich zu machen. Vielmehr greifen sie direkt in den Text ein, indem sie etwas am Rand notieren, Ergänzungen oder Streichungen vornehmen und dadurch eindeutig zum Ausdruck bringen,

8 Calhoun, "D-Text of Acts 17:27," 233: "If one removes the phrase from vv. 26–27, the unit of variation is itself a complete sentence μάλιστα 'ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν' ἐστιν, 'Certainly it [i.e., the correct reading] is <to seek the divine.>'"

9 Etwas irreführend ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass sich Calhoun auf Ulrich Schmid (ebd. Anm. 13) zur Bestätigung seiner These beruft; vgl. Schmid, "Scribes and Variants." Natürlich können "Randglossen" in den Text einfließen, allerdings sind die Randglossen, mit denen sich Schmid beschäftigt, von völlig anderer Qualität als die von Calhoun postulierte Glosse. Hierauf hätte hingewiesen werden müssen.

dass sie etwas für einen "besseren" Text halten, ohne dies ausdrücklich mit vielen Worten zu vermerken. Bei längeren Ergänzungen, welche zwischen den Zeilen keinen Platz finden, wird der Ort, an welchem der Text eingefügt werden soll, oft mit einem diakritischen Zeichen im Text markiert. Der Text der Ergänzung wird als Randglosse beigefügt. So geschieht dies zum Beispiel bei der Korrektur in P^{66} zu Joh 8,25. Der diakritische Strich vor τήν zeigt an, dass an dieser Stelle der am linken Rand kleiner geschriebene Text einzufügen ist.



FIGURE 4.1 *Papyrus P^{66} (Fol. 54; Ausschnitt*[10]*).*

Ein diakritisches Zeichen wird auch verwendet, um in Codex Sinaiticus (Mt 6,25) das Wort ὑμῶν nachträglich nach τῷ σώματι einzufügen.

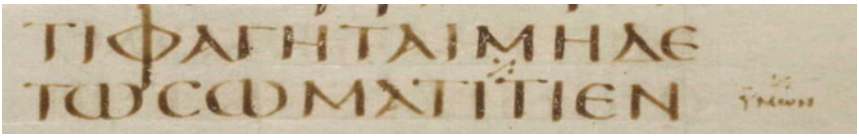


FIGURE 4.2 *Codex Sinaiticus (Fol. 202v; Sp. 3; vierte Zeile von unten*[11]*).*

Ein nicht gefallendes Wort—hier das Relativpronomen ὅ—wird in Codex Sinaiticus (Joh 7,21) einfach gestrichen. Das, was der Schreiber für korrekt hält, wird dann oberhalb der Zeile klein eingefügt.

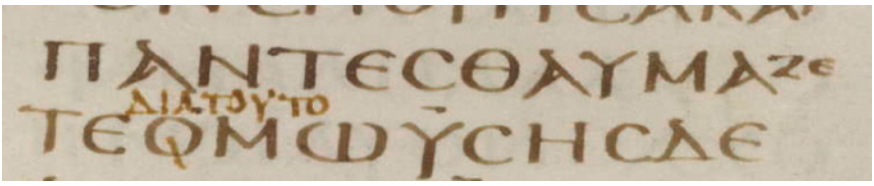


FIGURE 4.3 *Codex Sinaiticus (Fol. 25iv; Sp. 1, Z. 20–21*[12]*).*

10 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.
11 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.
12 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.

Auch in Bezae Cantabrigiensis werden einzelne Wörter nachgetragen. So zum Beispiel die Präposition πρός in Apg 5,9.

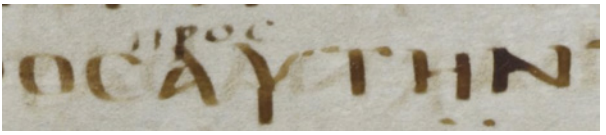


FIGURE 4.4 *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (*Fol. 431v; Z. 10*[13]).

In Apg 5,28 macht ein Korrektor aus τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου schlicht und einfach τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, indem er den ersten Teil des ursprünglichen Wortes ausradiert und (unter Beibehaltung der Verbalendung) das neue Demonstrativpronomen bildet.

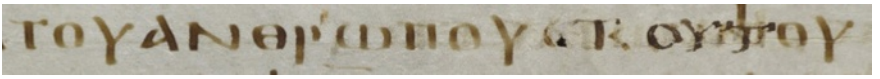


FIGURE 4.5 *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (*Fol. 433v; Z. 19*[14]).

Dieser kurze Überblick über die gängigen Formen, wie Anmerkungen und Korrekturen vermerkt werden, zeigt, dass die Lesarten der Handschriften in knapper, aber gut verständlicher Form kommentiert bzw. verbessert wurden. Im Regelfall ist die Korrektur "selbsterklärend." Die von Calhoun vorgeschlagene Randglosse ist hingegen zum einen erstaunlich lang und zum anderen in der vorgeschlagenen Form für einen antiken Leser aufgrund der fehlenden Anführungszeichen schlicht unverständlich. Gegen die These einer Randglosse, die eher versehentlich in den Text hineingekommen wäre, spricht auch, dass es sich offensichtlich um eine klar überlegte Überarbeitung der Passage handelt[15].

Grundsätzlich ist festzuhalten, dass auch das Pronomen im Konditionalsatz ausgetauscht wurde und das Partizip am Ende des Satzes durch ein anderes

13 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.

14 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.

15 Mit Schmid könnte man also von einer "editorial variant" sprechen. Schmid, "Scribes and Variants," 14, bezeichnet derartige Varianten auch als "place of multiple redactional variation."

Wort ersetzt und an einen anderen Ort transponiert worden ist. Diese Stelle hat in Folge auch zu zahlreichen Korrekturen der Handschrift Anlass gegeben, wie anhand der Abbildung von Apg 17,27 aus Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis sofort zu erkennen ist. Wenn man die ersten fünf Zeilen von fol. 489v betrachtet (mit Zeile 2 beginnt Apg 17,27), so fallen die zahlreichen Korrekturen in diesen Zeilen sofort ins Auge.

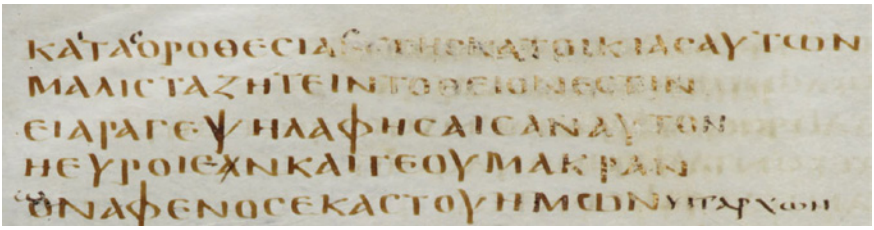


FIGURE 4.6 *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (*Fol. 489v; Z. 1–5*[16]).

Auffällig ist, dass sich trotz der zahlreichen Korrekturen in den umliegenden Zeilen keine Verbesserungen in Zeile 2 finden lassen. Doch, auch für Korrekturen gibt es Belege, die eine "bessere Lesart" vorschlagen, ohne dabei den vorhandenen Text zu tilgen: Falls nun anstelle eines einzelnen Wortes oder einer Phrase etwas anderes aus Sicht des Korrektors "besser zu lesen" ist, so wird dies mit Zeichen an der zu korrigierenden Stelle vermerkt und mit Hilfe dieser Zeichen ist dann die Korrektur am Rand der Handschrift sofort und eindeutig zuzuordnen. Somit ist unmissverständlich, dass in Mt 18,18 anstelle von εστε, das mit zwei nach oben zeigenden Pfeilen als Wort, für welches die Korrektur gilt, gekennzeichnet ist, besser der Text am unteren Rand des fol. 59v von Bezae Cantabrigiensis zu lesen ist.

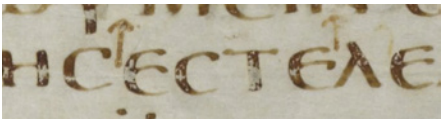


FIGURE 4.7 *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (*Fol. 59v; Z. 28*[17]).

16 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.

17 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.

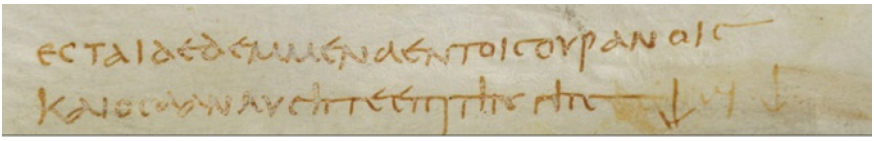


FIGURE 4.8 *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (*Fol. 59v; Korrektur; unterer Rand*[18]).

Die Korrektur ist eindeutig und verhindert—eben gerade durch diese Zeichen—jedes potentielle "Hineinrutschen" eines subjektiven Kommentars in den Text, der den Wert der Korrektur betreffen würde. Die Zeichen zeigen ohne den Gebrauch eines Wortes an, was geschehen muss, und verhindern damit eine Verwechslung von "Regieanweisung" und "Korrekturtext." Da dies die übliche Art ist, in der angezeigt wird, was "besser zu lesen" ist, muss allein aufgrund der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments bezweifelt werden, dass eine Korrektur, wie sie von Calhoun vermutet wird, existiert haben könnte. Jedenfalls bleibt Calhoun den Nachweis schuldig, dass eine Korrektur belegt wäre, die der von ihm vorgeschlagenen Korrektur vergleichbar wäre und als Vorbild für seinen Vorschlag dienen könnte. Für einen derartigen Vorschlag wäre es nämlich zwingend notwendig gewesen, Beispiele anzuführen, an denen sich vergleichbare Korrekturen finden.

Einmal hypothetisch angenommen, dass die zwei Wörter μάλιστα und ἐστίν tatsächlich "versehentlich" in den Text von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis hineingewandert wären, so wäre bereits bei einem Blick auf diese Handschrift die Frage aufzuwerfen, warum im hier interessierenden Abschnitt (17,27) an anderen Stellen korrigierend eingegriffen wurde, dieser scheinbar so offensichtliche "Fehler" jedoch von keinem der zahlreichen Korrektoren bemerkt und richtig gestellt wurde. Dies ist umso mehr zu fragen, als Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis gewisse Eigenarten aufweist, auf die im übernächsten Abschnitt noch einmal zurückzukommen ist. Als nächstes sind kurz die Probleme aufzuzeigen, welche in Apg 17,27 in dem von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis überlieferten Text gesehen werden, die eine derartige Hypothese zu erzwingen scheinen.

2.3 *Der Text von Apg 17,27 in der von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis überlieferten Fassung*

Da Apg 17,26–27 eine syntaktische Einheit darstellt, sollen diese beiden Verse zusammen betrachtet werden.

18 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 29.07.2015.

Novum Testamentum Graece[28]	**Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis**[a]
[26]ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος	ἐποίησέν ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος
ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς	ἀνθρώπου κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς
προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὁρίσας	προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὁρίσας
προστεταγμένους	προτεταγμένους (Korr: προστεταγμένους)
καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας	καιροὺς κατὰ ὁροθεσίαν (Korr: καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας)
τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν	τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν
[27]ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν,	μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν,
εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν	εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσαισαν
αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν,	αὐτὸ (Korr: αὐτὸν) ἢ εὕροισαν (Korr: εὕροιεν),
καίγε οὐ μακρὰν	καί τε[b] (Korr: γε) οὐ μακρὰν ὂν (Korr: ὢν)
ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα.	ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν (Korr. add.: ὑπάρχων)

a Text der 1. Hd.; die Korrekturen werden in Klammern vermerkt, ohne sie den einzelnen Korrektoren zuzuweisen. Akzente und Spiritus wurden gemäß griechischer Orthographie gesetzt, finden sich jedoch nicht in der Handschrift.
b Calhoun bietet an dieser Stelle γε.

Die Menge der Korrekturen ist selbst für Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis etwas ungewöhnlich. Nach Bruce Metzger ist diese Stelle verderbt: "It should be noted that the present text of codex Bezae … cannot be construed with the rest of the sentence and must be emended either by altering τό to ὅ (as Clark does in accord with the testimony of it[gig] and Irenaeus) or by deleting ἐστίν (as Ropes and Streeter prefer). In either case the presence of μάλιστα gives the impression that the reading is a secondary qualification."[19] Der Text kann also, so scheint es, nicht als grammatikalisch korrekt angesehen werden. In der von *Novum Testamentum Graece* gebotenen Version ist ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν parallel zu πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν konstruiert. Diese Konstruktion wird durch die eingefügten Wörter zerstört. Eine Korrektur scheint nötig.

19 Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 405–6. Dieser Einschätzung folgt Omanson, *Textual Guide*, 269: "It should be noted that the present text of Codex Bezae cannot be taken with the rest of the sentence and must be corrected in some way to make sense in the context."

Als weitere Erklärung der "dunklen" Stelle wird eine Haplographie vorgeschlagen[20]. All das kann jedoch die Problematik der vorliegenden Stelle nicht wirklich zufriedenstellend lösen. Deswegen muss und kann im Folgenden mit Berücksichtigung der Eigenarten von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis eine neue Lösung vorgeschlagen werden.

2.4 *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis als Schlüssel zum Verständnis von Apg 17,27*

Bei der bisherigen Diskussion wurde ein entscheidendes Charakteristikum von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis übersehen, das für das Verständnis der vorliegenden Stelle von Bedeutung ist: Bei diesem Codex handelt es sich um ein antikes Manuskript, dessen Darbietung des Textes auf Strukturierung von Sinneinheiten bedacht ist. Dies bedeutet, dass in diesem Codex die Zeilenumbrüche von besonderer, um nicht zu sagen von höchster Bedeutung sind. Eine mögliche Erklärung ist, dass sie in dieser Form als Sinnzeilen "zur besseren Verlesung im Gottesdienst[21]" geschrieben sind. Diese Sinnzeilen wurden auch schon einer tieferen Untersuchung unterzogen[22], sodass unverständlich bleibt, warum dieser Umstand bisher nicht für die Interpretation der fraglichen Stelle herangezogen wurde. Unter Berücksichtigung der Sinnzeilen ist es durchaus möglich, nach dem Ende von Apg 17,26 einen Punkt zu setzen und mit 17,27 eine neue Einheit beginnen zu lassen. In diesem Fall bilden die fünf Wörter der ersten Zeile eine syntaktische Einheit. Der ursprüngliche Text dieser Stelle sieht somit folgendermaßen aus: Μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖον ἔστιν, εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσαισαν αὐτὸ ἢ εὕροισαν, καί τε[23] οὐ μακρὰν ὂν ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν. Übersetzt werden kann dies wie folgt: "Vor allem ist das Göttliche zu suchen, ob sie es denn fühlen oder finden könnten, und es ist fürwahr nicht fern von einem jeden von uns." Dies kann man dann natürlich auch unter Berücksichtigung des gesamten Bedeutungsspektrums von εἰμί[24] so

20 Vgl. Rius-Camps und Read-Heimerdinger, *Message of Acts in Codex Bezae*, 334. (Calhoun, "D-Text of Acts 17:27," 230 Anm. 1 verweist fälschlich auf 324): "Between ζητεῖν and τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν a word has been omitted in D05 through haplography, either τί (Zahn, p. 616, n. 74) or ὅ (Delbecque, *Les deux actes*, p. 108)."

21 So Aland und Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 118.

22 Vgl. Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 73–119.

23 An dieser Stelle würde γε tatsächlich besser passen.

24 Vgl. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* εἰμί I.7. Dass in Apg 17,27 ἔστιν ausnahmsweise mit einer proleptischen Infinitivkonstruktion gebildet wird, sollte nicht dazu zwingen, diese Konstruktion als gegen die griechische Syntax gebildet zu beurteilen. Dies ist jedoch implizit mit der Behauptung verbunden, dass der Text, wie er in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis steht, unverständlich sei. Für eine derartige Behauptung reicht

übersetzen: "Vor allem: es ist möglich, Gott zu suchen…" Damit wäre allerdings Apg 17,26–27 im D-Text keine syntaktische Einheit mehr. Vielmehr wären Apg 17,26 und Apg 17,27 im Gegensatz zur sonstigen Überlieferung jeweils eigenständige syntaktische Konstruktionen. Die (offensichtlich fehlerhafte) Annahme, dass Apg 17,26–27 unbedingt eine syntaktische Einheit sein müsse, dürfte überhaupt erst die Grundlage dafür gelegt haben, dass der Text als unverständlich angesehen wurde.

Die Verwendung des substantivierten Adjektivs im Neutrum an dieser Stelle, die zur Rede des Paulus auf dem Areopag gehört, schafft noch einmal Distanz zu dem "unbekannten Gott" (Apg 17,23), dem ein Altar aufgestellt ist. Der christliche Gott ist nicht einfach mit diesem Gott identisch. Dieser Altar, welcher dem unbekannten Gott geweiht ist, dient nur als Ausgangspunkt für Paulus, um von der christlichen Gotteserkenntnis zu sprechen. Bei diesem Verständnis von Apg 17,27 (D) ist die Änderung des Textes theologisch durchaus als sinnvoll zu bezeichnen. Ferner ist ein Text, der vor allem vorgelesen wird, dann leichter zu verstehen, falls er nicht zu komplizierte und zu lange Satzkonstruktionen aufweist. Dies hat der Redaktor von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in kunstvoller Weise durch seinen Eingriff in den griechischen Text bewirkt. Anstelle einer langen und den Hörer unter Umständen ermüdenden Konstruktion sind durch winzige Änderungen zwei Sätze entstanden, welche weit einfacher für einen antiken Hörer verständlich gewesen sein dürften als die Variante des Textes, die im *Novum Testamentum Graece* geboten wird. Der Redaktor des griechischen Textes der Apostelgeschichte, wie er in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis bezeugt ist, hat in Apg 17,27 in kunstvoller Weise den Text umgestaltet. Dies muss—obwohl letztlich nur marginale Änderungen vorgenommen wurden—als bewusste und mehrere Zeilen übergreifende[25] Neugestaltung des Textes angesehen werden. Mit Erstaunen fragt der Textkritiker, warum an dieser Stelle ein verderbter Text anzunehmen sein soll, dem nur mit angeblichen Korrekturvorschlägen am Rand einer Handschrift abgeholfen werden könne, deren Existenz in der vorgeschlagenen Form durch keine antike griechische Handschrift gestützt wird. Die "Randglossenhypothese" von Calhoun

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die Abweichung von der griechischen Syntax nicht aus, auch wenn im Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament an der zitierten Stelle betont wird, dass grundsätzlich der Infinitiv auf ἔστιν folge.

25 Rius-Camps und Read-Heimerdinger, *Message of Acts in Codex Bezae*, 334: "The explanation that τὸ θεῖον was written under the influence of its occurrence in 17.29b is unsatisfactory, for it is in fact part of a wider unit of variation, to which belongs also the neuter pronoun αὐτό in the following conditional clause, and the neuter participle ὄν in the final concessive clause."

ist also nicht dazu angetan, das Verständnis von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis zu vertiefen. Dies zeigt einmal mehr, wie gefährlich es ist, die Tatsache zu unterschätzen, dass es sich beim Schreiber und den Korrektoren von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis um gut ausgebildete Spezialisten gehandelt hat, die ihre Sprache und die Verschriftlichung dieser Sprache durchaus beherrschten—und sie offensichtlich sogar besser beherrschten als die, welche den griechischen Text von Apg 17,27 in der von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis dargebotenen Form als "verderbt" bezeichnet haben. Schließlich wurde der in der exegetischen Diskussion kritisierte Text *nicht* von den antiken Schreibern korrigiert.

3 Die lateinische Überlieferung als mögliche Ursache der wahrgenommenen Probleme

An dieser Stelle soll nun die These aufgestellt werden, dass die lateinische Überlieferung der jeweiligen Stellen den direkten Blick auf die griechische Konstruktion verstellt haben könnte. Dies könnte eine mögliche Ursache dafür sein, dass Probleme im griechischen Text wahrgenommen wurden, die dort in dieser Form nicht zu finden sind, die jedoch den im lateinischen Text zu konstatierenden textuellen Schwierigkeiten durchaus entsprechen. Zuerst ist dies anhand von Joh 8,25 aufzuzeigen, danach ist auf Apg 17,27 einzugehen.

3.1 *Joh 8,25 vor dem Hintergrund der lateinischen Überlieferung*

Wie bereits erwähnt, stellt Joh 8,25 die Exegeten vor ein höchst schwieriges Problem. Der Anschein, dass der Text nur mit Hilfe von Eingriffen verständlich ist, täuscht jedoch. Grundsätzlich gilt, dass der lateinische Text (so auch der lateinische Text von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis) von Joh 8,25b zu Beginn der wörtlichen Rede Jesu schlicht unverständlich ist: *Dicebant ergo illi tu quis es. Dicit illis ihs: initium quoniam et loquor vobis*. Das lateinische Wort *initium* überträgt wörtlich das von Omanson (vgl. oben in der Einleitung) als problematisch angesehene τὴν ἀρχὴν, das die wörtliche Rede zu eröffnen scheint[26]. Dieser Eindruck wird durch die lateinische Übersetzung bestätigt. Das Wort *initium* ist ein Neutrum und kann grundsätzlich sowohl als Nominativ wie als Akkusativ verstanden werden. Da nun Jesus sowohl Subjekt der Rahmenhandlung wie Subjekt der wörtlichen Rede ist, existiert bereits ein Subjekt. Da es sich bei den finiten Formen *dicit* und *loquor* um Verben handelt, bei denen kein Prädikatsnomen Verwendung findet, kann *initium* nur als

26 Dies ist auch die in der Predigt des Johannes Chrysostomus zu dieser Stelle vorgenommene Abteilung des Textes.

Akkusativ verstanden werden—und als solcher Akkusativ Singular ist *initium* schlicht unverständlich und wird meist der wörtlichen Rede zugeordnet. Dies erweckt den Eindruck, als ob bereits das Griechische entsprechende grammatikalische Probleme aufweisen würde, schließlich gilt es als die Vorlage des Lateinischen. Dem ist jedoch nicht so. Hier bestehen feine semantische Unterschiede zwischen dem Lateinischen und dem Griechischen. In adverbialer Verwendung wäre im Lateinischen entweder der reine Ablativ (*initio*) oder eine präpositionale Wendung (*ab initio*) zu erwarten. In dieser Funktion kann nun das Griechische bekanntlich den Akkusativ verwenden. Es wurde bereits gezeigt, dass es sich bei τὴν ἀρχὴν um ein Adverbial handelt, das zweifellos und eindeutig der Rahmenerzählung zuzuordnen ist. Der griechische Text ist damit so darzustellen: Ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ· σὺ τίς εἶ; εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν ἀρχήν· ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν. Dies löst alle grammatischen Probleme der "höchst schwierigen Stelle" und macht auch Joh 8,25b zu einem durchaus sinnvollen Griechisch, das dem Übersetzer keine nennenswerten Schwierigkeiten bereiten sollte. Am Rande darf erwähnt werden, dass ὅτι (und so wird es im *Novum Testamentum Graece* gedeutet, auch wenn die hier vorgeschlagene Transkription die Zeichenverbindung als Relativpronomen im Neutrum Singular deutet) durchaus in der Lage ist, als ὅτι-*recitativum* indirekte *und* direkte Rede einzuleiten[27]. Auch dies legt eine Zuordnung von τὴν ἀρχήν zur Rahmenerzählung nahe. Der griechische Text als solcher ist mit einer Deutung des ὅτι als ὅτι-*recitativum* durchaus verständlich, selbst wenn man Handschriften wie Bezae Cantabrigiensis ignoriert, wo das Adverbial eindeutig der Rahmenerzählung zugeordnet wird, sodass an der Abteilung der Sätze nicht der geringste Zweifel bestehen kann. Deshalb wird man folgern müssen, dass die Schwierigkeiten, welche die Exegeten an dieser Stelle gesehen haben, durch eine einseitige Rezeption der lateinischen Überlieferung verursacht oder zumindest massiv verstärkt wurden. Diese Berücksichtigung der (an dieser Stelle problematischen) lateinischen Überlieferung verstellte offensichtlich den Blick dafür, dass der griechische Text (im Gegensatz zum lateinischen Text dieser Stelle in seinen verschiedenen Varianten[28]) verständlich ist.

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27 Blass und Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 470.1: "Da die indirekte Redeform volkstümlichen Erzählern und so auch den ntl Erzählern nicht liegt, folgt auf ὅτι gewöhnlich nicht nur Ind. statt Opt., sondern auch genaue Nachbildung direkter Redeform, so daß dieses ὅτι die Rolle unseres Anführungszeichens vertritt (ὅτι *recitativum*)."

28 An dieser Stelle darf festgehalten werden, dass auch die übrige lateinische Überlieferung mit dieser Stelle ihre Schwierigkeiten hat. So findet sich anstelle von *initium* auch *principium* (Vulgata) oder *inprimis* (so z.B. Codex Veronensis, b). All das stimmt jedoch nicht mit dem griechischen Text der Stelle überein.

3.2 *Apg 17,26–27 und die lateinische Überlieferung von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis*

Die lateinische Überlieferung von Apg 17,26–27 ist höchst aufschlussreich. Dies zeigt der Vergleich zwischen dem Text von Bezae Cantabrigiensis (*d* 05) und dem der Vulgata. Ein Vergleich kommt zu folgendem Ergebnis: Ganz offensichtlich ist der lateinische Text von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis an den griechischen Text angelehnt, er ist jedoch keinesfalls eine direkte Übersetzung bzw. keine genaue Übersetzung des griechischen Textes. Der lateinische Text von *d* 05 folgt an der hier interessierenden Stelle (Anfang von Apg 17,27) in der grammatikalischen Makrostruktur von Apg 17,26–27 der Version der Vulgata, während gleichzeitig einzelne Elemente der Mikrostruktur aus dem in Bezae Cantabrigiensis überlieferten griechischen Text an dieser Stelle ins Lateinische übernommen werden. Dies ist durch den Vergleich zu zeigen.

Apg 17:26–27 (Bezae Cantabrigiensis)	**Apg 17:26–27 (Vulgata)**
fecit ex uno sanguine omnem nationem	*fecitque ex uno omne genus*
hominum inhabitare super omnem	*hominum inhabitare super universam*
faciem terrae cum definisset imperata	*faciem terræ definiens statuta*
tempora et determinationes inhabitationes	*tempora et terminos habitationis*
eorum quaerere quod diuinum est	*eorum quærere Deum*
si forte tractent illud inueniant quidem	*si forte adtractent eum aut inveniant quamvis*
non longe ab unoquoque nostrorum.[a]	*non longe sit ab unoquoque nostrum.*

a Für die Transkription vgl. http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/810 und 812; Zugriff 08.09.2015.

Auf der Mikroebene folgt der lateinische Text von *d* 05 an zahlreichen Stellen den Textvarianten, die vom griechischen Text des Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis bezeugt werden. Um diese enge Verbindung nachzuweisen, reicht ein kurzes Beispiel aus der vorliegenden Passage: So bietet *d* anstelle von *ex uno omne genus hominum* als Text *ex uno sanguine omnem nationem hominum* und überträgt damit (weitgehend) D ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπου; der in D bezeugte Genitiv Singular (ἀνθρώπου) wird jedoch nicht übertragen, die enklitische Partikel τέ, welche in D ausgelassen wird, fehlt entsprechend im Text von *d* (und entspricht *-que* in der Vulgata). Ganz offensichtlich besteht also ein gewisses Naheverhältnis zwischen D und *d*.

Wie oben gezeigt wurde, beginnt in Apg 17,27 in der von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis bezeugten griechischen Lesart ein neuer Satz, während die Infinitivkonstruktion in der gemeinhin bezeugten Lesart den Text von Apg 17,26 fortsetzt. Damit ist offensichtlich, dass der lateinische Text den griechischen Text von Bezae Cantabrigiensis dahingehend rezipiert, dass die Ersetzung des Nomens θεός durch das substantivierte Neutrum τὸ θεῖον nachvollzogen wird. Die Kopula ἐστίν dient dem Übersetzer / Redaktor des lateinischen Textes als Indikator dafür, dass an dieser Stelle ein Relativsatz vorliegen könnte. Es ist bezeichnend, dass für Apg 17,27 bei Irenäus, der *quaerere illud quod est divinum* (Adv. haer. 3,12,9) bezeugt, nur eine lateinische Überlieferung existiert. Bei Irenäus wie auch im lateinischen Text des Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis fehlt μάλιστα. Daraus folgert Ropes: "Can the superfluous εστιν D be a survival, in a changed position, of the reading in the later part of the sentence ευροισαν (-οιεν) τις εστιν implied by hcl.*mg*? But cf. the similar case in XXI. 21 τους κατα εθνη εισιν ιουδαιους D, where εισιν seems introduced in order to complete the parallelism with the Latin[29]." Mit der hier von Ropes ausdrücklich vertretenen Hypothese, dass der griechische Text von Bezae Cantabrigiensis bemüht sein könnte, dem lateinischen Text zu entsprechen, wird natürlich der Blick dafür verstellt, den griechischen Text von Bezae Cantabrigiensis als *korrekten* griechischen Text zu verstehen. Zumindest für Apg 17,27 konnte oben zweifelsfrei gezeigt werden, dass sich der lateinische Text von Bezae Cantabrigiensis dem griechischen Text annähert, ohne ihm jedoch völlig zu entsprechen. Eigentlich hätte bereits die nicht aufgrund des lateinischen Textes erklärbare Hinzufügung von μάλιστα sowie das Fehlen einer eindeutigen Relativkonstruktion[30] eine derartige Hypothese verhindern müssen. Nichtsdestoweniger liegt dieser Hypothese die Annahme zugrunde, dass der griechische Text von Apg 17,27 in der Version des Bezae Cantabrigiensis unverständlich sei. Da gezeigt wurde, dass der Text als gutes Griechisch verständlich ist, darf für Apg 17,27 eine Abhängigkeit des griechischen Textes vom lateinischen Text bei Bezae Cantabrigiensis als fehlerhafte Hypothese zurückgewiesen werden. Das Gegenteil könnte tatsächlich in Bezae Cantabrigiensis Apg 21,21 der Fall sein. Dort wird allerdings der ursprüngliche Text, der in der Tat verderbt ist (τους κατα εθνη εισιν ιουδαιοις), durch den Korrektor zu τους κατα τα εθνη παντας ιουδαιυος korrigiert.

29 Ropes, *Text of the Acts*, 169.

30 Auf Irenäus aufbauend wurde eine Emendierung durch eine Einfügung von ὅ bzw. τί diskutiert.

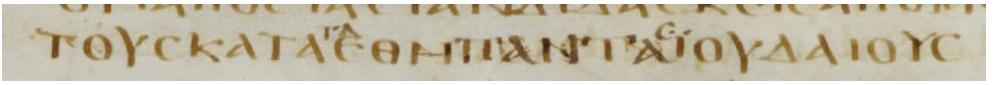


FIGURE 4.9 *4.Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (*Fol. 505v; Apg 21,21*[31])

Mit diesem Beispiel (Apg 21,21) ist jedoch noch einmal das Ergebnis der vorliegenden Untersuchung bestätigt: Da in Apg 17,27 (Bezae Cantabrigiensis) im Gegensatz zu Apg 21,21 (Bezae Cantabrigiensis) nicht in den griechischen Text eingegriffen wurde, ist zwingend davon auszugehen, dass für die Korrektoren des griechischen Textes dieser Handschrift der griechische Text gut verständlich war. Dies ist eine ausreichende Ermutigung, den Text tatsächlich so stehen zu lassen, wie er ist. Schließlich stellt er in dieser Form gutes Griechisch dar. Allerdings weicht er von der lateinischen Übersetzung ab, wie sie in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis zu finden ist—oder, um es korrekter zu formulieren: "Der lateinische Text ist vom griechischen abhängig[32]," er folgt jedoch *nicht immer* dem griechischen Text von Bezae Cantabrigiensis vollständig. Vielmehr lässt sich zeigen, dass der lateinische Übersetzer die grammatikalischen Umstrukturierungen des griechischen Textes manchmal nicht in allen Feinheiten verstanden hat, so diese größere Einheiten betreffen. In einem derartigen Fall (Apg 17,27) verwendet er eine paraphrasierende Übersetzung, die mit Hieronymus in der Formulierung seines Briefes an Pammachius als "sensum de sensu[33]" im Gegensatz zur wörtlichen Übertragung bezeichnet werden kann. Dies war eine durchaus übliche antike Übersetzungspraktik bei der Übertragung biblischer Texte, die jedoch bei der Analyse biblischer Handschriften vor allem dann zu berücksichtigen ist, wenn von antiken Übersetzungen auf nicht mehr existente griechische Vorlagen geschlossen wird. Eine derartige Vorlage hat zumindest im Fall von Apg 17,27 so nie existiert, weil eben der Übersetzer / Redaktor des lateinischen Textes "dem Sinne nach"—man würde heute von paraphrasierend sprechen—übertragen bzw. an das Griechische angeglichen hat.

31 VMR des INTF (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace); Zugriff 09.09.2015.

32 Aland und Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 118.

33 Vgl. hierzu Bartelink, *Hieronymus*, 44–49; vgl. ferner grundsätzlich Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*.

4 Ergebnis

Als Ergebnis wird man also bezüglich der beiden hier diskutierten Stellen aus Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis ein bekanntes Wort von Kurt und Barbara Aland leicht umformulieren müssen: "Die Lösung von Schwierigkeiten im Text," wie er von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis geboten wird, "durch eine Konjektur oder die Annahme von Glossen, Interpolationen usw. an Stellen, wo die Textüberlieferung keine Brüche aufweist," bzw. wo keine Korrekturen im Text zu finden sind, "sollte nicht gestattet sein, sie bedeutet eine Kapitulation vor den Problemen bzw. eine Vergewaltigung des Textes[34]." Dies gilt auch dann, wenn grundsätzlich der berechtigte Eindruck existiert, dass zahlreiche Fehler in einer Handschrift verblieben sind[35].

Bei Joh 8,25 und Apg 17,27 handelt es sich um Stellen, deren griechischer Text in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis durchaus verständlich ist, deren lateinische Übersetzung in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (Apg 17,27) bzw. in der gesamten lateinischen Überlieferung (Joh 8,25) jedoch grammatikalisch problematisch ist. Da für diese griechischen Passagen eben die Probleme angenommen wurden, welche diese Stellen in der lateinischen Überlieferung unverständlich machen, liegt der Schluss nahe, dass im vorliegenden Fall der Eigenständigkeit der griechischen Überlieferung von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (im Fall von Apg 17,27) bzw. der Eigenständigkeit des Griechischen (im Fall von Joh 8,25) nicht genügend Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde. Da es sich grundsätzlich beim Lateinischen um die Zielsprache der Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments handelt, ist dies ein erstaunliches Ergebnis. Einmal mehr wäre damit bezüglich der griechischen Vorlage von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis hinsichtlich Apg 17,27 gezeigt: "offensichtlich hat hier ein bedeutender Theologe durch Zufügungen, Streichungen und Neuformulierungen den Text (insbesondere von Luk und Apg) umgestaltet[36]." Diese Umgestaltungen in allen ihren Feinheiten zu verstehen, ist offensichtlich bis heute eine Herausforderung. Am Ende muss die Frage aufgeworfen werden, für wen das harte Urteil von Ropes eigentlich gilt: "Blunders such as these sometimes give the impression of a

34 Aland und Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 284.

35 Vgl. Ropes, *Text of the Acts*, lxx: "It has been suggested that many of these errors may be due to some stage in the ancestry of the codex in which a copy was made from a papyrus text with easily misunderstood abbreviations for terminations (τ᾽ for την, etc.). Nothing forbids this suggestion, but it likewise implies an ignorant, if not a careless, scribe, and many mistakes thus made ought subsequently to have been corrected by any competent later copyist."

36 Aland und Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 118.

writer who understood Greek imperfectly, and some of them suggest that the *look* of a Greek word did not infallibly present to him a combination of sounds with which he was familiar[37]." Am Rande sei bemerkt, dass die beiden Stellen, auf die sich Ropes hier bezieht (Apg 3,26 und Apg 14,20), ebenfalls als korrektes Griechisch verstanden werden können, falls man bereit ist, dem Schreiber von Codex Bezae Cantabrigiens is eine philologische (und auch theologische) Eigenständigkeit zuzugestehen. Dies darzulegen, würde den Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags sprengen. Dies wird an einem anderen Ort geschehen.

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CHAPTER 5

Restoring a Vernacular Form of the Word for "Glass" in the Text of Revelation[1]

John A. L. Lee

1 The NT Examples

The word for "glass," ὕαλος (-ου, ἡ, rarely ὁ), and its related adjective ὑάλινος (-η, -ον) occur five times in the New Testament in the Book of Revelation, as follows:

> Rev 4:6 καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα *ὑαλίνῃ* ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ.
> Rev 15:2a, b καὶ εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν *ὑαλίνην* μεμιγμένην πυρὶ καὶ τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν *ὑαλίνην* ἔχοντας κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ.
> Rev 21:18 καὶ ἡ ἐνδώμησις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἴασπις καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὅμοιον *ὑάλῳ* καθαρῷ.
> Rev 21:21 καὶ ἡ πλατεῖα τῆς πόλεως χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὡς *ὕαλος* διαυγής.

So reads the text in the current Nestle-Aland 28th edition (2013). The existence of any variant to ὕαλος and ὑάλινος is not signaled in the apparatus or in "Appendix II: Variae lectiones minores."[2] These have been the prevailing readings for the past five centuries, sometimes with, but mostly without, notice of any variant reading, as the following brief list illustrates:[3]

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1 This paper was presented in earlier forms at a seminar at Macquarie University, Sydney in 2007, and in a lecture in the Divinity Faculty, Cambridge in 2015. I am grateful to the participants in the latter for their feedback, especially Jim Aitken, Dirk Jongkind, Anne Thompson, and Peter Williams. I also thank Michael Curran for raising a number of astute points. It is a pleasure to offer this paper in honor of Stan Porter and his huge contribution to the study of the Greek of the New Testament.

2 NA28, 834–35.

3 I use the abbreviation v.l. for "variant reading."

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Von Soden (1902–1913): ὑαλ- in text, v.l. ὑελ-
Westcott and Hort (1881–1882): ὑαλ- in text, no v.l.[4]
Tischendorf (8 ed. maior, 1872): ὑαλ- in text, v.l. ὑελ-.
Lachmann (1846): ὑαλ- in text, no v.l.
Tregelles (1844): ὑαλ- in text, no v.l.
Stephanus (3rd ed., 1550; ap. Hoskier): ὑαλ- in text.
Erasmus (1516): ὑαλ- in text.
Complutensian Polyglot (1514): ὑελ- in text.

The existence of variant readings with the forms ὕελος and ὑέλινος emerges in the apparatus of the editions of von Soden and Tischendorf.[5] The variants appear at all five occurrences and are witnessed to by a large number of manuscripts, as can be found by consulting the apparatus of those editions. A comprehensive listing can also be found in the massively detailed work of Hoskier.[6] No edition, however, has taken the ὑελ- forms into the text since the Complutensian of 1514.

2 The ὑαλ- and ὑελ- Readings

The number of MSS of Revelation is small compared with other books, and the great majority are minuscules. According to the most recent tally by Elliott, the text of Revelation appears in 303 MSS, of which only 11 are uncials.[7] Of the latter there are only three from the fourth and fifth centuries CE, namely ℵ, A, and C (B is not extant here); the minuscules date from the tenth century onwards.[8] The tallies are less important here than the fact that the ὑελ- variant is not found in any MS older than the tenth century, while the ὑαλ- form is the reading of the much older uncials, as well as many minuscules.

A decision was made early to adopt the ὑαλ- form in the text of the printed editions. Only the Complutensian editors printed the ὑελ- form, no doubt

4 Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, have no v.l. in the critical apparatus, but see Appendix under "Notes on Orthography. Changes of Vowels, A and E" (2:150) where they say: "ὕελος (Ap^2) and ὑέλινος (Ap^3) are found only in cursives."

5 Von Soden, *Die Schriften*; Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, editio octava critica maior.

6 Hoskier, *Concerning the Text*. Cf. Elliott, "Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation Collated by H. C. Hoskier." There is detailed notice of variants also in Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, 2:227–385, *in locc*.

7 Elliott, "Distinctiveness of the Greek Manuscripts."

8 Hoskier, *Concerning the Text*, 1:11, 22.

following the MSS they were using.[9] Erasmus's reading ὑαλ- derives from the single MS he used.[10] In the nineteenth century when the *textus receptus* was being reassessed, no editor took the ὑελ- reading seriously and some regarded it as not worth reporting, as is still the case in NA28. The reason was presumably the assumption that, since the ὑελ- reading was found only in late MSS, it was a late reading, that is, a late entry into the tradition, caused by corruption of an original ὑαλ-; the witness of the great uncials was probably decisive. With this perhaps went a tacit assumption that the ὑελ- form itself was a late development in the history of Greek, that is, a secondary form arising in medieval times, or at any rate after the time of the NT. We are about to see that both assumptions are unsound and the reading in our current critical editions deserves reassessment. At the very least, the variant will be found worthy of mention.

3 History of the ὑελ- Form

The attestation of our words in Greek is as old as Mycenaean, where there is an adjectival form on a tablet older than 1200 BCE.[11] The noun ὕαλος is then attested from Herodotus and Aristophanes onwards, with a large group of compounds and derivatives: ὑάλεος, ὑαλοῦς, ὑάλινος, ὑαλοειδής, ὑαλουργός, etc.[12] The form in -α- is unambiguously attested early, in Mycenaean and in Corinna (sixth century BCE; see quotation in §4). This is the common form in most of the occurrences of this group of words in Classical and later literature. The group continues into Modern Greek, with ὑαλ- as standard, and includes the well-known word for "glasses," γυαλιά.

Forms in -ε- appear sporadically in the MS traditions of Classical and later authors.[13] Editors have usually rejected them in favor of the standard (Attic)

9 These are not exactly known, but the reading could help in the identification. It was the lemma ὕελος in the Complutensian *lexicon* of the NT (not the text) that first alerted me to the variant and led ultimately to this paper.

10 MS 32814 (twelfth century CE). I have confirmed that it reads ὑαλ- via http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de. I owe the identification of the MS to Krans, "Erasmus and the Text of Revelation 22:19," 1.

11 Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 590 (cf. 502): "*we-a2-re-jo*, PY 244 = Ta 714 [Pylos]. Nom. sing. masc., adj. describing tables and chairs: *hualeios* (or sim.) 'of or decorated with rock-crystal.'" Cf. ὑάλεος.

12 See LSJ, *s.vv.*; Beekes and Beek, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2:1524. There are at least 20 derivatives.

13 LSJ's presentation (p. 1840, cf. 1846), though chaotic, gives some idea.

form, as in Herodotus where the noun occurs twice.[14] But in Theophrastus (fourth to third century BCE) ὕελ- is without variant in four places and is retained by the editors.[15] One wonders if editors of other authors have been too quick to assume that ὕελος is a later corruption. However that may be, if we take a tough line and say that all instances of ὑελ- in literary texts *could* be later corruptions, then what is the earliest indisputable evidence for the ὑελ- form? The answer is found in documentary texts, that is, inscriptions and papyri. More than twenty instances of the ὑελ- form (alongside ὑαλ-) can be found there, most dating from second to fourth century CE, but one earlier. Here is a sample:

> IMylasa 1.629.9 (date?) ἡ λίτρα τοῦ *ὑέλου*
> MAMA 3.10.2 (Seleukeia, third to fourth century CE?) παραστατικὸν | Ἀθηνοδώρο(υ) *ὑε|λιαρίου*.
> POxy 42.3080.6 (second century CE) λαγύνιον *ὑελοῦν*
> POxy 42.3060.7 (second century CE) κανίσκ[ιο]ν *ὑελοῦν*
> PLond 2.191.16 (103–117 CE) πινάκια *ὑελᾶ* δύο
> PRyl 2.374.5 (25 BCE–25 CE) *ὑελλουργῶν*

The last example in PRyl gives us a firm date in first century BCE / first century CE.[16] The continued survival of the ὑελ- form after fourth century CE is also clear. While ὑαλ- prevails in standard Modern Greek, there is attestation of ὑελ- that shows it persisted and never entirely died out. The ὑελ- form (spelled γυελ-) is regularly found today in Cypriot Greek,[17] and ὕελος is given in some modern authorities as an alternative to ὕαλος.[18]

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14 Herodotus 3.24.1, 2 (OCT ed. Hude) ἐξ ὑάλου text, with d [group of 4 MSS]: ἐξ ὑέλου P [1 MS]: ἐκ ξύλου a [group of 3 MSS]. Hippocrates has three exx. of ὑαλ-, two without variant (*Coac.* 146, 352), one with (*Epist.* 16.25; all ed. Littré). Aristophanes has no v.l. in *Ach.* 74 ὑαλίνων, *Nub.* 768 ὕαλον (OCT ed. Wilson). A full study in later authors cannot be attempted here. Cf. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, 3:254, 256 for a taste of Aelian (second to third century CE).

15 Thphr. *Lap.* 8.49.2 (ed. Eichholz) ὕελος, ὑελίτιδος, *Ign.* 73.6 (ed. Coutant) ὑέλου, *Fr.* 184.1 (ed. Wimmer) ὑέλων; but *Lap.* 5.30.2 ὑαλοειδής.

16 Cf. list in Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:282. Gignac finds that ὑελ- and ὑαλ- occur with about equal frequency in the period he covers. In the Ptolemaic period the evidence is meagre (ὑαλίνην once).

17 My thanks to Kyriacos Mavrolefteros, a Cypriot speaker, for confirming this, and to Vrasidas Karalis for first putting me on the trail.

18 See Zevgolis, *Λεξικόν*, *s.vv.* ὕαλος and ὑελ-; Andriotis, *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό*, *s.v.* ὕελος. (There are others.) In Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 4: *s.v.* γιαλί(ν), most forms are in γιαλ- but one of ὑέλιον is cited.

The ultimate origin of the ὑελ- form is a relevant question. Here ὕελος cannot be considered in isolation from other words of similar phonetic shape that show the same alternation between -α- and -ε-, namely, μυελός, πύελος, πτύελον, μιαρός, σίαλος, φιάλη, and ψίαθος. The details are predictably complicated, with varying histories over time.[19] Two points matter for our purpose. (1) The -ε- form appears early in some of these words, showing it was not a late phenomenon.[20] (2) The evidence of ὑελ- in Asia Minor inscriptions (above) and the early appearance of the -ε- form in some words are good reasons to reject the suggestion that the shift was due to Egyptian interference.[21] We can keep to the older view that the -ε- form in ὕελος and at least some of the others was Ionic in origin.[22] Finally, if ὕαλος was, as some take it to be, a pre-Greek word borrowed into Greek, then borrowing in two forms could be a reason for an early fluctuation in the vowel.[23]

There is a further piece of possible evidence that would confirm beyond doubt the great age of ὕελος and its Ionic origin. I mention it here even though it is speculative. In southern Italy some distance south of Naples is a town that was founded by Greeks in the sixth century BCE (c. 535). Its Roman name became *Velia*, but its Greek names, attested in literature, were Ὑέλη, Ἔλη, and Ἐλέα. The first of these, ΥΕΛΗ, is unambiguously attested on coins dating from the early fifth century BCE onwards.[24] The attempts to explain this name seem either naive or over-complicated, in the latter case driven by the need to explain its relation to Latin *Velia*.[25] I suggest that ΥΕΛΗ is the feminine of ὕελος, the appropriate form for a town name ("Crystaltown"),[26] given by the Greek colonists on the basis of some local geographical feature.

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19 See Thumb, *Die Griechische Sprache*, 75–76; Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 580–81; LSJ, *s.vv.*

20 μυελός is the Homeric form; πτύελον occurs in Hippocrates; μιερός in Callimachus. Cf. Thackeray, *Grammar*, 74–75 on LXX variations: -ε- forms are often found, as Isa. 40:15 σίελος without v.l.

21 So Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:285 apparently; but at 281 he calls the -ε- form "Ionic-Hellenistic."

22 Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, 69–72; Thumb, *Die Griechische Sprache*, 75–76; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:243.

23 Cf. Beekes and Beek, *Etymological Dictionary*, 2:1524; Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 107, on the variety of forms of κράββατος etc.

24 See Williams, *Silver Coinage of Velia*; Leschhorn and Franke, *Lexikon*, 2:267; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 287, 288.

25 See LSJ, *s.v.* Ὑέλη; Arena, *Iscrizioni greche*, 5:77 (on no. 44, a didrachm of c. 480 BCE). Note that V- on very early coins is an early form of upsilon, not Latin V: see Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 325.

26 Cf. LSJ lemma: "ὑάλη, ἡ, = ὕαλος, Hsch., Phot., Suid."

That could have been the crystalline limestone characteristic of the area. If this suggestion is right, then the spelling of the name on coins accords fully with the known fact that Velia was founded by Greek settlers from Phocaea, that is, Ionic-speakers from northern Ionia.[27] The spelling ΥΕΛΗ reflects characteristic features of Ionic from an early date, namely, loss of initial aspiration and the use of the H as a vowel (for η from original long a).[28]

Whether or not an earlier date is possible or likely, we can say with confidence that the ὕελος form was established in the language by the first century CE, that is, by the time of the writing of Revelation, and that it was not a feature confined to Egyptian Greek but probably came into Koine Greek from Ionic.

4 The Atticist Grammarians

The existence of two forms of ὕαλος and other similar words was bound to attract the puristic interest of the Atticist grammarians. If there were two forms of the same word, one had to be acceptable and the other not. The choice was made on the basis of the usage of approved Attic authors of the Classical period. These are the grammarians' surviving remarks on ὕαλος / ὕελος:

> Phrynichi Ecloga 280 (Fischer): Ψίεθος, μιερός, ὕελος· ἁμαρτάνουσιν οἱ διὰ τοῦ ε λέγοντες, ἀδόκιμον γάρ. καὶ Κόριννα ‹‹ τὸν ὑάλινον πόδα θήσεις ››.
> Moeris υ 1 (Hansen): ὕαλος ἐν τῷ α Ἀττικοί· ἐν τῷ ε Ἕλληνες.
> Aelius Dionysius υ 1 (ap. Hansen): ὕαλος διὰ τοῦ α, οὐχὶ ὕελος, καὶ θηλυκῶς ἡ ὕαλος, καὶ ὑάλινον.
> Similarly Phrynichus *PS* 118.15; Συναγωγή υ 3; Photius 614.2; Zonaras 1759; Thomas Magister 365; *Et. Mag. s.v.* ὕαλος.[29]

The Atticist grammarians approve the ὑαλ- form and reject the ὑελ- form of ὕαλος. This is an important clue to the likely standing of the two forms in terms of linguistic level. We deduce that the stigmatized form was the one used in popular speech and writing by those who had not been schooled to do better. Though the statements derive from the second century CE and later, they rest

27 Narrated in Herodotus 1.165–167.

28 Cf. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 287: "Hyele . . . used the Ionic script of her mother-city." Also Ionic is the uncontracted gen. pl. ΥΕΛΗΤΕΩΝ ("of the Hyelians") seen on coins of 465–440 BCE (others have ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ), and the use of Ω at this date.

29 Phrynichus 281 remarks on πύελος and μυελός (-ε- is recommended), and Moeris σ 17 on σίαλον and σίελον (the former is said to be Attic).

on a much older base of educational training. In the first century CE a writer of vernacular Greek might use ὑελ- but a more careful writer would avoid it. The intervention of Atticizing educators would have cemented the position of ὑαλ- and ensured its dominance as the general form in the long term.

5 A New Witness

The current state of play in regard to the reading ὑελ- in MSS and NT editions has been summarized above (§§1–2). Into this picture has come a papyrus discovered and published in the 1930s:

> P^{47} (third century CE): Rev 15:2 και ειδον ως θαλασσαν υελινην . . . [επι την θαλασ|σαν την υ]ελινην

P^{47} contains Revelation 9:10—17:2 (with some gaps) and is generally dated to the second half of third century CE.[30] The reading of the MS here has had no impact so far on the text or apparatus of modern NT editions; yet it is surely of some significance. It provides indisputable evidence that a reading with the spelling ὑελ- is not just a late reading but existed in at least one MS of the third century, that is, earlier than all our other witnesses. (Though the papyrus only covers two occurrences of ὑελ- words in Revelation, it is a fair deduction that the remainder followed suit.) The reading of P^{47} therefore cannot be simply dismissed as a late corruption; rather, a new decision is required in the light of it.

6 The Alternatives

We are faced with a choice between two alternatives: either ὑαλ- is original and was changed to ὑελ-, or ὑελ- is original and was changed to ὑαλ-. Let us consider the merits and consequences of each, keeping in mind the standard principle that if we prefer one as original we must explain how the other arose.

If υαλ- was original, then changed to υελ-:

30 Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 335 (on the date), 348 (on the text of 15:2). Cf. Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 99; plate 90. One could not describe the text as carelessly written.

(a) The change was due to the action of copyists, influenced by popular speech, and was probably an unconscious corruption.
(b) The corruption appeared early, in P^{47}, and may have been transmitted from the time of P^{47} to the later MSS that have the same reading; more likely it was made independently in P^{47} and then again in later MSS. In any case it did not affect ℵ, A etc. and the later MSS that preserve υαλ-.
(c) The writer of Revelation used the "correct" form, though we know that the use of vernacular Greek is characteristic of this book.

If υελ- was original, then changed to υαλ-:

(a) The change to υαλ- was a conscious change to the "correct" form, under the influence of Atticism.
(b) The υελ- form was preserved to the time of P^{47} and was carried on in part of the tradition to the later MSS that have the same reading. The υαλ- correction in ℵ, A etc. prevailed in the rest of the tradition.
(c) The writer of Revelation used the vernacular form that might be expected in this book.

In my view the latter has the better arguments. The weightiest is that the υελ- form accords with the low-level vernacular Greek of Revelation. Also, it seems to me, it is more probable that a correction of a disparaged form was made than the reverse, that is, an unconscious introduction of a popular (and stigmatized) form. The latter, if it occurred, apparently happened repeatedly. It is not irrelevant that many other (later) minuscule MSS copied at the same time as the witnesses to υελ- avoided changing υαλ- to υελ-.

The effect of Atticism on the transmission of the text of the NT is a well-known phenomenon. The pioneering work of G. D. Kilpatrick in this field, continued further by his student J. K. Elliott, is to be recognized here. Both have published extensively on the subject and noted many instances of possible scribal correction of a text in the light of Atticist precepts.[31] The debates generated by their (alleged) tendency to take the approach to extremes and by "thoroughgoing eclectism," as it has been called, do not affect the present case. I do not see the υελ- form as preferable on the basis of a general rule that a popular form found in the MSS is to be preferred to an Atticizing one, but because the

31 For references and discussion see Elliott, *New Testament Textual Criticism*, esp. ch. 3 ("Thoroughgoing Eclecticism"); Elliott, *Essays and Studies*, 27–37, 65–77; Lee, "Atticist Grammarians," 306–7.

accumulated evidence points in that direction. I assume that Kilpatrick, if he were alive, and Elliott would agree with my argument.[32]

7 An Overlooked Detail

Besides the form, the Atticist grammarians remark on the *gender* of ὕαλος. Aelius Dionysius quoted above says "καὶ θηλυκῶς ἡ ὕαλος." The same remark can be found in some of the others cited.[33] There must be a reason for this. It is, of course, that some (careless) speakers made the gender masculine and the mistake was to be avoided. Actual examples of ὕαλος definitely masculine, that is, with a masculine attributive, are very few. LSJ noted only one, in Theophrastus (*Lap*. 8.49.2 ὁ ὕελος); BDAG says "rarely ὁ" but cites only LSJ's example.[34] We can add IMylasa 1.629.9 ἡ λίτρα τοῦ ὑέλου, quoted above (§3). This is undoubtedly a vernacular source, just where we would expect to find it (the date is uncertain). What do we find in Revelation?

> Rev 21:18 καὶ ἡ ἐνδώμησις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἴασπις καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὅμοιον *ὑάλῳ καθαρῷ*.

Here right under our noses is ὕαλος with masculine gender, the popular feature rejected by the Atticists. No NT editor has been inclined to correct the adjective to καθαρῷ, no doubt because there is no variant providing support. Yet the Atticizing form ὕαλος accepted by editors is inconsistent with the "incorrect" use of the masculine gender. The popular masculine gender would better suit the popular form ὕελος. Or to put it another way: is a writer who gets the *gender* wrong likely to use the more correct *form* of the word?

8 Conclusion

The case for reading the υελ- variant in the five occurrences of ὕαλος and ὑάλινος in Revelation cannot be regarded as indisputable but it is strong. Whether editors will be persuaded remains to be seen. It has at least been shown that this

32 I have not been able to locate a discussion of ὕαλος/ὕελος in Kilpatrick's or Elliott's works.

33 Συναγωγή υ 3; Photius 614.2; *Et. Mag*. *s.v*. ὕαλος.

34 The gender cannot be determined in the one occurrence at Job 28:17 (*contra* Muraoka, *Greek-English Lexicon*, *s.v.* "ὕαλος, ου. m.").

variant deserves to be taken seriously and mentioned in a critical apparatus. While it makes no difference to the meaning, the choice of form contributes to the linguistic character of the book, and all such variants ought to be reported. Further, it is not clear that past editors have been consistent in their decisions when there is a choice between a "vernacular" form and a "correct" one. A systematic study of these features would be interesting and possibly beneficial.

A further question raised by this study is whether editors of the NT text in the past half-century have really taken into account new textual evidence or have continued with old decisions. On the face of it, it appears that the significance of the υελ- reading in P^{47} was overlooked when the papyrus became available; editors simply continued with Westcott and Hort's decision to read υαλ- and ignore the variant.[35] This study has also presented new data for the history of the word for "glass" and shown the value of studying it in the light of the evidence from all sources.

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35 Cf. Epp, "Foreword," xii: "[the text of NA27 and UBS4] . . . stands closer to that of Westcott-Hort than to any other edition. This suggests that the text of the Greek New Testament used over the past 130 years has remained relatively stable."

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CHAPTER 6

Sense Units and Manuscript Families: A Test Proposal

Sean A. Adams[1]

In this article I engage with two of Porter's interests, sense units and manuscripts, and attempt to test a theory that sense-unit divisions might assist in determining family relationships among manuscripts. The article begins with a brief discussion of Galen's *De indolentia*, which provided the initial idea for this paper. Following this we will investigate how scribes may or may not have copied sense-unit divisions by comparing two manuscripts of Clement's *Paedagogus* that are known to be directly related. Finally, we will examine how one familial grouping of manuscripts (D, F, G, 0319) compare to each other in terms of their sense-unit divisions in a test passage (i.e., Romans).[2] The division patterns found will be contrasted with other manuscripts thought to be of a different tradition (א, A, B). Overall, it will be determined that there is some possibility to identify manuscript relationships using sense-unit divisions, though this is dependent on the habits of the scribes involved.

1 Galen and Paragraphs[3]

The idea for this paper arose when I was reading Galen's newly discovered work, *De indolentia* ("On the Avoidance of Grief") in which he recounts the

1 It is a privilege to contribute to this Festschrift for Professor Stanley Porter. Porter was my first academic mentor and one who began to show me the world that is academia. From him I learned much about the New Testament, Greek language, modern linguistics, and, importantly for this paper, the value of individual manuscripts for unique glimpses into the ancient world. Porter regularly insisted that ancient manuscripts were of value, not only for the text they contained, but also for how the text was laid out and divided, as these divisions indicate how the text was read and interpreted by ancient scribes and readers.

2 Although it would be beneficial to evaluate entire manuscripts, it would far outstrip the parameters of this essay.

3 For this article I use the terms "paragraph" and "sense unit" interchangeably.

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destruction by fire of the Palatine libraries.[4] Not only did Galen lose a number of his own compositions (*Ind.* 23b–24a), but many of the texts that he had personally and painstakingly copied (*Ind.* 19) were also destroyed. In his listing of lost items, the loss of which, he claims, caused him no distress (*Ind.* 3, 11, 39–46), Galen details the amount of work that went into making copies of specific texts and the exacting care that he gave:

> In addition to these (books) [from the Palatine libraries] so important and so numerous, I then lost on the same day all the books that, after correction, had been written by me onto a pure text, books with unclear and errant readings throughout the texts—planning to produce my own edition. The writings were worked to (the point of) accuracy so that neither was something added nor words taken away, not even a *paragraphos*—single or double, or a *coronis*—appropriately placed between books. What is there to say about the period or comma? As you know, they are very valuable in unclear books, so that one who pays attention to them does not need an interpreter (*Ind.* 14).[5]

Most Roman elite men did not need to copy manuscripts themselves, but could commission one of their slaves or a scribe to make a copy for them. Galen provides a number of reasons why he copied the manuscripts himself; the most important and relevant one for our discussion is accuracy: Galen wanted to ensure that he had the most accurate copy possible for when he later made an edition of specific texts.[6] One area of precision specifically highlighted is that of sense-unit delimiters, such as punctuation and *paragraphoi*. Galen rightly highlights their importance for reading and interpretation, a perspective that is widely (though not sufficiently) recognised by scholars today.[7] It is not clear whether or not these paragraph divisions are part of the author's original composition or if they were added by later readers. Nevertheless, for Galen they are clearly seen as part of the textual data that should be preserved in future

4 For Greek editions, see Kotzia and Sotiroudis, "Γαληνού, Περὶ ἀλυπίας"; Jouanna and Boudon-Millot, *Ne pas se chagriner*. For a thorough introduction to the text, complete with a translation and commentary, see Nutton, "Avoiding Distress."

5 Rothschild and Thompson, "*Galen: 'On the Avoidance of Grief.'*" Cf. Nutton, "Avoiding Distress."

6 On the topic of searching libraries for the best copies of a text, see Houston, *Inside Roman Libraries*.

7 For a general introduction to ancient use of these features, see McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 115–18. For examples, see Hoop, Korpl, and Porter, *Impact of Unit Delimitation*, which includes the essay by Porter, "Pericope Markers and the Paragraph."

copies. That Galen felt compelled to make the copies himself in order to ensure the preservation of this data indicates its importance to him. Such insistence on the precision of his copying, however, implies that other copyists may not have been as exacting as he was.[8]

This practice by Galen led me to consider what a manuscript tradition of a text might look like were all scribes to function as Galen claims he did. Such close attention to the text and metadata would result in a clear indication of relatedness among the generations of manuscript copies. To determine if such practices were actually implemented by scribes I looked for extant examples of exemplars and Abschriften and for this we now turn to the text of Clement's *Paedagogus*.

2 Test Case: Clement's *Paedagogus*

There are very few extant manuscripts that are known to be direct copies of another surviving manuscript. This dearth is unfortunate as these rare pairings provide a unique glimpse into the copying practices of ancient scribes. One example of this relationship is thought to be found in the extant texts of Clement's *Paedagogus*. The first and oldest surviving manuscript is the tenth-century Arethas Codex (= P), which is located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.[9] The codex is badly damaged, but still contains the final part of book 1 and all of books 2 and 3 of the *Paedagogus*. Nearly identical is the eleventh-century manuscript Codex Mutinensis Gr. 126 (= M), which contains all three books of the *Paedagogus*.[10] The very strong similarities between these two manuscripts have led some scholars to posit that M was copied directly from P prior to the loss of the quires from P.[11]

This relationship, which may be that of archetype and Abschrift, provides a great opportunity to determine what aspects of a manuscript the scribe of M copied. Was he, for instance, only interested in the words of his exemplar or did he copy the structure and divisions of the text as well? Part of the working

8 A marginal note on text-critical sigla in the text of Epicharmus (*P.Oxy.* XXV 2427, fr. 53.i.6) shows that the scribe or the corrector thought that it was important to place such signs correctly.

9 Many thanks are due to Bibliothèque Nationale de France for making a digital copy of Codex Parisinus Gr. 451 (i.e., Arethas Codex) freely available online.

10 Thanks are also due to Biblioteca Estense for making Codex Mutinensis Gr. 126 available online: http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/index.html.

11 For a full discussion of the manuscript tradition and assigned dates, see Stählin, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, xvi–lxv. Cf. Cosaert, *Text of the Gospels*, 13; Marcovich, *Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus*, x.

assumption of this article (following the discussion of Galen above) is that some scribes were interested in features beyond the text and actively sought to preserve the reading tradition found in sense-unit divisions. In examining codices P and M we can see if this assumption fits with the textual data.

For this article I looked at the text divisions in Book 2 of Clement's *Paedagogus*. This provided me with a discrete dataset that was sufficient in size to give a strong indication of the habits of Codex Mutinensis' scribe. Both the scribe of Arethas Codex and the scribe of Codex Mutinensis indicated major breaks by ekthesis and a small, one-character space in the previous line. As a result, most of the text divisions were readily identifiable. Out of 189 sense units found in Book 2 of Clement's *Paedagogus* in P, the scribe of M copied 182, for a total of just over 96 percent.[12] Of the seven paragraphs that were not marked in M, one is questionably in this category (2.5.46.2) as there is possibly some ekthesis in M, but no corresponding space as the text ran to the end of the previous line, and one (2.1.4.3) might not be the fault of the scribe of M as the ekthesis in P is not prominent and so might not have been interpreted as a break. For the other omissions in M, two had spaces in the text but no ekthesis (2.6.52.2; 2.1.3.2), one had an enlarged in-line letter, but no other markers (2.1.10.6), and two were not copied for whatever reason (2.1.5.4; 2.10.105.2). If we omit the data that were ambiguous for some reason the level of accuracy rises to just below 99 percent (182 out of 184).

Equally as important as the number of sense units the scribe of M successfully copied is the fact that he did not introduce any new sense units into the text. Nowhere in the text does the copying scribe make sense-unit divisions that were not originally found in his exemplar. This indicates considerable fidelity on behalf of the scribe to the text that he was copying and fits with Galen's claim that he neither added nor omitted anything from the texts he copied (*Ind.* 14).

In addition to the text breaks the scribe of M also copied all of the forked *paragraphoi* in the margins, of which there are over 600, as well as the *coronides*, which are fewer, but more visually pronounced. These additional unit divisions did not have any further indicators within the text layout, but were confined exclusively to the margins. Moreover, the scribe also included the various marginalia (e.g., the Chi-rho at 2.5.46.2), as well the *nomina sacra* in his exemplar. Such attention to a range of details throughout the entirety of the manuscript clearly shows that the scribe of M thought highly of his exemplar and was thorough and careful in his task.

It is not possible to make broad statements from one illustration. However, this example is important in that it shows that, like Galen, the scribe of M was

12 For a full list of paragraphs in Clement's *Paedagogus*, see Appendix 1.

interested in copying all of the manuscript data; not just the text, but also how the text was divided and structured. Although it is certain that not all scribes were as attentive as the one who copied M, it is not unreasonable to think that others might also have taken such care when copying a text.

3 Test Case for Family Resemblance

In light of Galen's comments that he faithfully copied paragraph divisions and the findings that the scribe of Codex Mutinensis made a very close copy of Clement's *Paedagogus* in the Arethas Codex, we turn our attention to the proposition that sense-unit divisions might be a way of determining family relationships among manuscripts. In theory, the scribe would be faithful to the sense divisions of his exemplar and so base the structure of his text on that of the manuscript he was copying. Over time, this would result in manuscript recensions having a consistent and potentially distinctive sense-unit structure and so would indicate familial relationships.[13]

In this section we will examine the sense-unit divisions of the so-called "Western Pauline" group of manuscripts (D, F, G, 0319) to determine if there is any discernible pattern of divisions among them. For this we will use Romans as a suitable test passage, the divisions of which will be contrasted with a control group of other manuscripts thought to be of different traditions (א, A, B). According to our theory, we should expect to find a greater percentage of corresponding sense divisions among related manuscripts than the case with those that are part of another manuscript recension.

3.1 *The Manuscripts*

Although the relationships among major bilingual Pauline codices have been discussed for centuries, the most widely accepted theory of their affiliations today is that by H. J. Frede, who concluded that D (06, Claromontanus) and

13 As seen in our test case above, there is not perfect fidelity to the original; there was a 4 percent margin of error. However, there was a clear attempt to copy existing unit divisions and to not introduce new breaks. Scribes who copy with less care or those who introduce new sense units based on their personal interpretation will naturally have a greater deviation from their manuscript tradition. These distinctive constellations of breaks would result in a new recension of paragraph divisions that would be transmitted through the process of faithful copying.

0319 (=Dabs1) and 0320 (=Dabs2)[14] form one branch and that F (010, Augiensis) and G (012, Boernerianus) another branch,[15] both of which derived from an archetype Z.[16] Although all of these manuscripts are thought to have shared a common ancestor (Z), F and G share a more immediate archetype "X,"[17] As a result, it would be expected in this test that F and G would share a greater number of sense-unit divisions than their more distantly related texts (D and 0319).[18]

One unifying feature of most of these manuscripts (D, G, 0319) is that they were written in short sense-lines, some of which consisted of only one or two words. The length of the lines was determined not by the amount of usable space, but by the sense of the phrase in focus. This results in substantial amounts of blank space in the manuscript and clearly indicates that the scribe was not concerned with financial consequences of using extra parchment to accommodate the spacing. This practice of "wasting" space was not adopted by all scribes, most notably that of G, as will be discussed below. The notable absence from this list is F in which the text is not visually organized by sense lines, though the punctuation within the text likely indicates that its exemplar had sense lines. This would indicate that either the scribe, for some unknown reason, did not duplicate them, or that they were not found in his exemplar. Either way it appears that either the copyist of F or that of his exemplar did not choose to follow the structure of his exemplar.

The oldest of our Western Pauline texts is Claromontanus, a sixth-century diglot written in majuscule script on parchment. Sense units in both the Greek and Latin texts of D are marked by ekthesis and an oversized initial letter.[19] One unique feature in D is that quotations from the Old Testament are written in red ink and are regularly indented from the left margin. There is no enlarged letter or other indicator of sense division to initiate the quotation. Regularly,

14 For a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the Gregory-Aland numbering system, see Porter, "Textual Criticism."

15 The notion of a relationship between F and G is supported by the shared omission of certain Greek passages and the number of identical readings. Cf. Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, xxii; Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*, xxv–xxviii; Hatch, "On the Relationship." For a call for renewed investigation into this relationship, see Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 66.

16 Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*; cf. Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*, xxvii–xxviii.

17 Dahl, "0230," 81–84; Parker, *Introduction*, 260.

18 It possible that 0230 should also be discussed in this group of bilingual manuscripts. For discussion of the text's importance and the debated, see Dahl, "0230."

19 Although I am only considering the Greek manuscripts, the locations of the sense units are the same in the Latin manuscript.

however, the scribe of Claromontanus created a sense-unit division immediately following an Old Testament quotation (especially Rom 10–11), though this practice fades towards the end of Romans.[20]

Strongly related to Claromontanus is codex Sangermanensis, also known as E or GA0319, a ninth/tenth-century diglot majuscule manuscript written on parchment. It has been proposed that 0319 is an Abschrift of D,[21] hence the reason it was originally called Dabs1. This manuscript is structured on sense lines, but still reflects larger sense units, which are marked by ekthesis.

Related to codices Claromontanus and Sangermanensis (though, according to Frede, part of a different branch of manuscripts) is codex Augiensis, a ninth-century diglot. This text has both major and minor breaks. Major breaks are typically indicated by ekthesis (an oversized initial letter that is written in red ink), and extra space in the previous line in which three dots in the shape of a triangle are placed by the scribe.[22] Minor breaks are also marked by ekthesis, but do not have any additional features. One issue for this project is that the first two chapters of Romans and more than half of the third chapter are absent (1:1—3:19). As both the Latin and Greek texts are missing, it is most likely that the manuscript has lost several initial leaves.

The final Western Pauline manuscript examined is codex Boernerianus (G), a ninth-century diglot on parchment. One of the most notable features of G is that its interlinear format does not conform to the layout of the other Greek-Latin diglot manuscripts, both of which have Greek and Latin text on facing pages (D) or columns (F). Furthermore, though the text of G is divided into "sense lines," they are not laid out like those of D or F.[23] Rather, the sense lines are placed one after the other with no space at the end of each unit. This continuity does not obscure the sense-line divisions, however, as there are visual markers within the text, most notably by the enlargement of the first letter of a sense line and, up until folio 8 (Rom 5:15), added color to highlight it.[24] It appears, however, that the scribe did not preserve all of the sense lines from his exemplar as some of those found in D and F are absent. Both the format and

20 One interesting "mistake" in this regards is the writing in red of Rom 8:31–32, which is not an Old Testament quotation. Also, the last line of the composite citation in Rom 11:26–27 is not in red ink.

21 For discussion, see Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*, 36–39.

22 There are instances of oversized red letters in the middle of a line, but lacking any corresponding ekthesis.

23 Cf. Smith, "Pauline Manuscripts F and G," 687.

24 On the enlarged letters of Augiensis and Boernerianus, see Hatch, "On the Relationship," 191.

the potential omission of sense lines might indicate that the scribe was not primarily focused on accurately preserving these features in the text.

Associated with this variation is the scribe's inconsistency in letter size and use of inter-textual features. For example, most of the colored letters are enlarged, though the size varies substantially among the letters. Similarly, a majority of sense lines follow some type of punctuation mark, though not always. Regarding punctuation, in the first seven folio pages the author places a middle point or stop (·) at sense-line breaks. However, from folio 8 onwards there are substantially more full stops. In some places they occur after almost every word. This variation makes it difficult to determine where larger sense-unit divisions occur. More helpful is the inclusion of a double *diple* (>>) prior to major divisions. This practice, however, also stops at folio 8 (i.e., Rom 5:15), which makes subsequent determinations of larger sense units difficult. Some initial letters of subsequent sense lines look bigger than others, but this is not consistent, nor is there any other feature to signal a larger break.[25] As a result of the inherent ambiguity of later divisions and the fact that they are almost impossible to detect with consistency, we will only be considering breaks from Rom 1:1 to 5:15 as our sample.[26]

The data from the Boernerianus suggest that from folio 8 onwards the scribe changed his method of signaling divisions. This includes a cessation of employing colored ink and double *diple*, as well as a gradual shift to include a greater number of full stops. It is possible that the scribe of Boernerianus was faithfully following his exemplar.[27] If this is the case, then we have evidence of a previous scribe (or two scribes) employing different copying practices.

In addition to the Western Pauline codices we will also be considering the sense-unit divisions of three other codices: Sinaiticus (א = 01), Alexandrinus (A = 02), and Vaticanus (B = 03). These manuscripts will provide a control for our study as they are thought to be in different "text clusters" than the texts mentioned above.[28] These codices indicate paragraph divisions by having an

25 Sometimes there are double dots (..), but these are infrequent, found at: 6:16; 7:13; 10:10; 11:11, 33, 34 (paired with an odd indentation on two lines). Romans 11:11 and 11:33 are unit divisions found in all of the other examined manuscripts and so might indicate a sense division by the scribe, but there is too little evidence to be certain.

26 G also lacks the text of Rom 1:1–5 and 2:16b–25a, but marks them with blank spaces. These omitted texts will be taken into consideration when calculating resemblances.

27 A similar claim is made by Sanders regarding the scribe of Codex Washingtonianus. Sanders, *New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, 15–18.

28 For a recent discussion on manuscript clusters, specifically their history and issues, see Epp, "Textual Clusters." See also Parker, *Introduction*, 171–76.

interlinear space. In addition, the scribes of Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus also employ ekthesis on the line following the break to signal a new sense unit.

As we will see below, scribal similarities in marking sense units do not result in the same number or type of breaks. Different scribes have different criteria for dividing texts[29] and it will be apparent that a variety of views are employed in our texts.

3.2 *Sense Unit Data*

Now that we have identified the nature of sense-unit indicators in these manuscripts and the scribal paragraphing technique, we turn our attention to the number of shared sense-unit divisions between manuscripts. The first task is to determine the number of paragraphs for each manuscript and where they are located within our test passage, Romans.[30] From this investigation it can be seen that there is a great amount of variation among the manuscripts regarding the number of sense-unit divisions (see Table 6.1). The lowest number in the table is G with 19 sense-unit divisions. This low number is a result of limiting the representative sample to Rom 1:1—5:15 due to the ambiguity of higher level division following 5:15 (see above for discussion). The lowest number of breaks for a full manuscript is 0319 with 74. In contrast, ℵ has 319 sense units, 129 more than its closest comparator (A) and more than four times that of 0319. This diversity in number of unit divisions indicates that there is a mixture of paragraphing techniques being applied.[31]

TABLE 6.1 *Paragraph divisions in Romans by manuscript*

Manuscript	**Number of sense unit divisions**
D	149
0319	74
F	106
G	19
ℵ	319
A	190
B	120

29 For example, the scribe of A has a tendency to make a sense unit at the beginning of an OT quotation, placing the opening phrase in the previous sense unit (e.g., 15:9–11). This is the cause for many (but not all) of Alexandrinus's unique sense units.

30 See Appendix 2 for a full list of all the paragraphs and their locations.

31 Cf. Adams, "Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs."

In addition to the difference in the number of sense units in each manuscript, there is substantial variation with their placement (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3). In looking at the percentages among the four "Western Pauline" manuscripts it is surprising to see such a low amount of overlap. Among the four manuscripts there is a maximum agreement of 68.9 percent (between D and 0319) and minimum agreement of 16.7 percent (between G and F).

In light of the scholarly discussion on the connection of the "Western Pauline" texts, one would expect a close relationship between F and G. What we find is that they have the fewest points of contact for their overlapping texts. Unfortunately, both texts have significant omissions and so this finding is not as robust as other percentages in the chart. Nevertheless, what we do have strongly militates against the view that paragraphs indicate a close relationship between the two. In fact, G has the lowest sense-unit commonalities in our entire data set. Even compared with ℵ, which has substantial correspondences with every manuscript due to its high number of sense units, there is a difference of 31.6 percent. As a result, it is fair to say that G is an outlier in our data set.

This low percentage indicates that we need to investigate further the claim by W. Smith that "Codex Augiensis reproduces its archetype with servile fidelity,"[32] Smith is likely correct that the data in F is best understood by positing that the scribe employed a "letter by letter" copying technique with close attention to his exemplar. This "servile fidelity" to the *text* notwithstanding, the more general *codicological* features were not duplicated: interlinear versus columns, sense-lines versus justified text. It is interesting that such a slavish copier would pay so little attention to any other features beyond the letters of the text. This might suggest that for this scribe it was the text, not its divisions, that were of importance. One challenge to this view is the fact that the scribe of Augiensis did include sense-unit divisions within his text (106 of them). It is possible that the scribe of F was so faithful to the text that he copied everything accurately and did not correct the text. If this is so, then the blame for poor Greek and the lack of codicological features is passed up the copying tree prior to F. Regardless of which option is chosen, we see evidence in F of a scribe who primarily copied the text and not other manuscript features.

On the other hand, there is a stronger relationship between D and 0319; nearly 70 percent of the sense units in 0319 match with those in D. Compared with our Clement test case above, this is significantly lower than would be expected for a manuscript that has been identified as an Abschrift.[33] Our findings would suggest that this label might not be accurate and that 0319

32 Smith, "Pauline Manuscripts F and G," 688.

33 Cf. Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*, 36–39. The findings here would encourage the disuse of "Dabs1" as a label for 0319.

TABLE 6.2 *Number of sense-unit agreements between manuscripts*

	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B
D	X	51/149	61/136	9/25	126/149	98/149	77/149
0319	51/74	X	37/61	4/17	68/74	52/74	46/74
F	61/106	37/106	X	2/12	87/106	65/106	62/106
G	9/19	4/19	2/11	X	13/19	7/19	8/19
ℵ	126/319	68/319	87/276	13/69	X	162/319	114/319
A	98/190	52/190	65/165	7/41	162/190	X	89/190
B	77/120	46/120	62/105	8/25	114/120	89/120	X

TABLE 6.3 *Percentage of sense-unit agreement between manuscripts*

	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B
D	X	34.2	44.9	36.0	84.6	65.8	51.7
0319	68.9	X	60.7	23.5	91.9	70.3	62.1
F	57.5	34.9	X	16.7	82.1	61.3	58.5
G	47.4	21.1	18.2	X	68.4	36.8	42.1
ℵ	39.5	21.3	31.5	18.8	X	50.8	35.7
A	51.6	27.4	39.4	17.1	85.3	X	46.8
B	64.2	38.3	59.0	32.0	95.0	74.2	X

might possibly be a few copies removed from D. Alternatively, this might indicate that the scribe of 0319 was not as interested in maintaining the divisions of his exemplar and was more willing to include some of his own sense-divisions.

Widening our view, we notice that all manuscripts have a high percentage of overlap with ℵ (i.e., the vertical ℵ column). This is due, of course, to the high number of sense-unit divisions. One surprising result was the high percentage of overlap between B and ℵ. Exactly 95 percent of the paragraphs in B are also found in ℵ. Reading in the other direction, only 35.7 percent of the paragraphs in ℵ have their twin in B. The first statistic could indicate a very close relationship between the two codices, possibly that both had a similar ancestor from whom they inherited their paragraph divisions. This interpretation is possible

for other high percentage matches (e.g., D, 0319, F, and A), all of which have a greater than 80 percent overlap with א, but often much less when viewed in the other direction (i.e., the horizontal א column). The fact that Sinaiticus has so many more sense-units weakens the strength of this relationship and suggests that at some point in the transmission history a scribe/reader introduced a number of additional text divisions.

4 Conclusion

In conclusion we find that we have mixed results. The findings from our investigation of Clement strongly indicated that sense-unit divisions could indicate a relationship between texts. However, the findings from the Western Pauline family gave us a negative result: texts that have a very high likelihood of being related on the basis of textual agreement did not produce a high percentage of shared sense-unit divisions.

It appears that what we can take from this study is that the preference and habits of the scribe is the key variable for this theory. If the scribe is attentive and meticulous in his copying of all textual features, then there is a very good likelihood that a family relationship will emerge from investigating text divisions. If, however, the scribe is careless, does not pay attention to features beyond the text itself, or imposes his own reading interpretation on the text then there will be insufficient connection between texts to make a case for family relationships. Of the latter it appears we have two examples of deviations by the scribe from his exemplar. The first is found in F, in which either that scribe or one of his predecessors did not maintain the sense-line structure. The other is G, in which there is a notable change in identifying sense units beginning at folio 8. Both of these examples provide evidence that there were diverse practices among scribes with regards to their treatment of their exemplars. It is not surprising that these two have the lowest percentages of agreement in paragraph divisions. Overall, if we have other reasons for considering whether one manuscript may be an Abschrift (or near copy) to another, sense-unit similarity would be an additional datum for consideration.[34]

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Appendix 1: Sense Units in Manuscripts of Clement's *Paedagogus*

Table symbols:

M Major break

* Break occurs in the middle (not at the beginning) of the verse

Location	P	M	Opening words
2.1.1.1	M	M	ἐχομένοις τοίνυν
2.1.1.2	M	M	στοχαζομένοις τοίνυν
2.1.1.4	M	M	οἱ μὲν δή
2.1.2.1	M	M	ἁπλῆ δέ
2.1.3.1*	M	M	οἳ δέ
2.1.3.2	M	*[a]	ὄρνεις ἐπί
2.1.3.2*	M	M	ἀλλὰ καί
2.1.4.3	M[b]		εἰ δ'
2.1.4.4	M	M	τὰς μὲν γάρ
2.1.5.4	M		ἐὰν γάρ
2.1.7.1	M	M	Ἀγάπη μὲν οὖν
2.1.7.3	M	M	Ἀλλὰ γάρ
2.1.7.4	M	M	Ναὶ μήν
2.1.8.3	M	M	Ἐνταῦθα
2.1.9.2	M	M	Οὐ χρὴ οὖν

(cont.)

Location	P	M	Opening words
2.1.10.2	M	M	Οὐκ ἀφεκτέον
2.1.10.4	M	M	Εἰ δὲ καί
2.1.10.6	M	*c	Ταύτῃ τοι
2.1.11.2*	M	M	πολλῷ δέ
2.1.11.3*	M	M	Πῶς δὲ οὐκ
2.1.12.1	M	M	Ἡ γοῦν
2.1.12.3	M	M	Ἀναγκαίως ἄρα
2.1.14.2	M	M	Ἔχοι δ' ἄν
2.1.14.3	M	M	Ὡς δέ
2.1.14.6	M	M	Πολυτέλεια δέ
2.1.15.3	M	M	οὐδὲ τραγημάτων
2.1.16.1	M	M	Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν
2.1.17.1*	M	M	τοῖς μὲν ὅτι
2.1.17.2*	M	M	Ὧν δὲ ἐφῆκεν
2.1.18.1	M	M	Ὅθεν κατηγορῶν
2.1.18.3	M	M	Αὐτάρκης αὕτη
2.2.t.1	M	M	Πῶς τῷ ποτῷ
2.2.19.2	M	M	Φυσικὸν μὲν οὖν
2.2.20.1*	M	M	καὶ γὰρ ὡς
2.2.21.2	M	M	Οἱ δὲ ἀκμάζοντες
2.2.22.1	M	M	Πρέπει δὲ καί
2.2.22.3	M	M	Τοῖς δὲ ἤδη
2.2.23.1*	M	M	Ἀρτώριος δέ τις
2.2.24.1*	M	M	καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι
2.2.25.1	M	M	Διὸ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι
2.2.26.1	M	M	Ὁρᾶν γοῦν
2.2.26.2	M	M	Καλόν, ὦ φίλοι
2.2.26.3*	M	M	Μέθη μὲν οὖν
2.2.27.4*	M	M	Ὁρᾶτε ὅλον
2.2.28.3	M	M	Ὁρᾶτε τοῦ ναυαγίου
2.2.29.1*	M	M	Εἰ γὰρ καί
2.2.29.2	M	M	Ἀρέσκει τοίνυν
2.2.30.1	M	M	Οὐ πολυπραγμονητέον
2.2.30.3	M	M	Ταλανίζει τούς
2.2.31.1	M	M	Προνοητέον δέ
2.2.31.3	M	M	Μὴ σπεύσῃς
2.2.32.2*	M	M	καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος

Location	P	M	Opening words
2.2.32.3*	M	M	Ὅτι δὲ οἶνος
2.2.33.1*	M	M	Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
2.2.33.4	M	M	Κατ᾽ οὐδένα δέ
2.2.34.1	M	M	Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
2.2.34.4	M	M	Συντομώτατα τοίνυν
2.3.t.1	M	M	Ὅτι οὐ χρή
2.3.35.3*	M	M	Ναὶ μὴν καί
2.3.36.1	M	M	Τοῦτο δή
2.3.36.3	M	M	Ἐγὼ δὲ καί
2.3.37.2	M	M	Τί γάρ; εἰπέ μοι·
2.3.38.2*	M	M	Ἤσθιεν δὲ καί
2.3.39.2	M	M	Χλεύη δὲ καί
2.3.39.4	M	M	Πλοῦτος δὲ ἄριστος
2.4.t.1	M	M	Πῶς χρὴ περί
2.4.40.2	M	M	Οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐλοῖς
2.4.41.1	M	M	Σῦριγξ μέν
2.4.41.2*	M	M	ταῖς δὲ ἵπποις
2.4.41.3*	M	M	μελῶν γάρ τοι
2.4.41.5*	M	M	αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν
2.4.42.2	M	M	Χρῶνται γοῦν
2.4.43.1	M	M	Ἔστω δὲ ἡμῶν
2.4.44.1	M	M	Ὡς δὲ ἁρμόδιον
2.4.44.4*	M	M	Αἰνεσάτωσαν, φησίν
2.5.t.1	M	M	Περὶ γέλωτος
2.5.45.2	M	M	Εἰ τοίνυν
2.5.46.2	M	d	Οὐ γὰρ ἐπειδή
2.5.46.3	M	M	Ἡ μὲν γάρ
2.5.47.2	M	M	Χρὴ δὲ καί
2.5.48.1	M	M	Τὸ δὲ καὶ φαίνεσθαι
2.6.t.1	M	M	Περὶ αἰσχρολογίας
2.6.49.2	M	M	Πρὸς δέ
2.6.51.1	M	M	Πάντῃ οὖν ἀφεκτέον
2.6.52.2	M	e	Διειλήφαμεν δέ
2.6.52.3*	M	M	Ναὶ μὴν καί
2.7.t.1	M	M	Τίνα χρή
2.7.53.3*	M	M	μηδὲ τὰ εὐτράπελα
2.7.53.5	M	M	Καθόλου μὲν οὖν
2.7.54.1*	M	M	ὕπανδρον δὲ ὠνόμασεν

(cont.)

Location	P	M	Opening words
2.7.55.1	M	M	Σώφρονος δὲ εὐθέως
2.7.55.3	M	M	Οὔκουν προεκπηδητέον
2.7.55.3*	M	M	ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐν
2.7.56.1*	M	M	Ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ δώδεκα
2.7.57.1	M	M	Πρεσβῦται δὲ ὡς
2.7.57.3*	M	M	οὐ παραδέξῃ δέ
2.7.58.3	M	M	Ἄμφω δὲ οἱ
2.7.59.1	M	M	Οὔτε γὰρ μακρολογητέον
2.7.59.3*	M	M	Τῶν γοῦν φλυάρων
2.7.59.4*	M	M	ἄνωθεν δέ
2.7.60.2	M	M	Πταρμὸς δὲ εἴ
2.7.60.3	M	M	Πταρμοῦ δὲ τό
2.8.t.1	M	M	Εἰ μύροις
2.8.61.3*	M	M	Δύναται δὲ τοῦτο
2.8.62.1	M	M	Οἱ γοῦν
2.8.62.3*	M	M	τὸ δὲ μύρον
2.8.63.2	M	M	Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ
2.8.64.1	M	M	Οἶδα καί
2.8.64.4	M	M	Ἐπιτηδεύουσι δέ
2.8.64.5*	M	M	Αἳ δὲ καί
2.8.66.1	M	M	Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μή
2.8.66.2*	M	M	Μαλθακὸν δέ
2.8.67.2	M	M	Αὔταρκες μὲν οὖν
2.8.68.1	M	M	Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεμίαν
2.8.69.4	M	M	Αἱ δὲ ἀφραίνουσαι
2.8.70.4	M	M	Ναὶ μήν
2.8.71.1*	M	M	Στέφανον μέν
2.8.72.2	M	M	Εἴργονται τοίνυν
2.8.73.1	M	M	Ἀοχλήτου δέ
2.8.73.1*	M	M	Οἱ μὲν γάρ
2.8.73.3	M	M	Πρὸς δὲ καί
2.8.75.1	M	M	Ἔχοιμ᾽ ἄν
2.8.76.1*	M	M	Ὡς μὲν οὖν
2.9.t.1	M	M	Πῶς τῷ ὕπνῳ

Location	P	M	Opening words
2.9.77.3*	M	M	Ἔτι γε μήν
2.9.78.3*	M	M	Καὶ τί μοι
2.9.79.2	M	M	Διὸ πολλάκις
2.9.80.3	M	M	Μὴ οὖν ἡμᾶς
2.9.81.1	M	M	Ἐρυγαὶ δέ
2.9.81.4*	M	M	ἐπεγερτέον δὲ νύκτωρ
2.9.82.1	M	M	Χρὴ δὲ καί
2.10.t.1	M	M	Τίνα διαληπτέον
2.10.83.4	M	M	Ὁρᾶτε γοῦν
2.10.84.1	M	M	Ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν
2.10.84.3	M	M	ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μέν
2.10.85.3*	M	M	ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστι
2.10.87.3	M	M	Ἐντεῦθεν συμφανές
2.10.88.3	M	M	Ἀπέχεσθαι τοίνυν
2.10.89.2*	M	M	Τὴν δὲ ἐπί
2.10.90.2*	M	M	ταύτῃ μοι δοκεῖ
2.10.91.1	M	M	Πάνυ γοῦν
2.10.92.1	M	M	Ὁ γοῦν αὐτός
2.10.93.3*	M	M	Διὰ τοῦτό τοι
2.10.94.1	M	M	Καθόλου μὲν οὖν
2.10.95.2	M	M	ἀσμενέστατα μέντοι
2.10.96.1	M	M	Κατὰ φύσιν δ᾽ ἄν
2.10.97.1	M	M	Οὐκ ἀεὶ δέ
2.10.99.3*	M	M	καὶ οὐκ ἀκούει
2.10.99.6	M	M	Μηδαμῶς τοίνυν
2.10.100.1*	M	M	πάντως δὲ ἤδη
2.10.100.2*	M	M	Ἰδοὺ γάρ
2.10.100.4*	M	M	Ταύτῃ τοι
2.10.101.2*	M	M	τὰ δὲ παθήματα
2.10.102.1	M	M	Οὔκουν ἀφροδισίων
2.10.102.2	M	M	Οὐκοῦν οὐδέ
2.10.102.5*	M	M	ὁμοίως δὲ καί
2.10.103.3	M	M	Σαφηνίζει δέ
2.10.103.5*	M	M	Εἰ δὲ ὅλως
2.10.104.1	M	M	Εἰ τοίνυν
2.10.105.1	M	M	Ἄνθρωπος γοῦν
2.10.105.2	M		Ἄγαμαι τῶν

(cont.)

Location	P	M	Opening words
2.10.105.3*	M	M	Ἀθηναίων δέ
2.10.106.3	M	M	Φημὶ τοίνυν
2.10.106.4	M	M	ὅρα μὴ οὐκ
2.10.107.2*	M	M	οὐ δὴ καθυφεῖναι
2.10.107.5*	M	M	Οὐ γὰρ ἔτι
2.10.108.3	M	M	Εἶδον τὰς ψυχάς
2.10.108.5*	M	M	Βάμμα γοῦν
2.10.109.3*	M	M	οἱ δὲ τὴν οὐράνιον
2.10.110.2	M	M	Πρὸς οὐδεμίαν
2.10.111.3	M	M	Ὁ γάρ τοι ἀρχαῖος
2.10.112.1	M	M	Ὁ δὲ μακάριος
2.10.113.1*	M	M	οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν
2.10.114.3	M	M	Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέ
2.10.115.3*	M	M	Δεῖ δὲ τὴν σκέπην
2.11.t.1	M	M	Περὶ ὑποδέσεως
2.11.116.2*	M	M	Χαίρειν οὖν
2.12.t.1	M	M	Ὅτι οὐ χρή
2.12.118.5*	M	M	ὃν μαργαρίτην
2.12.119.3	M	M	καὶ τίσιν οὖν
2.12.120.1*	M	M	Διὰ τοῦτό τοι
2.12.121.2	M	M	Καθόλου μὲν οὖν
2.12.122.3	M	M	Τούτους ἐζηλωκέναι
2.12.123.1	M	M	Τί οὖν ἔτι
2.12.123.2*	M	M	Ἤδη δέ
2.12.124.1	M	M	Πάνυ γοῦν
2.12.125.3*	M	M	Ἀπελλῆς ὁ ζωγράφος
2.12.127.1	M	M	Ἀποθέμεναι τοίνυν
2.12.127.2*	M	M	Πάνυ γοῦν

a Space but no ekthesis.
b Looks like ekthesis, but the letter is not that big. Maybe that is why it is not copied in the other manuscript.
c No ekthesis, but enlarged in-line letter
d Not a big ekthesis and no space in above line as it went to the end of the line.
e Space but no ekthesis .

Appendix 2: Paragraph Divisions in Romans by Manuscript

Table symbols:

M	Major break
m	Minor break
*	Break occurs in the middle (not at the beginning) of the verse

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
1:7*						M		χάρις ὑμῖν
1:8	M	M		M	M		M	Πρῶτον
1:9						M		μάρτυς γάρ
1:12					M			τοῦτο δέ
1:13	M	M			M	M	M	οὐ θέλω
1:16					M			οὐ γάρ
1:17					M			δικαιοσύνη γάρ
1:18		M			M	M		ἀποκαλύπτεται γάρ
1:19	M							διότι
1:20					M			τὰ γάρ
1:21					M			διότι γνόντες
1:22						M		φάσκοντες
1:24				M			m	διὸ παρέδοκεν
1:26	M	M		M	M		M	διά τοῦτο
1:26*					M			αἵ τε γάρ
1:27					M	M		ὁμοίως τε
1:28					M	M		καὶ καθώς
1:28*		M						παρέδοκεν αὐτούς
1:32					M			οἵτινες
2:1	M			M	M	M	m	διό ἀναπολόγητος
2:2					M	M	m	οἴδαμεν δέ
2:3	M	M			M		m	λογίζῃ
2:5					M	M		κατὰ δέ
2:7	M				M			τοῖς μέν
2:8					M	M		τοῖς δέ
2:10				M	M	M		δόξα δὲ καί
2:12					M	M		ὅσοι γάρ
2:12*					M			καὶ ὅσοι
2:13					M			οὐ γάρ
2:14	M	M			M	M		ὅταν γάρ

(cont.)

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
2:17	M	M		*a	M	M	M	εἰ δέ
2:21	M	M			M	M		ὁ οὖν
2:21*					M			ὁ κηρύσσων
2:22					M			ὁ λέγων
2:22*					M			ὁ βδελυσσόμενος
2:23					M			ὃς ἐν νόμῳ
2:24					M			τὸ γάρ
2:25	M				M	M	M	περιτομή
2:26					M	M		ἐάν οὖν
2:28					M			οὐ γάρ
2:29					M			ἀλλ᾽ ὁ
3:1	M	M			M	M	M	τί οὖν
3:4*					M	M	m	γινέσθε δέ
3:4*							M	ὅπως ἄν
3:5		M			M	M	M	εἰ δέ
3:5*					M			μὴ ἄδικος
3:6				M				μὴ γένοιτο
3:7					M			εἰ δέ
3:9		M			M	M	M	τί οὖν
3:10					M	M		καθὼς γέγραπται
3:10*				M				ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν
3:13						M		τάφος
3:15				M				ὀξεῖς οἱ πόδες
3:19	M	M	*b		M	M	M	οἴδαμεν
3:20*			m		M			διὰ γάρ
3:21			M					νυνὶ δέ
3:22				M	M		m	δικαιοσύνη δέ
3:25					M			ὃν προέθετο
3:27	M	M	M		M	M	M	ποῦ οὖν
3:27*				M				οὐ
3:27*				M				ἀλλά
3:28					M	M	m	λογιζόμεθα
3:29					M			ἢ Ἰουδαίων
3:31	M			M	M	M	m	νόμον οὖν
4:1	M	M	M		M	M	M	τί οὖν

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
4:3			m					τί γάρ
4:4	M			M^{c}	M	M		τῷ δέ
4:5					M			τῷ δὲ μή
4:6						M		καθάπερ καί
4:7				M	M		m	μακάριοι ὧν
4:9	M		M	M	M	M	M	ὁ μακαρισμός
4:9*					M			λέγομεν γάρ
4:10					M	M		πῶς οὖν
4:11					M			καὶ σημεῖον
4:13	M	M		M	M	M		οὐ γάρ
4:14						M		εἰ γάρ
4:15			m		M	M		ὁ γὰρ νόμος
4:16					M			διὰ τοῦτο
4:18				M	M			οὕτως ἔστιν
4:19	M				M	M		καὶ μή
4:20					M			εἰς δέ
4:23	M		m		M	M	M	οὐκ ἐγράφη
5:1	M	M	M		M		M	δικαιωθέντες
5:3	M				M	M		οὐ μόνον
5:6	M	M	M	M	M	M		ἔτι γάρ
5:7					M			μόλις γάρ
5:8	M				M	M		συνίστησαν
5:9					M		m	πολλῷ οὖν
5:10	M		M		M	M	M	εἰ γάρ
5:10*					M			πολλῷ μᾶλλον
5:11				M	M			οὐ μόνον δέ
5:12	M	M	M		M	M	M	διὰ τοῦτο
5:13					M			ἄρχι γάρ
5:14	M							ἀλλ᾽ ἐβασίλευσεν
5:15					M	M		ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ
5:15*		M			M			εἰ γάρ
5:15*					M			πολλῷ μᾶλλον
5:16*					M			τὸ μὲν γάρ
5:17	M		M^{d}		M	M	M	εἰ γάρ
5:17					M			πολλῷ μᾶλλον
5:18	M		M		M	M	M	ἄρα οὖν

(cont.)

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
5:18*		M						οὕτως καί
5:19	M				M	M		ὥσπερ γάρ
5:19*					M			οὕτως καί
5:20	M		M		M	M	M	νόμος δέ
5:20*					M			οὗ δέ
5:21					M			ἵνα ὥσπερ
5:21*					M			οὕτως καί
6:1	M	M	M		M	M	M	τί οὖν
6:2*					M			οἵτινες
6:3			m		M	M		ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε
6:4*					M			ἵνα ὥσπερ
6:5	M		m		M	M		εἰ γάρ
6:6					M			τοῦτο γινώσκοντες
6:7					M			ὁ γάρ
6:8						M		εἰ δέ
6:9			m					εἰδότες ὅτι
6:10			m		M	M		ὃ δὲ ζῇ
6:11					M			οὕτως καί
6:12	M	M	m		M	M	M	μὴ οὖν
6:13					M			μηδὲ παριστάνετε
6:13*					M			ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε
6:14					M			ἁμαρτία γάρ
6:15			m		M	M	M	τί οὖν
6:16					M	M		οὐκ οἴδατε
6:17	M				M	M	M	χάρις δέ
6:18		M			M	M	M	ἐλευθερωθέντες
6:19	M		M		M		M	ἀνθρώπινον
6:19*					M	M		ὥσπερ γάρ
6:19*					M			οὕτως νῦν
6:20			m		M			ὅτε γάρ
6:21					M		M	τίνα οὖν
6:22					M	M		νυνὶ δέ
6:23					M			τὰ γάρ
7:1	M	M	M		M	M	M	ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε
7:1*						M		ὅτι ὁ νόμος

Romans	D	0319	F	G	א	A	B	Opening words
7:2	M							ἡ γάρ
7:3					M		m	ἄρα οὖν
7:3*					M			ἐὰν δέ
7:4	M	M	M		M	M	M	ὥστε, ἀδελφοί
7:5	M				M	M		ὅτε γάρ
7:6					M			νυνὶ δέ
7:7	M	M	M		M	M	M	τί οὖν
7:7*					M			ἀλλὰ τήν
7:8*					M			χωρὶς γάρ
7:9						M	m	ἐγὼ δέ
7:11					M			ἡ γάρ
7:12	M		M		M	M	m	ὥστε ὁ μέν
7:13	M				M	M		τὸ οὖν
7:13*					M			ἀλλ᾽ ἡ
7:14	M	M			M	M	M	οἴδαμεν γάρ
7:15*					M			οὐ γάρ
7:17					M			νυνὶ δέ
7:18		M			M			οἶδα γάρ
7:18*					M			τὸ γάρ
7:19					M		m	οὐ γάρ
7:20			m					εἰ δὲ ὅ
7:21			M		M	M	m	εὑρίσκω
7:22					M			συνήδρομαι
7:23					M			βλέπω δέ
7:24	M	M			M	M		ταλαίπωρος
7:25					M	M	m	χάρις δέ
7:25*	M		M		M		M	ἄρα οὖν
8:1					M		M	οὐδὲν ἄρα
8:2			M^{e}	M^{f}	M			ὁ γάρ
8:3	M				M			τὸ γάρ
8:5*					M			οἱ δὲ κατά
8:6	M				M			τὸ γάρ
8:7					M			διότι
8:9					M		m	ὑμεῖς δέ
8:9*					M			εἰ δέ
8:10					M	M		εἰ δέ

(cont.)

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
8:11					M			εἰ δέ
8:12	M	M	M		M	M	M	ἄρα οὖν
8:14					M	M		ὅσοι γάρ
8:15			m					οὐ γάρ
8:16		M			M			αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα
8:18	M		M		M	M		λογίζομαι γάρ
8:19	M				M			ἡ γάρ
8:20					M		m	τῇ γάρ
8:22					M	M		οἴδαμεν γάρ
8:23					M			οὐ μόνον δέ
8:24*					M			ἐλπὶς δέ
8:26			M		M	M		ὡσαύτως
8:27			m		M			ὁ δέ
8:28		M			M		M	οἴδαμεν δέ
8:29			m		M	M		ὅτι οὕς
8:30					M	M		οὕς δέ
8:30*					M			καὶ οὕς
8:31	M	M	M		M	M	M	τί οὖν
8:32*	M							ἀλλ᾽ ὑπέρ
8:33					M	M	M	τίς ἐγκαλέσει
8:35	M	M	m		M	M	M	τίς (οὖν, F) ἡμᾶς
8:36					M			καθὼς γέγραπται
8:37	M	M	M		M			ἀλλ᾽ ἐν
8:38					M	M		πέπεισμαι γάρ
9:1	M		M		M	M	M	ἀλήθειαν
9:3					M			ηὐχόμην γάρ
9:5					M			ὧν οἱ
9:6	M				M	M	M	οὐκ οἷον
9:8	M							τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν
9:9					M			ἐπαγγελίας γάρ
9:10	M	M	m		M	M	M	οὐ μόνον
9:11					M			μήπω γάρ
9:12*			m					ὅτι ὁ
9:13	M							καθὼς γέγραπται
9:14	M	M	m		M		M	τί οὖν

Romans	D	0319	F	G	א	A	B	Opening words
9:15					M			τῷ Μωϋσεῖ
9:16	M				M	M	m	ἄρα οὖν
9:17					M	M		λέγει γάρ
9:18	M				M	M		ἄρα οὖν
9:19			M		M		M	ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι
9:20		M	m		M			ὦ ἄνθρωπε
9:21	M							ἢ οὐκ
9:22	M				M		M	εἰ δέ
9:25					M			ὡς καί
9:27	M	M	m		M		m	Ἡσαΐας δέ
9:28						M		λόγον γάρ
9:28*	M							εν δικαιοσυνη (D)
9:29	M				M	M		καὶ καθώς
9:30	M	M	M		M	M	M	τί οὖν
9:31	M				M			Ἰσραήλ
9:33					M	M		καθὼς γέγραπται
10:1	M	M^{g}	M		M	M	M	ἀδελφοί
10:3						M		ἀγνοοῦντες γάρ
10:4					M		M	τέλος γάρ
10:5	M		m		M	M		Μωϋσῆς γάρ
10:6					M	M	m	ἡ δέ
10:6*	M							τοῦτ᾽ ἐστιν
10:7*	M							τοῦτ᾽ ἐστιν
10:8					M	M		ἀλλὰ τί
10:8*			m					η γραγη (only in F)
10:8*	M							τοῦτ᾽ ἐστιν
10:10					M			καρδίᾳ γάρ
10:11					M	M	m	λέγει γάρ
10:12*			m					ὁ γάρ
10:13			m		M			πᾶς γάρ
10:14	M		M		M	M	m	πῶς οὖν
10:14*		M			M			πῶς δέ πιστεύσωσιν
10:14*					M			πῶς δέ ἀκούσωσιν
10:15					M			πῶς δέ
10:15*					M			καθὼς γέγραπται
10:15*						M		ὡς ὡραῖοι

(cont.)

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
10:16	M				M			ἀλλ᾽ οὐ
10:16*					M	M		Ἡσαΐας γάρ
10:17	M		m		M			ἄρα (οὖν, F) ἡ
10:18		M			M			ἀλλὰ λέγω
10:18*						M		εἰς πᾶσαν
10:19	M		M		M			ἀλλὰ λέγω
10:19*			m					ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω
10:20	M				M	M		Ἡσαΐας δέ
10:21	M				M	M		πρὸς δέ
11:1	M				M	M		λέγω οὖν
11:1*		M						μὴ γένιοτο
11:2*	M				M	M	M	ἢ οὐκ
11:4	M				M	M		ἀλλὰ τί
11:4*						M		κατέλιπον
11:5	M	M	m		M			οὕτως οὖν
11:7	M		M		M			τί οὖν
11:7*			m					ἡ δὲ ἐκλογή
11:8					M	M		καθὼς γέγραπται
11:9	M				M	M		καὶ Δαυίδ
11:10*			m					σκοτισθήτωσαν
11:11	M		m		M	M	m	λέγω οὖν
11:11*					M			ἀλλὰ τῷ
11:12	M				M			εἰ δέ
11:13	M				M	M	M	ὑμῖν γάρ
11:15	M	M	m		M	M		εἰ γάρ
11:16	M		M		M			εἰ δέ
11:17	M				M	M		εἰ δέ
11:19	M				M	M		ἐρεῖς οὖν
11:22	M	M	M		M	M	M	ἴδε οὖν
11:22*			m					ἐπὶ δέ
11:22*			m					ἐπεὶ καί
11:24			m		M	M		εἰ γάρ
11:25	M	M	M		M	M	M	οὐ γάρ
11:26*					M	M		καθὼς γέγραπται
11:28	M	M			M	M		κατὰ μέν

Romans	D	0319	F	G	א	A	B	Opening words
11:30						M		ὥσπερ γάρ
11:31					M			οὕτως καί
11:33	M	M	M		M	M	M	ὦ βάθος
12:1	M	M	M		M	M	M	παρακαλῶ
12:2					M			καὶ μή
12:3	M	M			M	M		λέγω γάρ
12:4	M				M	M		ὥσπερ γάρ
12:6					M	M	M	ἔχοντες δέ
12:8*					M			ὁ μεταδιδούς
12:9					M	M		ἡ ἀγάπη
12:10					M			τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ
12:11					M			τῇ σπουδῇ
12:14					M			εὐλογεῖτε
12:15					M	M		χαίρειν
12:16*					M			μὴ τὰ ὑψηλά
12:16*	M	M				M		μὴ γίνεσθε
12:17					M			μηδενὶ κακόν
12:17*		m						προνοούμενοι
12:18					M			εἰ δυνατόν
12:19					M	M		μὴ ἑαυτούς
12:20					M	M		ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν
12:20*		m						τοῦτο γάρ
12:21					M	M		μὴ νικῶ
13:1		M	M		M		M	πᾶσα ψυχή
13:1*			m					οὐ γάρ ἔστιν
13:2						M		ὥστε ὁ
13:3					M	M		οἱ γάρ
13:5					M	M		διὸ ἀνάγκη
13:7		M			M	M	M	ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν
13:8*					M	M		ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν
13:9*	M							καὶ εἴ τις
13:10*					M		m	πλήρωμα οὖν
13:11					M	M		καὶ τοῦτο
13:11*		M				M		νῦν γάρ
13:12*					M			ἀποθώμεθα οὖν
13:14*	M				M			τῆς σαρκός

(cont.)

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
14:1			M		M		M	τὸν δέ
14:3			m		M			ὁ ἐσθίων
14:4						M		σὺ τίς
14:5					M			ὃς μὲν γάρ
14:6	M	M			M	M	m	ὁ φρονῶν
14:6*					M			καὶ ὁ μή
14:7					M			οὐδεὶς γάρ
14:9	M		m					εἰς τοῦτο
14:10		M	M		M	M		σὺ δὲ τί
14:10*			m					πάντες γάρ
14:11					M			γέγραπται γάρ
14:12		M				M	m	ἄρα (οὖν)
14:13					M			μηκέτι οὖν
14:14	M		m		M	M	M	οἶδα καί
14:15			m		M	M	m	εἰ γὰρ διά
14:16	M					M		μὴ βλασφημείσθω
14:17					M			οὐ γάρ
14:19	M	M	M		M	M	m	ἄρα οὖν
14:20*					M			πάντα μέν
14:21	M						m	καλὸν τὸ μή
14:22			m		M		m	σὺ πίστιν
14:22*	M					M		μακάριος
15:1		M	M	M^h	M	M	M	ὀφείλομεν
15:3						M		καὶ γάρ
15:4	M				M			ὅσα γάρ
15:5	M				M	M	M	ὁ δὲ θεός
15:7	M				M	M	m	διὸ προσλαμβάνεσθε
15:8	M	M			M			λέγω γάρ
15:9*					M			καθὼς γέγραπται
15:9*						M		διὰ τοῦτο
15:10	M				M			καὶ πάλιν
15:10*						M		εὐφράνθητε
15:11	M				M			καὶ πάλιν
15:11*						M		αἰνεῖτε
15:12	M				M	M		καὶ πάλιν

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
15:13	M	M			M	M		ὁ δὲ θεός
15:14	M		M		M	M		πέπεισμαι δέ
15:15	M				M	M	M	τολμηρότερον
15:17	M				M	M	M	ἔχω οὖν
15:19*	M				M			ὥστε με
15:20					M	M		οὕτως δέ
15:22					M			διὸ καί
15:23		M			M			νυνὶ δέ
15:25			M		M	M	M	νυνὶ δέ
15:28		M			M	M		τοῦτο οὖν
15:30	M		M		M	M	M	παρακαλῶ
15:33	M				M		m	ὁ δὲ θεός
16:1	M	M	M		M	M	M	Συνίστημι
16:3	M		M		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:5*	M	M	m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:6	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:7	M[i]		m		M		M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:8	M	M	m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:9	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:10	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:10*	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:11	M				M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:11*	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:12	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:12*	M		m		M	*[j]	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:13	M		m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:14	M	M	m		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:15	M		*[k]		M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:16	M				M	M	M	ἀσπάσασθε
16:16*					M	M	M	ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς
16:17		M	M	M	M	M	M	παρακαλῶ δέ
16:19					M			ἡ γάρ
16:19*						M		ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν οὖν
16:19*	M							χαίρω
16:19*					M			θέλω δέ
16:20	M	M			M			ὁ δὲ θεός

(cont.)

Romans	D	0319	F	G	ℵ	A	B	Opening words
16:20*					M	M		ἡ χάρις
16:21			m		M	M	M	ἀσπάζεται
16:22	M	M	m		M	M	M	ἀσπάζομαι
16:23	M					M	M	ἀσπάζεται
16:23*					M	M	M	ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς
16:24	M							η χαρις
16:25	M				M	M[l]		τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ
Total	149	74	106	19	319	190	120	

a Text is missing between 2:16b–25a.
b Text is missing until Rom 3:19.
c This break lacks a *diple*, but has two large, colored letters.
d Beginning from this verse the scribe did not finish adding many of the colored initial letters. The spaces left for them and the lightly written space-holding letter allow us to identify the breaks.
e Although there is no ekthesis, there is a four-line gap in the manuscript. No Greek text is missing, though there is Latin text for this space.
f There is a full line gap in the text.
g The ekthetic letter (Δ) is one line lower than normal, but there is no break in the previous line to indicate where the new sense unit should begin.
h Large four-line gap between 14:23 and 15:1.
i This is not marked by ekthesis in the Greek, though it is in the Latin. In the Greek there is an extended paragraphos to make the division.
j Missing in A.
k Sense units are not marked in the Greek text for vv. 15 and 16, though the Latin text has ekthesis.
l Both at Romans 14 and the end of the letter.

CHAPTER 7

Christian Demographics and the Dates of Early New Testament Papyri

Craig A. Evans

On the basis of the assumption that in the second century there were very few Christians and that therefore Christians made up a very small percentage of the total population of Egypt (and elsewhere in the Roman Empire), Roger Bagnall surmises that "the inherent probability of finding many Christian books truly datable to the second century is very low."[1] Accordingly, he suspects that several Greek New Testament papyri that have been dated to the second century probably should be assigned later dates.

At first blush Bagnall's thinking seems reasonable. After all, if "Christians did not amount to as much as 1 percent of the population"[2] until the early third century, we should expect to find very few Christian papyri, perhaps none, that truly date to the second century. It is simply a matter of probability based on a correlation between demographics and literary remains. Indeed, a number of studies have appeared in recent years arguing for later dates for several papyri.[3]

1 Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, 65.

2 Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, 19.

3 Nongbri, "Use and Abuse of P^{52}"; Nongbri, "Limits of Palaeographic Dating"; Baker, "Dating of New Testament Papyri"; Houghton, "Recent Developments," 251; Orsini and Clarysse, "Early New Testament Manuscripts"; Porter, "Recent Efforts." Especially problematic are assertions of very early dates for some papyri in Kim, "Palaeographical Dating"; Thiede, "Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17"; Comfort, *Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*; Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts*. Kim dates P^{46} (a codex of Paul's letters) to the end of the first century, while Thiede proposes a similar early date for P^{64} (three small fragments of Matthew 26). These proposals have been severely criticized. Comfort, who also faults the methods and conclusions of Kim and Thiede, nevertheless proposes dates that are widely regarded as too early. For example, he dates $P^{64+67+4}$ (fragments of Matthew and Luke) mid to late second century (*Encountering the Manuscripts*, 127–30), P^{32} (fragments of Titus) second century (130–31), P^{46} (Paul's letters) mid to late second century (131–39), P^{52} (small fragment of John) first quarter of second century (139–43), P^{66} (most of John) mid-second century (143–47), P^{72} (portions of Luke and John) late second century (150), P^{77+103} (fragments of Matthew) late second century (150–51), P^{87} (fragment of Philemon) early to mid-second century (151–53), P^{90} (fragment of John) second half of second century (153–56), P^{98} (fragment of Revelation) mid-second century (156–60), P^{104} (fragments of Matthew) early second century (160–63),

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Bagnall's estimation of the Christian population in Egypt is based on Rodney Stark's highly theoretical formula, in which he begins with a very small number of Christians at the beginning of the movement and ends with "an overwhelming majority by the late fourth century," by which time the new faith was legal.[4] Following Stark's math, Bagnall estimates that at the beginning of the second century there were just over 750 Christians in Egypt (about 0.014 percent of the population) and at the end of the second century there were just over 21,000 Christians in Egypt (about 0.395 percent of the population). On the basis of these figures and the total number of books or fragments of books recovered from the second century, Bagnall believes that "We should have just one or two Christian fragments from the second century as a whole." Accordingly, "On any reckoning, the number of published fragments of Christian character usually assigned to these early periods *considerably exceeds the expected number*."[5]

Bagnall does acknowledge uncertainties in this kind of argument. His and Stark's statistics assume a steady increase in Christian population, spread more or less evenly throughout the empire. Bagnall admits that this is unlikely; that increases in the Christian population no doubt varied and that growth of the Christian population probably varied from region to region. He also acknowledges that literacy, attitudes toward and practices with respect to literature regarded as sacred, and violence that resulted in the deliberate destruction of Christian writings are all variables that could tilt the statistics in one direction or the other. Nevertheless, Bagnall believes we should be guided by these demographic estimations when we attempt to date Christian writings from antiquity. If we are guided by these estimations, then we may have to conclude that at most only one or two (and not as many as one dozen) of the New Testament papyri recovered thus far date from the second century.

In his review of Bagnall's book, Larry Hurtado is troubled by the acknowledged demographic uncertainties. He agrees that the later dating of early New Testament papyri recommended by Eric Turner is to be preferred to some of the early dating recommended by others,[6] and so on that score he is in agreement

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and P^{109} (fragments of John) late second century (163), for a total of 12 mss dated to the second century. Comfort (*Encountering the Manuscripts*, 163–87) dates another 18 mss to the first half of the third century. For the locations of the discovery of these papyri, see Porter, "What Do We Know," 47–49.

4 Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, 19; Stark, *Rise of Christianity*, 3–27; Hopkins, "Christian Number."

5 Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, 21 (emphasis added).

6 Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 145–50 (for papyri, ending with P^{81}) 150–63 (for parchment mss). For a convenient survey of the proposed dates of the papyri in scholarly literature,

with Bagnall, but he is "less swayed by Bagnall's attempt to mount his argument from probability," adding: "It all seems to me too much guesswork to form the basis of anything compelling."[7] I share Hurtado's unease with this kind of argument.[8]

There are other demographic factors that must be taken into account. Foremost is the utter uncertainty of it all. Review of the literature concerned with estimating populations of the Roman Empire as a whole or of various regions, such as Palestine and Egypt, shows how estimations vary widely. We simply do not know how many people lived in Palestine, how many people lived in Egypt (or how many who lived in Egypt were Jewish), and how many people lived in Rome or in Italy. Historians and geographers base their estimations on how much grain a given region could produce, as well as how many kilograms of grain per capita annually would have been required. The latter we can estimate, but what can we really know of the former? Closely linked to these factors is the question of how much water was available, both for drinking and for irrigation. Population estimations involve as much guesswork as evidence.[9]

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see Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 103n1 (P^{45}), 199n1 (P^{46}), 359n1 (P^{47}), 399n2 (P^{66}), 547–48nn19–26 (P^{72}), and 615n1 (P^{75}).

7 Hurtado, Review of *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, 2. In an unpublished paper ("New Testament Scholarship and the Dating of New Testament Papyri," 10n29) Hurtado uses the term "guestimates" for Bagnall's approach and conclusions: It is "the best term to describe the dubious basis for his calculations."

8 So does Baker, "Dating of New Testament Papyri," 582. Allen Kerkeslager appears to embrace Bagnall's statistics. See Kerkeslager, Review of *Early Christian Books in Egypt*. Stephan Witetschek appreciates Bagnall's caution but does not necessarily commit to his conclusions. See Witetschek, Review of *Early Christian Books in Egypt*.

9 Here I can only offer a modest sampling of the scholarly literature. I found very helpful Broshi, "Estimating the Population"; Broshi, "Population of Western Palestine"; Schnabel, *Jesus and the Twelve*, 558–60. Broshi shows how difficult it is (and was) to determine population based on a variety of models, including estimations of food production, water availability, and density of populations in cities, villages, and rural settings. For further discussion, see Zorn, "Estimating the Population Size"; Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 62–99, with special reference to Galilee (although his population estimates are probably too high). In a more recent study, Brian McGing underscores how inaccurate ancient statements about population were. See McGing, "Population and Proselytism." See also the recent study by Willet, "Whirlwind of Numbers." Willet offers a masterful survey and critique of the several methods used to estimate the population of Roman-era Corinth. The difficulties are seen in the wildly different results. For a study of the population of Sagalassos in southwestern Asia Minor in late antiquity, see Willet and Poblome, "Scale of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware Production," esp. 135–44.

In my view, regional factors and demographic variations should be carefully considered.[10] For example, we should probably assume that the large Jewish population in Egypt resulted in a Christian population larger than Christian populations elsewhere in the Roman Empire. In its first two centuries or so, Christianity spread rapidly among the Jewish population, especially among "God fearers" and proselytes. Wherever large Jewish populations were, we should assume a greater than average Christian population. Of course, we are not sure how many Jews lived in Egypt and therefore the number of Christians is unknown. According to Philo, "Jews who inhabited Alexandria and the rest of the country from the Catabathmos on the side of Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia were not less than a million" (*Flacc.* 43). Philo's reckoning is inflated, to be sure, but by how much?[11] The total population of Egypt is unknown, with scholarly estimations ranging from three to seven million.[12] Conservative estimations of the Jewish population in Egypt range from 150,000 and 200,000, with half in Alexandria.[13] Others speak of several hundred thousands, perhaps one million.[14] But again, these are only educated guesses.

I also have reservations about the logic of Bagnall's approach. After all, it could be argued that the several Christian papyri found in Egypt and dated to the second century constitute evidence that the Christian population in Egypt was not as small as suggested in Bagnall's application of Stark's calculations.

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10 I have no wish to be unfair to Bagnall. He has himself wrestled with many of these questions, especially with regard to Egypt in the Roman period. See Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt*. On the basis of some 300 census returns that date from the first three centuries of the common era, Bagnall and Frier infer data about the size of population, size and makeup of families, mortality rates, marriage, and migration. Bagnall and Frier believe that the model they have created could apply to populations elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. See also Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society*.

11 And in any case, Philo's "not less than a million" (ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατόν), exaggeration aside, is far from precise.

12 McGing, "Population and Proselytism," 102–3.

13 The Jewish populations of Egypt, Alexandria, and Rome are surveyed in Horsley, *New Documents*, vol. 5, 37; Schnabel, *Jesus and the Twelve*, 852–57. Schnabel provides a concise summary of the literary, inscriptional, and archaeological evidence of the Jewish population in Egypt and, especially, in Alexandria. The Jewish population is estimated to be about 3 percent of the Egyptian population at the beginning of Roman Rule. Schnabel, *Jesus and the Twelve*, 94. The history of the Jewish people in Egypt, and especially in Alexandria, in late antiquity is surveyed in Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 220–42. That the Jewish population in Egypt and Alexandria was substantial cannot be doubted, but putting a number to it is largely guesswork.

14 Schnabel (*Jesus and the Twelve*, 854) speaks of "several hundred thousand." He also allows that Philo's rough estimate of one million could be correct.

In other words, the evidence of the papyri should be viewed as primary and guesses about population should be viewed as secondary. The first (paleography of papyri) controls the second (estimations of population), not the reverse. I shall return to this point at the end of my study.

As it so happens, we may have direct evidence of surprisingly large numbers of Christians in the second century in a given region. This region is not in Egypt; it is in Asia Minor. In my opinion, this evidence should make us cautious about assumptions of tiny numbers of Christians, which in turn lead to further assumptions about how many Christian manuscripts we should expect to recover from a given place and period of time.

Pliny's letter to Trajan in 111/112 suggests that the number of Christians in Pontus of Asia Minor was far greater than a fraction of 1 percent of the general population. I refer, of course, to the much-discussed letter in which Pliny briefly describes the Christians he has interrogated. The letter is well known and often cited because of its reference to Christians, who "chant verses alternately among themselves in honour of Christ as if he were a god" and at the end of their ceremony "take food of an ordinary, harmless kind" (*Ep.* 10.96.7).

Pliny was appointed *legatus pro praetore provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae* in 109 or 110 CE by Emperor Trajan.[15] The provinces of Pontus and Bithynia were disorganized and rife with corruption. Pliny's task as the emperor's legate was to reorganize this territory in Asia Minor, restore law and order, and bring the economy back to its full potential. Pliny wrote the emperor some thirty-seven times, asking for advice or providing updates. The letter that seeks the emperor's advice regarding the Christians is concerned with economics as much as it is concerned with religion and law. Pliny apparently died in 112, not long after writing the letter with which we are concerned in the present study.[16]

My interest with the letter concerns the larger context of the letter, not Pliny's description of the Christians, their beliefs, or what is said about Jesus. Pliny's concern was less the religious character of the Christians than it was the impact that the movement was having on the pagan religious economy. Here is part of his letter, a part that is usually not quoted:

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15 As inscribed on his epitaph. See *CIL* V 5262 (= *ILS* 2927), 5263, and 5667.

16 For a brief biography of Pliny, including his service in Pontus–Bithynia, see Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny*, 69–82; Sherwin-White, *Fifty Letters of Pliny*, ix–xxi; Talbert, "Pliny the Younger." On Pliny's benefactions, see Horster, "Urban Infrastructure," 529–30. On Pliny and Christians, see Reichert, "Durchdachte Konfusion"; Molthagen, "Das Nichtwissen des Plinius"; Thraede, "Noch einmal: Plinius"; Peper, "Pliny and Trajan Correspondence"; Bickerman, "Pliny, Trajan, Hadrian." To what extent Pliny had knowledge of Christians and their practices is debated in these studies.

> . . . the charges are becoming more widespread and increasing in variety. (5) An anonymous pamphlet has been circulated which contains the names of a number of accused persons. . . . (9) The question seems to me to be worthy of your consideration, especially in view of *the number of persons* endangered; for a *great many* individuals of every age and class, both men and women, are being brought to trial, and this is likely to continue. It is not only the towns, but villages and rural districts too which are infected through contact with this wretched cult. (10) I think though that it is still possible for it to be checked and directed to better ends, for there is no doubt that people have begun to throng the temples which had been *almost entirely deserted* for a long time; the sacred rites which had been allowed to lapse are being performed again, and flesh of sacrificial victims is on sale everywhere, though up till recently *scarcely anyone* could be found to buy it. It is easy to infer from this that a *great many* people could be reformed if they were given an opportunity to repent.[17] (*Ep.* 10.96.4b–5a, 9–10, emphasis added)

Pliny wrote this letter sometime in late 111 or early 112 (or late 110 / early 111). Whereas most of the letter is focused on how to deal with Christians, it is in the last part quoted above, especially §§9–10, that takes us to the root of the problem, which gave rise to accusations and Pliny's decision to take firm action. In §4b the governor reports that charges against Christians "are becoming more widespread and increasing in variety." Indeed, an unsigned "pamphlet has been circulated which contains the names of a number of accused persons" (§5). The pot, it would seem, had begun to boil prior to Pliny's watch and

17 Translation from Radice, *Pliny II*, 287, 291. It has been suggested that most of 10.96.9–10 constitutes a Christian interpolation by a martyr of the name Apollonius, who was inspired by Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; the book of Acts; Justin, *Apol.*; and other letters of Pliny collected in book 10. This curious hypothesis is advanced in Herrmann, "Les interpolations." Virtually no one follows Herrmann. For refutation, see Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny*, 691–92. Robert Grant's speculation that the letter is more art and fancy than factual and based on eyewitness testimony, is unpersuasive. See Grant, "Pliny and the Christians." For refutation, see again Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny*, 692: "[T]his letter like all others in [book 10] is a factual report to the Princeps [i.e., the emperor], however well written, and whatever the literary echoes." The letter is commented on by various Church Fathers, including Tertullian (*Apol.* 2.6–7) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.33.128–29). Another recent study suggests the presence of interpolations: see Tuccinardi, "Application of a Profile-Based Method." To argue against the authenticity of *Ep.* 10.96, one also has to argue against the authenticity of *Ep.* 10.97 (Trajan's reply).

now he has to do something about it. What made the pot boil becomes clear in the last part of the letter.

Pliny believes it is necessary to bring the matter to the emperor's attention "in view of the number of persons endangered" (§9), that is, endangered by the new cult (*superstitionis*). It is likely the governor means that the population is in danger of the wrath of the local gods, whose rites have been neglected thanks to the Christians who worship Christ and him alone.[18] The matter must be taken seriously, "for a great many [*multi*] individuals" of every age and class have become Christians and now face charges. Alas, remarks Pliny, "this is likely to continue" (§9). Indeed, the pestilence has spread everywhere, to the villages and rural districts, as well as to the towns.[19]

Pliny ends his letter on a positive, hopeful note. He assures the emperor that "it is still possible for it [the Christian plague] to be checked and directed to better ends" (§10). This, of course, is what Trajan wants to hear. To support his optimism Pliny notes that "people have begun to throng the temples which had been almost entirely deserted for a long time; the sacred rites which had been allowed to lapse are being performed again." The "flesh of sacrificial victims," Pliny continues, "is on sale everywhere, though up till recently scarcely anyone could be found to buy it" (§10).

Deserted temples (*desolata templa*), lapsed rites (*sacra sollemnia*), and no demand for sacrificial victims (*carnem victimarum*)! Pliny could not have painted a bleaker picture. We may have some exaggeration, perhaps largely manufactured by the pagan priests themselves,[20] but Pliny's report should be

18 Sherwin-White, *Fifty Letters of Pliny*, 172, writes, "The civic gods would be angry if any alien deity received offerings and worship from the inhabitants of their own territory." Refusal to worship the gods led to the charge of atheism. The angry crowd shouts against Polycarp, "Away with the atheists [αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους]" (*Mart. Poly*. 3:2; 9:2; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.15.6), later calling the Christian martyr "the destroyer of our gods, who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship" (4.15.26). Justin candidly acknowledges: "Hence are we called atheists [ἄθεοι]. And we confess that we are atheists [ἄθεοι], so far as gods of this sort are concerned, but not with respect to the most true God" (*1 Apol.* 6). Lucian of Samosata states that Christians "deny the Greek gods" (*Peregrinus* 13).

19 Recall how in reference to Christianity Tacitus remarks that "everything horrid and wicked" gathers in Rome (*Ann.* 15.44). To Pliny's great distress, the Christian plague is not limited to cities but has spread everywhere, even to villages and rural districts.

20 As plausibly surmised by Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny*, 709–10. Sherwin-White comments that the "great municipal offerings financed out of rates and liturgies would not be affected" by Christian influence and non-participation. "Only the small offerings of individuals and families on personal occasions would be reduced" (*Letters of Pliny*, 710). Nevertheless, a significant reduction of the number of these offerings would be felt.

taken seriously. Thanks to the governor's firm hand, the situation has been rectified and things are beginning to return to normal. People now throng the temples and flesh of sacrificial victims is on sale everywhere,[21] which only shows that "a great many people could be reformed if they are given an opportunity to repent." Competent governors like Pliny bring about these satisfactory outcomes. The emperor must have been pleased to hear this (and he was, as we learn in *Ep.* 10.97: "You have followed the right course of procedure, my dear Pliny").

The politics behind Pliny's letter are obvious. The rhetorical touches are hard to miss and there is no question that we have in this paragraph some exaggeration.[22] But even so, for the situation to develop in the first place, for the priests to make their complaints, for the emperor to find it necessary to send his trusted lieutenant to Pontus–Bithynia, there must have been a real problem. A big part of that problem must have been a noticeable decline in participation in the pagan rites, which gave rise to priestly complaints. Christian influence seems to have been a significant cause (but probably not the only cause). For Christians to have contributed to a decline in participation in the pagan rites, at least enough to have blame assigned them, their numbers had to be substantial.[23] A tiny number would have had no impact and therefore there would have been little reason to make a fuss.

Roman administrators were legally permitted to intimidate, interrogate, torture, imprison, even execute Christians, as well as members of other unlawful or non-recognized *collegia* ("clubs"), largely because of restrictions against such *collegia* originally put in place by Julius Caesar (c. 46 BC). These restrictions created a legal precedent, which guided later governors. Caesar's policy, followed by his successors (most importantly Augustus; see Suetonius, *Jul.* 32.1; Dio 54.2, as well as the inscription in *CIL* VI 2193 = *ILS* 4966),[24] is explicitly

21 The renewed sale of sacrificial meat is a sure sign that Christian influence is in retreat, for many Christians refused to eat meat sacrificed to idols (Acts 15:29; 21:25; *Did.* 6:3) and those who ate it were sometimes severely criticized by other Christians (Rev 2:14, 20).

22 The role of Christians themselves may have been part of the exaggeration, in that Christians—a relatively small and unprotected sect—were far easier to blame than other groups. It may be that Pliny's decision to punish the Christians (and apparently not others) served as a warning for the general public not to neglect the civic deities and their respective cults.

23 It is possible that the pagan cults, both civic and private, had been in decline for some time and that the influence of Christianity had only contributed to this decline. Evidently Christians resisted Pliny's reform efforts and so came to the governor's attention.

24 Augustus updated this policy. He "initiated legislation that made it illegal for any association to meet more than once a month." To meet more often "would be a case of

mentioned by Suetonius: "[Caesar] dissolved all clubs except those that were long established" (*Jul.* 42.3: *cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit*). It is also presupposed by Josephus, who reminds his Roman readers of the privilege Jews have to meet together:

> The Jews of Delos . . . signified to us, that, by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates . . . even Caius Caesar, our imperator and consul, in that decree in which he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, nevertheless permitted these Jews and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to hold their common meals [σύνδειπνα]. (*Ant.* 14.213–215)

In defense of the Jewish people in Alexandria, Emperor Claudius makes the same point: "[the Jewish people] have lived in the city a long time" (P.Lond. 1912, line 82).

By the beginning of the second century most Christians gathered and worshiped outside the synagogues (see Ignatius, *Magn.* 8:1; 10:1, 3; *Phil.* 6:1; as well, the expulsion texts of John 9:22; 12:42; and 16:2 are probably relevant). Unlike Jews who met in synagogues, Christians who were estranged from the synagogues did not enjoy immunity from the law against assembly, for Christian assemblies were not "long established." Simply by meeting together, Christians ran the risk of drawing unwelcome attention from the authorities.

Emperor Trajan himself seemed particularly uneasy with regard to associations and clubs. Indeed, he was concerned that military commanders not have at their disposal too many troops. Some of his correspondence with Pliny touched on this very topic (*Ep.* 10.22, 30, 56, 110, 111). The great jurist Ulpian (late second century) opined that a competent governor pacified his province and, if necessary, sought evil and disruptive persons, clearing them from his province.[25] It is quite probable that Pliny acted against the Christians because

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collegium illicitum." Only Jews were exempt. They were allowed to meet weekly. See Winter, *Divine Honours*, 192–95, quotation from 194. See also Robinson, *Criminal Law of Rome*, 80. The law against *collegium illicitum* may have been in play when charges were brought against Paul and his host Jason in Corinth (Acts 17:5–9). On this, see Hardin, "Decrees and Drachmas at Thessalonica."

25 See Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire*, 148–51, 161–63. Ulpian's comments are recorded in the *Digesta* 1.18.13.

he knew full well the emperor's sentiments. To "pacify" Pontus it was necessary to suppress the Christian movement.

From Pliny's point of view, what makes the situation in Pontus and Bithynia critical is that the pagan temples "had been almost entirely deserted for a long time" and "the sacred rites . . . had been allowed to lapse." Through Pliny's actions, which included arresting, torturing, and even in some cases executing Christians, the people were beginning to return to the temples and once again to perform the sacred rites. As much as anything else, it was the economic impact that the growing Christian population had on the pagan cults that had contributed to the crisis,[26] that led to accusations, which included the circulation of an anonymous pamphlet that named several Christians.

Pliny ends his letter to Trajan on a hopeful note, inferring from the rebounding sales of meat sacrificed to the gods that the situation was beginning to return to normal. The governor adds, almost in a sermonizing tone, that—to quote the governor's platitude one more time—"a great many people can be reformed if given opportunity to repent."[27]

The point here is that for Christians to have had such an impact in towns, villages, and rural districts, with the result that the pagan temples "had been almost entirely deserted" and the sacred rites "had been allowed to lapse," their numbers must have been significant. Surely, if Christians made up less than 10 percent of the population (never mind 1 percent!), it is hard to see how they could have played such a role or why Pliny would have focused so much attention on them in his actions and in his letter to the emperor. The Christian population in Pontus–Bithynia must have been substantial for the pagan cults, rites, and sale of sacrificial meat to have been impacted to such a degree.

One should also wonder about the involvement of Roman emperors in the persecution of Christians, if their numbers in the first and second centuries were so tiny. However, if Christian numbers were more substantial, involvement of the emperors in persecution and legal actions would make sense. We immediately think of Nero (54–68 CE), who blamed Christians for the fire that destroyed a great part of Rome (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; Suetonius, *Nero* 16).[28] If

26 As rightly perceived in Trueman, *Histories and Fallacies*, 74–79. An obvious example of how the Christian message threatened the pagan cultic economy is seen in Acts 19:23–27, where the silversmiths cry out against Paul, for teaching that Artemis and the gods are "nothing."

27 Rhetoric aside, Pliny probably speaks from experience. Intervening in religious matters is a theme that appears in several of his letters (*Ep.* 10.49–50, 68–71, 81–82, 96–97).

28 See Lampe, "Roman Christians." Here it is necessary to respond briefly to Shaw, "Myth of the Neronian Persecution." Shaw calls into question the accuracy of the testimony of the

the Christian population in Rome was very small, we should not expect the emperor to even know of them. And, if he did, would blaming a tiny sect, hardly known to the Roman public, achieve the emperor's purpose, to shift blame for the catastrophic fire? However, a large number of Christians, involved in controversies with the synagogue that sometimes spilled out into public view and provoking the ire of Romans for not supporting the traditional gods, makes better sense of Nero's actions.

Trajan (98–117 CE) knew who the Christians were, as we have seen in his correspondence with Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96–97).[29] Hadrian (117–138 CE) and Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE) knew of persecution of Christians and may even have condoned it (Justin, *1 Apol.* 1.68–69; cited and discussed in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.8.7–9.3).[30] Marcus Aurelius (161–180 CE) was involved in trials of Christians (Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 11.3; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1). Although it is debated, Claudius (41–54 CE) may have been involved in Christian controversy (Suetonius, *Claud.* 25.4; Acts 18:2). If so, then Christians had become known to the highest Roman authority by the end of the 40's, which makes Nero's subsequent use of Christians as scapegoats more understandable. For them to be on the imperial radar, so to speak, by the middle of the first century is easier to explain if the Christian population was substantial, not tiny.[31]

The Jewish population was large in Rome, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Libya (especially Alexandria and Cyrene). It is among the Jewish population that the Christian movement grew rapidly. This is hardly surprising, for the Christian movement began as a Jewish sect, eventually reaching out to non-Jews, but not without controversy, as seen in the book of Acts (e.g., Acts 10–11, 15) and in other New Testament writings, especially the letters of Paul (e.g., Rom 9–11; Gal 1–4). Paul's missionary strategy of going "to the Jew first, then also to the Greek" (Rom 1:16; 2:9) was not uniquely Pauline but seems to have reflected

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passage in Tacitus. Shaw argues that Tacitus is probably thinking of things that were happening in his own time, not the time of Nero. But where is the evidence for these things happening at the beginning of the second century? The violence directed against the Christians, described by Tacitus, is fully in keeping with the insanity and cruelty of Nero, not the more restrained policies of Trajan. Shaw's hypothesis is theoretically possible, but in my view it creates more problems than it solves.

29 For further discussion, see Decrept, "La persécution oubliée." It is interesting that in his reply to Pliny the emperor does not ask for further information about the Christians. He seems to have known of them prior to receiving Pliny's letter.

30 Bickerman, "Pliny, Trajan, Hadrian."

31 For more on the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire, see Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny*, 772–87; Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire*, 164–68. See also Keresztes, "Imperial Roman Government."

the strategy of the church as a whole. In Acts, Paul and his companions speak first to the congregations of local synagogues, then to non-Jews. We see this pattern in city after city that the apostle enters (Acts 13:14; 14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 19, 26; 19:8).

Although the focus of the book of Acts is on Paul's work in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, there is good evidence of Christian missionary efforts in Egypt in the first century. After a detailed evaluation of the pertinent evidence, Eckhard Schnabel opines that it "seems that Christian communities were established in North Africa at an early date."[32] By "early date" Schnabel means the first century. In my view there is no reason to assume that the Christian population in Egypt was less than what it was in Asia Minor.[33]

There is one other point that should be made. The Christian movement relied heavily on authoritative written texts, especially the Gospels and the letters of Paul, which among religious groups in the Roman Empire was unusual: "At its core, early Christianity was a religion concerned with books."[34] An emphasis on sacred literature was inherited from Judaism. I should think too that given the closeness and overlap with Judaism and the Jewish people, Christian writings were important to clarify to insiders as well as to outsiders in what ways the Christian movement embraced the mother faith and in what ways it was distinctive (in proclaiming the resurrection and messianic identity of Jesus). In this important way, Christianity, as well as Judaism, was very different from other Greco-Roman cults, for which sacred texts were less important. We should assume a higher number of sacred texts among its membership.[35]

Accordingly, the provisional dating of about one dozen fragmentary texts of the Greek New Testament to the second half of the second century is not

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32 In addition to reviewing the substantial evidence gathered by Schnabel, *Jesus and the Twelve*, 857–80 (with quotation from 871–72), one should also consult Oden, *African Memory of Mark*, 17–23.

33 Of course, because of Asia Minor's damp climate we have no ancient manuscripts from that part of the Roman Empire, as we do from Egypt and the region of the Dead Sea in Judea.

34 On this interesting feature, see Kruger, "Manuscripts, Scribes," with quotation from p. 15; Hurtado, "Oral Fixation"; Hurtado, "Bookish Religion," a chapter in a forthcoming work by Hurtado. I thank Professor Hurtado for making this chapter available to me.

35 One should not discount the probability that by the second century, there were Christian scribes in Egypt who produced many copies of Christian writings for congregations, teachers, evangelists, apologists, and others. Scribal activity of this nature would "bump" up the numbers of texts, potentially creating a higher text per capita ratio among Christians. Qumran provides an interesting if unique case in point. The 900-plus texts recovered from this remote site outnumber—by twice or more—the inhabitants themselves!

implausible. By the mid-second century Christianity would have been present in Egypt for one century. If the Christian population in Egypt was anything like the Christian population in Pontus and Bithynia, then it probably was much larger than a fraction of 1 percent. If so, then a dozen Christian texts dating to the second century might not be improbable after all.

Conclusion

Dating undated manuscripts from antiquity and estimating the size of the human populations that produced these manuscripts are not exact sciences. Both require educated guesswork. In the case of papyri we can at least compare the handwriting of undated literary texts to the handwriting of dated correspondence and deduce from these comparisons approximate dates of composition. (Carbon 14 dating, it should be pointed out, rarely narrows the range of probable dates.) This is what in fact has been done with Greek New Testament papyri. On the basis of this comparative work, some papyrologists and New Testament textual critics think as many as one dozen of these papyri date to the second half of the second century. Of course, others date some of these papyri to the first half of the third century.[36]

In contrast to dating papyri on the basis of comparative paleography, which is difficult enough, estimating the size of human populations is far more problematic, especially populations that lived outside of the cities whose major buildings (like theatres and hippodromes) can sometimes provide a benchmark. How many people lived in and near Oxyrhynchus in the first and second centuries of the Common Era? How many of them were Jewish? How many were Christians? We simply do not know.

One might also ask about Oxyrhynchus itself. It is possible that the Christian population of Oxyrhynchus was greater per capita than elsewhere in Egypt.[37] If so, then the recovery of a great many papyri from this city's trash heaps will

36 For example, Orsini and Clarysse ("Early New Testament Manuscripts," 466) believe only P^{52}, P^{90}, and P^{104} date to the second century with some assurance, while P^{30}, $P^{64+67+4}$, 0171, and 0212 date either to the late second century or to the early third century.

37 By the fourth century, the Christian population at Oxyrhynchus was substantial, supporting churches, libraries, and monasteries. There is no credible evidence of Christians in Oxyrhynchus in the first century, but the movement evidently took hold and grew rapidly in the second century. See now the very helpful resource, Blumell and Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus*; for discussion of early Christian texts at Oxyrhynchus, see pp. 7–9.

distort the national average and so could account for the discovery of more second century Christian texts than we otherwise would expect.

Given the uncertainty of demographics, priority should be assigned to paleography when dating manuscripts. Of course, scholars should rigorously resist the temptation to date manuscripts according to preferences, theological or otherwise. That twelve or so manuscripts of Christian Scripture have been dated by some scholars to the second half of the second century suggests that the Christian population, like that of Pontus and Bithynia, was much more than the tiny percentage that one may assume based on Rodney Stark's formula. As surely as there was a sufficient number of Christians in Asia Minor to disrupt the pagan cultic economy of the early second century (or at least be blamed for it), so there may well have been a sufficient number of Christians in second-century Egypt to account for the manuscripts that have been found and dated to the second century.[38]

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38 It is a pleasure for me to contribute to a volume in honor of Stanley Porter, long-time friend and colleague, who has himself contributed in major ways to our understanding of the Greek New Testament.

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CHAPTER 8

The Use of Greek in First-Century Palestine: An Issue of Method in Dialogue with Scott D. Charlesworth[1]

Hughson T. Ong

1 Introduction

There is continual scholarly discussion and debate today regarding the languages spoken and used in the multilingual speech community of first-century Palestine. The scholarly proposals are many, but there is an increasing awareness among biblical scholars that Greek would have been the primary and prestige language and the *lingua franca* of that ancient speech community. It is not my objective in this essay to survey and evaluate the various scholarly views on this broad topic. My objective is rather to discuss the Greek hypothesis (that is, that Greek was the *lingua franca* and an everyday language of the people in ancient Palestine, particularly, in Roman Galilee) focusing on the issue of method as I simultaneously dialogue with one recent article that also speaks about the topic. More specifically, I respond and provide additional comments and suggestions to Scott Charlesworth's article, "The Use of Greek in Early Roman Galilee: The Inscriptional Evidence Re-examined" (2016),

1 I am privileged to write this essay, especially as this topic is one of Stanley Porter's main areas of interest and expertise. Porter is undoubtedly one of the leading proponents (if not the leading proponent) of the theory that Greek was widely spoken in ancient Palestine and that the language would have been the primary language Jesus used in his public ministry. In terms of sheer volume of work published, it is accurate to say that Porter has written (as well as edited) more than anyone today on the two intertwined topics of the Greek of the New Testament and the Greek language of antiquity. For a summary of Porter's work on these two intertwined topics, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 16–35, 53–64, 92–97, and 375–79 (a select bibliography of Porter's work). Porter was my doctoral supervisor and mentor (now my colleague) who introduced me to the field of Greek language and linguistics and encouraged me to pursue sociolinguistics for my scholarly work in the area of the New Testament. He is a gifted and diligent scholar with high standards, and his emphasis on critical thinking and insistence on the need for both theory and method for analysis and interpretation of New Testament texts have left an indelible mark on his students. It is in the light of this that I offer this essay.

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published in the *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*.[2] My intention is to bring this subject matter to better clarity, and up to date with the current scholarly discussion.

Charlesworth's argument and methodology appear dated, and, as a result, his recent article does not seem to offer any new contribution to our subject of interest. There are two important things in his article that need clarification and further comments. The first concerns what he attempts to highlight as "flawed methodology" in dealing with ancient linguistic inscriptions. Scholars have already long acknowledged this methodological problem of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to ascertaining what information can be gleaned from the available linguistic evidence. While paucity of the extant evidence is a debatable point,[3] scholars have generally recognized the inherent subjectivity of such approaches. The second one concerns Charlesworth's proposal of "ancient bilingualism" as a novel approach to examine the linguistic evidence. Here it is crucial to note that, as a result of the subjectivity of both quantitative and qualitative approaches, scholars have resorted to use and development of other more suitable methods of investigation from other disciplines, notably, sociolinguistics, to handle and interpret the linguistic evidence. In fact, there have been numerous published articles and monographs on this subject (which I provide here) that Charlesworth has failed to acknowledge and include in his article. This is unfortunate, because with respect to the novelty of the methodology he offers in his article regarding ancient bilingualism and Greek literacy, his article does not achieve what it aims to do. I will discuss these two points and give concluding remarks.

2 What Is Deemed as "Flawed Methodology" Has Actually Been a Long-Acknowledged Methodological Problem

In his article, Charlesworth investigates the use of Greek in early Roman Galilee by re-examining the inscriptional evidence provided in Mark Chancey's "The Epigraphic Habit of Hellenistic and Roman Galilee" (2007).[4] As mentioned above, his study is a subject that continues to attract scholarly interest,

2 I cite the pages of Charlesworth's article within the text.

3 It is arguable, especially after the archaeological discovery of both literary and non-literary artifacts in the middle of the twentieth century, whether the linguistic (including inscriptional) evidence we have at present can still be said to be "patchy and unrepresentative" (see Charlesworth, "Use of Greek," 356).

4 Chancey, "Epigraphic Habit," 94–98.

especially in recent times, and belongs to the larger discussion concerning the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine, including the languages spoken by Jesus and his contemporaries.[5] Charlesworth's study supports what we may call the Greek hypothesis in this field of research—that Greek was the *lingua franca* and an everyday language of the people in ancient Palestine, particularly, in Roman Galilee. At the end of his study, Charlesworth concludes,

> The urbanization of Sepphoris and Tiberias… opened up economic opportunities for rural people. Such opportunities would sometimes/often have depended on the use of Greek, on a bilingualism which, in most cases would have been primary and, at the very least, minimally functional. Greek was the language of administration and the elite, and retainers may have emulated their superiors in this regard. For all these reasons, it is likely that some of the Twelve were type 1, 2 or 3 productive bilinguals, that Jesus himself could also have known Greek, and that some of the earliest Jesus tradition might have been transmitted in Greek (383).

Because Charlesworth believes that use of Greek was flourishing in Roman Galilee during the first few centuries CE, and I agree with him (see below), he attempts to re-assess Chancey's hypothesis of a Jewish–Aramaic Galilee.[6] Charlesworth's study confirms the old, traditional argument that knowledge and use of Greek was most likely quite common in Roman Galilee. This affirmation of an old argument, however, is as far as Charlesworth's study can go, not least because he does not demonstrate appropriate awareness of both past and recent works written by a number of scholars on the multilingualism and the linguistic situation and composition of ancient Palestine, and because the "new" methodology he introduces in his article is not actually new. The article's abstract states,

> But measuring the use of Greek by calculating the number of inscriptions in each century is a flawed methodology. This is because the inscriptional evidence is patchy and unrepresentative (as the very few inscriptions in Aramaic/Hebrew demonstrate). Scholars must first understand the

5 See, for example, Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*; Wise, *Language and Literacy*; and Gleaves, *Did Jesus Speak Greek?*

6 See Chancey, *Myth*, esp. 22–26, who cites other proponents of a Jewish Galilee. Most recently, Root, *First Century Galilee*, following Chancey, also posits a similar argument.

> various kinds of ancient bilingualism, then look for indications of these, including (written) Greek literacy (356).

There is of course nothing wrong with re-positing an old argument, but when it is not accompanied by new evidence or a new methodology to support it, there will always be the question of what new contribution the work offers to scholarship.[7] In critiquing Chancey's approach, which attempts at quantifying inscriptions to draw conclusions about Greek literacy, Charlesworth posits four "important considerations" that to me seems to offer nothing new to the scholarly discussion, especially as scholars have already recognized and said the same thing and have consequently moved much further beyond what Charlesworth is saying in his study. I will assess Charlesworth's four important considerations, after I note similar observations by some scholars.

The discovery of the literary and non-literary artifacts in the middle of the twentieth century, especially in Qumran and other Judean Desert sites, reveals the fact that ancient Palestine was a multilingual society, having at least four languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin—that constitute its linguistic repertoire.[8] The nature of this multilingualism has become the main concern of scholars since, and it naturally also has become a point of contention, including among historical-Jesus scholars, whether Jesus and his contemporaries or the communities in the various localities (including Galilee) of ancient Palestine were actually multilingual, and whether Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek was the primary language used in the speech community.[9] Scholars from the late sixteenth to the late twentieth century have mostly used logical inferences via identification of linguistic and grammatical characteristics, historical arguments, or a combination of these to interpret the linguistic

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7 There have been numerous surveys of work done in this regard, that is, the various proponents and advocates of each language hypothesis, and Charlesworth has virtually omitted all of them. See, for example, Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 46–63; Fassberg, "Semitic Language"; Stuckenbruck, "Semitic Influence"; Smelik, "Languages of Roman Palestine"; Tresham, "Languages Spoken by Jesus"; Poirier, "Linguistic Situation"; Safrai, "Spoken and Literary Languages"; Macfarlane, "Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin"; Voelz, "Linguistic Milieu"; Lund, "Language of Jesus"; Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology*, 62–91; Selby, "Language"; Greenfield, "Languages of Palestine"; Lapide, "Insights from Qumran"; and Barr, "Which Language."

8 For surveys of these artifacts, see Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 106–10, 156–60; Fitzmyer, "Languages of Palestine"; Fitzmyer, "Contribution of Qumran"; and the bibliographical list in Porter, *Criteria*, 140nn31, 32.

9 See the debate between Porter and Maurice Casey (Porter, *Criteria*, 164–80; Porter, "Jesus and the Use of Greek"; Casey, "In Which Language"; Casey, *Aramaic Sources*, 65–68, 76–78; Casey, "Aramaic Approach").

evidence.[10] As such, they have arrived at different conclusions and results. Without using an appropriate methodological lens to look at the linguistic evidence, their conclusions have largely depended upon the weight placed upon a piece of linguistic evidence that a particular scholar has chosen and deemed necessary and significant.

Already in 1964, Robert Gundry stated, "usually the strongest arguments in favor of conflicting views are left largely unrefuted, the weight of discussion being put on evidence favorable to the author's viewpoint."[11] Along similar lines, but stated differently, Michael Wise argues, "Unfortunately, the nature of the linguistic evidence from ancient Palestine makes a complete linguistic analysis impossible. The best one can hope for is an approximation of facts."[12] More recent scholars have also acknowledged and said the same thing. Milton Moreland notes, "we do ourselves great disservice when we simply use the archaeological material to illustrate text-based historical reconstructions."[13] Bradley Root also notes that the limited epigraphic evidence discovered in Galilee suggests that scholars need to turn to other sources and evidence to understand its linguistic environment, and for him, "the best evidence for Galilee's common language(s) comes from literary sources."[14] In a series of articles and my recent monograph, I have also vehemently pointed out this methodological problem. In 2012, I stated, "Whereas Casey argues that Jesus spoke and taught mostly, if not exclusively, in Aramaic, Porter argues Jesus would have taught in Greek on occasion. But the question is on what occasions and in what circumstances. An answer to this question can be derived from using sociolinguistic principles to examine the functions of language in a multilingual community."[15] In 2013, I further stated, "Previous research on the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine has always been confronted with the problem of how to deal with the available linguistic evidence, which tellingly shows that ancient Palestine was a multilingual society . . . the linguistic evidence we have at hand can be handled and interpreted more accurately, with the use of an appropriate methodology."[16] Finally, in 2015, I stated,

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10 The beginnings of the discussion of the use of the Aramaic language in first-century Palestine can be seen in the works of J. A. Widmanstadt and J. J. Scaliger (see Schweitzer, *Quest*, 269–92, esp. 270).

11 Gundry, "Language Milieu," 405.

12 Wise, "Languages of Palestine," 434.

13 Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 133.

14 Root, *First Century Galilee*, 174.

15 Ong, "Evaluation," 43; cf. Ong, "Language Choice," 63.

16 Ong, "Linguistic Analysis," 111.

> In many ways, the source of this endless debate [i.e., what languages were spoken on what occasions and in what localities] can be attributed to the way scholars have tried to conceptualize and characterize the multilingual society of Palestine … The reason is that these kinds of studies necessitate the use of multilingualism theories from the field of sociolinguistics … With this current scholarship scenario in view, the challenge now for future scholarship on this linguistic issue is how to be able to characterize more accurately the multilingual society of ancient Palestine. More precisely, this challenge primarily concerns how multilingualism theories could (and should) be applied to the linguistic evidence.[17]

Based on the above brief survey, let me now assess the four "important considerations" that Charlesworth posits in his article. Of these four, only one of them (the second point) has merit, and not even this is without its own methodological problems. I will first deal with the first, third, and fourth points, before I note the problems that I observe in his second point. Charlesworth's first, third, and fourth points state: "The unrepresentative nature of the extant evidence does not allow general conclusions to be drawn about Greek literacy by comparing the quantity of inscriptions dated to each century"; "A minimalist picture of an isolated Jewish enclave barely touched by Hellenization fails to acknowledge other possibilities inherent in the wider evidence"; and "The same approach, however inadvertently, tends toward the drawing back of a stark dichotomy that cannot capture the socio-economic and cultural diversity of Galilee in the early Roman period (63 BCE–136 CE)" (357). Some inherent logical problems are apparent in these arguments.

First, with reference to the third and fourth points, the "minimalist picture of an isolated Jewish enclave barely touched by Hellenization" appears to be very similar to the idea of a "stark dichotomy that cannot capture the socio-economic and cultural diversity of Galilee." Without a doubt, the Jewish–Hellenistic divide and tension in Galilee is also very relevant to its cultural diversity, which, to some extent is affected not only by the socio-economic but also the sociolinguistic and religio-political composition of the community. The works of such scholars as Chancey, John Collins, Douglas Edwards, David Fiensy, Sean Freyne, Martin Hengel, Catherine Hezser, Richard Horsley, Morten Jensen, Lee Levine, Eric Meyers, Andrew Overman, Seth Schwartz, and Jürgen Zangenberg, among others, which Charlesworth cites in his article, have already given us more than enough information and even much more

17 Ong, "Ancient Palestine," 331.

than Charlesworth has provided in his article to *speculate* about the linguistic evidence on the basis of such socio-economic and cultural parameters. In other words, these two points can be seen as the two sides of the same coin; and both can further be seen as part of the general conclusions drawn from the extant linguistic evidence about Greek literacy (first point), especially when, as Charlesworth does, Greek literacy is being associated with the use and knowledge of Greek (whether by force of circumstance or by formal instruction).

Second, as I have shown in the above survey, all three points of consideration are actually old arguments that scholars have long acknowledged, such that in order to posit them again, one needs to provide a more sophisticated methodological approach. By merely saying that "the unrepresentative nature of the extant evidence does not allow general conclusions to be drawn about Greek literacy" or that there is more than a stark dichotomy between the Jewish and Hellenistic elements in Galilee does not contribute anything new to the scholarly discussion.

Third, if, as Charlesworth wants to claim, a comparison of the quantity of inscriptions is a flawed methodology, how much information can analysis of "the nature and context of individual pieces of inscriptions dated to each century" (second point) tell us about the use of Greek in Galilee? I have noted above that this second point has merit, because Charlesworth provides, based on a modified list of Chancey's table of inscriptional evidence, an explanation of each of the types of inscriptional evidence in the list regarding what they can more or less tell us about the use of Greek in Galilee.[18] However, there is clearly a methodological problem with his straightforward interpretation of these linguistic evidences. To be sure, without a lens through which we examine the linguistic evidence, we cannot be certain whether the excavated multilingual artifacts in Galilee actually catered to various monolingual groups or to a single multilingual speech community. Moreover, when looking at place names and personal names (especially in ossuary and numismatic inscriptions), it is hard to adjudicate whether they indicate that the languages in them actually reflect the daily languages spoken by the people. For instance, one bilingual inscription from Daburra written in Aramaic and Greek was simply used to give credit to the ethnic identity of the builders.[19] In short, if we cannot draw conclusions on the basis of a comparison between the quantity of evidence found in each century, we also cannot do so on the basis of analyzing each individual piece of evidence. The scant and patchy evidence that we have, as Charlesworth wants to assert it is, simply cannot tell us much about the use of

18 See Chancey, "Epigraphic Habit," 94–98.

19 See Urman, "Jewish Inscriptions."

Greek in Galilee, and this seems to undermine and minimize altogether the veracity of his second point. While papyrology and paleography can provide us with helpful information about a particular piece of linguistic artifact, it would still be a stretch to infer from that information that a particular artifact reflects the daily language of a speech community, unless we quantify and group them for further study. Thus, it appears that Charlesworth himself also uses the same flawed methodology by not actually using a better one when he examines Chancey's list of inscriptions (see 357–68). Put simply, each Greek inscription discovered in a particular locality, regardless of any scholar's analysis, will always support the use of Greek in that locality. But this is a flawed methodology, which is something that has already been repeatedly acknowledged by previous scholars (as we have seen above). In fact, Charlesworth perhaps did not realize that Chancey himself recognized this methodological issue. Already in 2002, Chancey attempted to "bridge the gap between textual studies and archaeology," saying, "None of these previous studies has attempted to provide a synthesis of both the data found in dig reports of a variety of Galilean sites and the information found in ancient literary sources."[20]

In sum, Charlesworth's claim in his article that Chancey's is a flawed methodology is actually an old argument, and Chancey himself also acknowledged it. Most significantly, scholarship on the bilingualism (or better, multilingualism) of ancient Palestine, which Charlesworth proposes as a new method of investigation in his article, has already gone far beyond what he has attempted to show in his study. In particular, as some scholars have already shown, understanding the various kinds of ancient bilingualism (or more accurately, modern bilingualism, as this is perhaps what Charlesworth meant and used in trying to ascertain ancient bilingualism) is merely a minute part of or a single element of the equation in examining the linguistic situation and social composition of Roman Galilee.

3 The Use of Sociolinguistic Theories to Interpret the Linguistic Evidence

The use of sociolinguistic theories has proved more promising in studying the linguistic situation of the first century CE, especially in terms of handling and interpreting the linguistic evidence. A number of New Testament scholars have used them because they argue that a synchronic analysis of the available linguistic evidence is the better way to go in the absence of much historical

20 See Chancey, *Myth*, 4, 182.

information that is needed to reconstruct the linguistic situation and composition of ancient Palestine. Assuredly, the huge temporal gap between the then and the now requires use of sociolinguistic principles to perform a synchronic analysis of the speech community of ancient Palestine. I define sociolinguistics as

> The interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary study of the three basic components of a society—language, culture, and people—in actual speech communities constrained by a specific goal of investigation, with the aim of understanding the multifarious ways these basic components are interrelated and interdependent for the formulation of theories and principles that are universally recognizable by diverse cultural communities and that are simultaneously applicable to the analysis of written texts.[21]

There is one important principle to understand in this definition of sociolinguistics, which makes it the right interpretive tool for comprehending the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine. The basic ways people use language in a speech community must surely have remained generally constant and uniform across different time periods and cultures. Even though people in different cultures may express their use of language in various ways, the semantic functions of language use remain fairly constant (e.g., stating or asserting a fact, asking a question, requesting or demanding information, etc.). For this reason, many universally recognizable theories and principles formulated by sociolinguists and gleaned from different cultures are certainly applicable for analyzing the linguistic dynamics and chemistry of the speech community of ancient Palestine. Through a synchronic analysis using the available linguistic, historical, literary, and archaeological information, scholars are able to paint a portrait of the linguistic composition of ancient Palestine, including Roman Galilee. Specifically, various sociolinguistic theories (e.g., diglossia, societal and individual bilingualism, language varieties, language or social domains, code-switching, among others) can be used as lenses to examine the evidence, instead of simply providing a straightforward, logical inference and interpretation of them as Charlesworth seems to have done in the first part of his article (357–68).

In the second part of his article, Charlesworth writes, "A methodologically sound approach requires scholars to first understand (ancient) bilingualism and then, on that basis, search for indications of Greek literacy. If they are to arrive at tenable conclusions about Greek literacy (i.e., the ability to write

21 Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 114–15.

Greek), students of early Roman Galilee must also understand that the surviving evidence is unrepresentative" (368). Here I wish to note that there have been recent studies on Greek literacy, with which Charlesworth has failed to interact,[22] and that the issue of Greek literacy is intricately related to the educational systems and institutions of that time, which he also has failed to consider.[23] Charlesworth briefly discusses how we need to understand bilingualism, defining such terms as primary and secondary bilingualism, functional bilingualism, and bilingual abilities (i.e., productive and receptive bilingualism). From here, he claims that "Some of the texts in Tables 1 and 2 [i.e., his modification of Chancey's lists of ancient inscriptions] are indicative of secondary and maximally functional bilingualism" (370). Charlesworth makes some arguments that I agree with, but there is some problem with the methodological approach he has used to arrive at those arguments. To be specific, his use of the bilingualism theories he defines is not transparent to his analysis of the data. Let me note at least two of these problems.

Charlesworth rightly says that "rudimentary reading/writing (Greek literacy) might follow on from understanding/speaking without formal schooling" (368). He also rightly argues that "many of the authors of inscriptions from Beth She'arim were productive bilinguals who had picked up Greek by force of circumstances (primary bilinguals), probably because of association with Greek speakers or because they needed to speak it in order to maintain an income or the necessities of life" (371, 372). By these statements, he is referring to aural learning, such that people might actually acquire reading and writing ability from sounding out the alphabet and words of a language, citing the work of Schwabe and Lifshitz to support his point (see 371n84).[24] However, without providing sufficient background information regarding the educational institutions and social circumstances of the ancient people, it is perhaps difficult for Charlesworth to make such an assertion. Ancient inscriptions perhaps cannot tell us the degree and level of bilingualism of the people either. The statement made by Schwabe and Lifshitz that the "fact that so many Greek inscriptions have come to light at Beth She'arim proves that wide circles of the Jewish population were in some way influenced by the Greek language"[25] may

22 See, for example, Keith, *Pericope Adulterae*, 53–95; Keith, *Jesus' Literacy*, 1–26, 71–123; and Keith, *Jesus against the Scribal Elite*, 15–37.

23 See, for example, Porter, "Paul and His Bible," esp. 99–105; Pitts, "Hellenistic Schools"; and Porter and Pitts, "Paul's Bible," esp. 11–21. For a summary of the educational system in ancient Palestine, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 219–25.

24 Schwabe and Lifschitz, *Beth She'arim*, 220.

25 Ibid.

tell us that Greek language was used by the community, but it does not actually *prove* that "wide circles of the Jewish population" used Greek, or, much more, acquired Greek by force of circumstances (primary bilingualism). This seems to be merely an inference or a speculation of what the actual event might have been, based on definitions of some individual-bilingualism theories and on a direct, intuitive interpretation of the inscriptional evidence. However, as I have noted above, this is exactly the methodological problem that scholars have long recognized and have wanted to solve.

Similarly, on the basis of definitions alone, Charlesworth also claims that "the number of secondary and maximally functional bilinguals in first- and second-century Galilee would have been small. But the number of primary and minimally functional bilinguals was probably much higher" (369). Again, it is perhaps impossible for us to determine that this in fact was the case, unless we are able to present more historical evidence and a more sophisticated methodology to support this claim. Theories of individual bilingualism only tell us that these are the types of bilinguals that could have existed during the first two centuries—that is all. But I think that there is a better argument to support this claim. For instance, from historical sociolinguistics, one could argue that, because of the extensive and intensive Hellenization program of Alexander the Great and his successors beginning in the fourth century BCE, Greek would have been the *lingua franca* and most likely the primary or first language (or even the mother tongue) of the people by the first century CE.[26] This four-century period could strongly indicate that the Palestinian residents during the first century CE would probably already have been fourth- to sixth-generation Greek-speaking Jews, who would have learned the language from the speech community in general regardless of their educational status. In addition to all these, it is important to note here that scholars who use sociolinguistic and multilingualism theories have arrived at the Greek hypothesis using more sophisticated approaches and analyses than Charlesworth has attempted in his study. To this end, I will briefly note four key works.

The first is Sang-Il Lee's *Jesus and Gospel Traditions in Bilingual Context*. In this 2012 monograph, Lee employs various bilingualism theories to show that first-century Palestine was a multilingual society.[27] He applies these bilingualism theories (including code-switching) to the Gospel texts at the levels of syntax, phonology, and semantics.[28] Using William Mackey's definition

26 See the essays in Adams et al., *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*.

27 See Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 2–5.

28 See ibid., 6–8.

of bilingualism, and on the basis of historical, archaeological, and linguistic material evidence, Lee argues that ancient Palestine was a "largely bilingual" (but not diglossic) speech community, with the general populace being able to speak both Greek and Aramaic fluently.[29] Thus, he asserts the hypothesis that the Jesus and Gospel traditions were not transmitted "unidirectionally" (i.e., from Aramaic to Greek) but "interdirectionally" (from Aramaic to Greek and vice versa).[30]

A second important work to note is by Jonathan Watt. Watt's most important contribution to our subject of interest is his application of multilingualism theories, particularly the concepts of diglossia, code-switching, and bilingualism, to the linguistic evidence.[31] Based on the so-called uniformitarian principle, which is the notion that the cognitive mechanisms that operate among modern people also apply to ancient people, Watt argues that there was widespread use of both Greek and Aramaic in the ancient Mediterranean world. Specifically, he identifies a total of 106 instances in Luke and Acts that are suspect for prompting code-switching between Aramaic and Greek.[32] Furthermore, in his study of diglossia, he points out that Aramaic–Greek bilingualism would have been widespread in the speech community as well, assigning Greek as the L1 variety and Aramaic as the L2 variety, but recognizing that Hebrew and Latin also entered into the picture of the community's speech repertoire.[33] Watt also discusses the social motivations and cognitive processes of bilingualism and argues that bilingualism "is vital for our understanding of the dynamics of communication at play in its origins"[34] and provides a survey of the various concepts and categories that often appear in studies on bilingualism and that need to be considered in any study of bilingualism.[35]

The third important work is by Stanley Porter, who, as I mentioned above, is one of the leading proponents of the view that Greek was both the *lingua franca* and the prestige language of ancient Palestine. Porter's bibliography is large;[36] here I will only note one of his significant works on the linguistic

29 See Mackey, "Description of Bilingualism."

30 Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 37, 133, 173, 280, 393.

31 See in particular, Watt, *Code-Switching*; Watt, "Current Landscape"; and Watt, "Some Implications of Bilingualism."

32 See Watt, *Code-Switching*, 53.

33 Watt, "Current Landscape," 13, 33–34.

34 Watt, "Some Implications of Bilingualism," 21.

35 Ibid., 11–19.

36 See in particular, Porter, "Introduction"; Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?"; Porter, "Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee"; Porter, "Scholarly Opinion"; Porter, "Greek Papyri";

situation of ancient Palestine. Porter formulates what he calls the "criterion of Greek language and its context," stating that "If one can show that the linguistic situation—in the light of its participants, their origins, the context of discussion and the theme—warrants the use of Greek, one can legitimately argue for the probability that this conversation of Jesus took place in Greek."[37] He argues that, diachronically, a primary and a secondary language would comprise the speech repertoire of a multilingual person, whereas synchronically, a multilingual person would have the capacity to use these languages in their speech repertoire either productively or receptively.[38] He then examines eight Gospel episodes using the criterion to determine whether each of them has claim to recording the Greek words of Jesus.[39] This criterion involves analyzing in a specific episode the participants and their background,[40] and the context and theme of discussion.[41] It is important to note that Porter's study is grounded upon some sociolinguistic theories of multilingualism and systemic functional linguistics (SFL) register analysis. His study allows for a contextual understanding of the sociolinguistic components that make up a particular speech event like the Jesus episodes in the Gospels.

The fourth and last work to look at is my own study on this subject. As noted above, since 2012, I have written articles that specifically deal with this issue of language in ancient Palestine. In these articles, I have tried to show how combining multiple theories of multilingualism and discourse analysis can serve and be utilized as a robust interpretive framework for examining the linguistic evidence. My most recent work on this subject can be found in my monograph, *The Multilingual Jesus and the Sociolinguistic World of the New Testament*

Porter, "Jesus and the Use of Greek: A Response"; Porter, "Functional Distribution of Koine Greek"; Porter, *Criteria*, esp. 126–80; Porter, "Criterion of Greek Language"; Porter, "Greek Language"; Porter, "Role of Greek"; Porter, "Criteria of Authenticity"; Porter, "Language(s) Jesus Spoke"; and Porter, "Greek of the Jews."

37 Porter, *Criteria*, 158.

38 See ibid., 132–34.

39 Ibid., 128. Cf. Ong, "Evaluation," 42–43. Porter ("Role of Greek," 379–80; and "Language(s) Jesus Spoke," 2462–63) has since expanded these eight episodes into twelve.

40 "Participants" is one of the most salient components that need analysis in ascertaining the specific language that will be employed in a particular speech event, "as speakers and addressees need to first determine whether they share a common language" (Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 276). See also Spolsky, "Jewish Multilingualism," 44–49, who identifies two "necessary" conditions and five "typicality" conditions for the selection of language for communication.

41 See Porter, *Criteria*, 141–63.

(2015), where I attempt to paint a portrait of the sociolinguistic situation of ancient Palestine, using a multi-level and multi-dimensional sociolinguistic framework.[42] At the macro-level, I investigate the sociolinguistic landscape of ancient Palestine (i.e., from both historical and geographical standpoints) using theories of societal multilingualism, such as language contact, language maintenance and shifts, language decline, language death, dialect geography, language boundary, and isogloss. At the micro-level, I study the immediate sociolinguistic environment of Jesus and his contemporaries, employing community-level and individual multilingualism theories, such as social/language domains, diglossia, linguistic proficiency theories, types of bilingual families and childhood bilingualism, code-switching, categories for measuring bilingual proficiency, and social network theory (including the concepts of social identity, public face, and speech accommodation), in order to determine the functions and uses of the languages of ancient Palestine and to demonstrate the possibilities that the people who lived in that speech community were able to speak, write, and/or understand the languages. At the textual level, I analyze the episodes in Matthew's Gospel, using ethnography of communication theory and the two aforesaid levels of analysis as background information, to identify the types of speech situations where each of the languages (i.e., Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin) would have been invoked for use within the speech community. Based on a hierarchical tree generated from these three levels of analysis, I formulate four sets of sociolinguistic rules (eighteen in total) for language selection in ancient Palestine.[43]

It is clear from these works surveyed above that Charlesworth's attempt at using bilingualism theories to investigate the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine is too simplistic and is also not directly transparent and applicable to the linguistic evidence. The application of multilingualism theories by these scholars for understanding the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine has been more sophisticated and has definitely gone far beyond what Charlesworth has shown in his study. His discussion in the third major section of his article on "Other Considerations" (373–83) does not help support his arguments either. This section is based on studies by other scholars on the socio-economic and sociocultural composition of Roman Galilee. Moreover, the bigger question concerns the specific methodology Charlesworth has used in appropriating and interpreting this secondary literature to understand the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine. I could not find such a methodology, and there is

42 See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, chs. 3–5.

43 See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 227–29, 330–31.

no clear linkage between his theories of bilingualism and the socio-economic and sociocultural data either, to be sure. In other words, this section is simply a direct, logical interpretation of the data using the works of other scholars here and there to support his arguments. It is of course apposite to use the works of other scholars to support one's argument, but only if there is clearly a novel proposal or a new methodology that is being applied to an old proposal. Otherwise, one's study simply becomes a repetition of other scholars' work. In fact, what Charlesworth's article has actually demonstrated is that there have already been numerous studies done by other scholars on the various socio-economic, sociocultural, and linguistic elements that composed the speech community of Roman Galilee. One therefore wonders what contribution this particular section of the article brings to the scholarly discussion. I do not intend to be overly critical, but because Charlesworth ignores and omits virtually all of the scholarly works that utilize sociolinguistic and multilingualism theories to investigate our subject of interest I have been prompted to make these comments and to question the contribution his article offers to scholarship. Nevertheless, I agree with Charlesworth that the ancient residents in Roman Galilee would have been primary and functional bilinguals of Greek and their native language, that Jesus and his disciples would have known (and spoken) Greek, and that the earliest Jesus tradition would also have been transmitted in Greek.

4 Conclusion

It perhaps is not an issue anymore in contemporary scholarship to argue that first-century Palestine was a multilingual society and that Jesus and his contemporaries were almost certainly exposed to Greek in the speech communities they lived in and visited during their lifetime. The available linguistic evidence that points to these facts is simply undeniable. The more pressing concern today is with the use, development, and application of an appropriate methodological tool to the linguistic evidence. This concern will provide the basis for the reasons and explanations one gives to support one's theory and proposal. Without a methodological framework to govern and constrain one's study, there will be endless repetition of previous arguments that follows (whether consciously or unconsciously) the subjective preferences of the particular scholar. In other words, what is needed is a method-driven theory rather than an intuitively-derived theory that can better interpret and explain the available linguistic evidence.

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CHAPTER 9

Grappling with Paul's Language: How a Greek Might Struggle

R. Dean Anderson[1]

Years ago my brother (a New Zealander), as he was crossing the border from Canada to the United States, needed to point out to a customs official that his colleague would find what he was looking for in the rear of the car. He said: "Tell the bloke it's in the boot." This, naturally, produced a blank stare, until the phrase was translated to "Tell the fellow it's in the trunk." Although New Zealand (or British) English is not usually considered to be a separate dialect, nevertheless, at this point there was no initial communication, given that the customs official had no knowledge of the specific use of two key words in the phrase. Of course, often enough those who speak a different form of English do understand much English from other areas, both due to context, and to some prior contact with English from other regions. So, for example, when I (also a New Zealander) spoke to a New Testament class in Ontario years ago about the Lord Jesus eating "tea" at the home of a Pharisee, this engendered not a little amusement. The class, however, understood without problem what I was trying to say.

These examples touch directly upon the question of effective communication and in this chapter I would like to reflect upon the question of how effective the language of Paul's letters[2] may have been in communicating to Greeks with little or no knowledge of Jewish customs and ways of speaking. After all, Paul characterized himself as an apostle for the Gentiles (cf. Rom 1:5; 11:13; 15:16; Gal 2:8; Eph 3:8; 1 Tim 2:7). He even appears to have adopted a specifically modified greeting to emphasize this. The traditional Greek greeting, χαίρειν or χαῖρε is adapted to χάρις, an important attribute of God in Paul's theology. Paul juxtaposes this χάρις (derived from the typical Greek greeting)

1 Portions of this chapter are based on an adapted and expanded translation of section 7 of the introduction to my *1 Korintiërs*.

2 References to Paul's letters in this chapter will mostly be limited to those letters that stylistically form a consistent whole, namely, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

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to the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם (εἰρήνη), the standard greeting in Hebrew letters.[3] In this way, already at the beginning of his letters, he adumbrates his desire to communicate to both Greeks and Jews. The point I will be making, however, is that despite Paul's conviction of divine appointment as an apostle for the Gentiles, the language of his letters would not infrequently have been frustratingly difficult to understand for a Greek with no prior knowledge of Judaism, let alone a Roman, or anyone else for that matter, for whom Greek was a second language. We are hereby reminded that Paul's letters are not actually addressed to those with no knowledge of Judaism. They are, in fact, emphatically addressed to both Jews and Greeks (i.e., non-Jews) who have come to recognize not only the truth-claims of monotheistic Judaism, but also of Jesus to be the Christ, God's Son. As will be suggested below, one does not have to conclude that Paul, although he did his best to communicate in Greek, could not escape his distinctly Jewish flavor. It may well be that Paul deliberately made little effort to remove Semitisms from his language, given that his readership, having come to a faith commitment in the God of Israel, may have found Semitic ways of speaking not only appropriate, but comforting and trusted.

To be clear, although it will become evident that Paul writes and expresses himself as a Jew, I would hesitate to speak of Paul's language as "Jewish-Greek" in the sense of a separate dialect (a variety of language that has developed within a geographical community), or even a sociolect (a variety of language that has developed within a social community). Although Jan Joosten,[4] for example, speaks of a Jewish-Greek sociolect in Alexandria, my unease with this terminology is not that I think Paul is not *Semitic* in his expression, it is that, despite the difficulty for a non-Jew in understanding his language at multiple points, the language remains sufficiently within the parameters of *koine* Greek for it to communicate—most of the time—the essence of what Paul wishes to say. It is less a dialect, and more a typically Jewish way of speaking—given that sufficient Jewish documents show a shared idiosyncratic (but for the most part comprehensible) vocabulary and pattern of typically Semitic idioms.[5]

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3 Cf. the letters of Bar Kochba from 132 to 136 CE; see Pardee, "Ancient Hebrew Epistolography," 338–39.

4 Joosten, "Vocabulary of the Septuagint."

5 The limited scope of this chapter will of course prevent an exhaustive treatment of the topic of Semitism in Paul, but it is hoped that the survey presented here may be viewed as reliable enough. The quest to find Semitisms in the New Testament has, at times, been overdone, for example, Turner, *Style*. A more balanced overview was provided by Howard, "Appendix." See also Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament*, a work restricted to aspects of sentence construction, primarily conditional clauses, and Wilcox, "Semitisms in the New Testament." Needless to say, Paul's Greek needs to be compared, not to the literary Greek of his day, but

It is the question, more specifically, of the communicative value of *Paul's* Jewish Greek that is the subject of this chapter. This question of the communicative value of Jewish Greek is frequently lost to students of the New Testament, who—for better or worse—are brought up on the idiosyncratic Greek of these documents, often without realizing how different it is from the non-Jewish Greek of the day. They are sometimes told that the language of the New Testament was the common spoken Greek of the time and that this has been proven by its similarities to the language of the papyri. Now it is certainly true that the papyri have shown us much in terms of how colloquial Greek was developing.[6] Yet here too we need to be careful, remembering that the language of the Egyptian papyri is not infrequently the language of native speakers of (various dialects of) Coptic. The influence of Coptic idioms upon Greek as a second language is in many respects similar to the influence of Aramaic.[7] Gignac has summarized the situation in this way, stating that New Testament Greek

> differs markedly from Classical Greek on the one hand and from contemporary Koine Greek on the other, not only in the use of many words unknown to Classical and Hellenistic authors but especially in the use of many non-Greek forms and syntactical constructions.[8]

Having said this, there are of course a number of aspects of Paul's Greek with which a Greek reader with no prior contact with Jews would have had no problem. Therefore, in order for us to isolate those aspects of his language that may have proved challenging to a Greek reader, we need to discuss certain basic matters of Paul's language and diction first.

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to the kind of regular and unpretentious Greek language seen in much of the documentary papyri and also authors such as Epictetus or the many textbooks on all manner of subjects; see further Rydbeck, *Fachprosa*.

6 A phrase such as ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε (1 Thess. 3:8) demonstrates colloquial Greek trends (as also amply demonstrated in the papyri) such as the conversion of -μι verbs to -ω verbs and the use of the indicative with ἐάν.

7 For the phenomenon of bilingual interference in the papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:46–48. More specifically related to the New Testament, with a discussion of the similar interferences of Hebrew/Aramaic and Coptic to written Greek, see his "Grammatical Developments." Even Horsley ("Fiction of 'Jewish Greek,'" 37) had to admit that this fact has not been adequately taken into account by those who use the argument of the papyri to minimize the notion of Semitic influence on Jews writing Greek.

8 Gignac, "Grammatical Developments," 418.

In general, Paul's style, even in the longer letters, is simple and undecorated, precisely the style a letter reader in antiquity would have expected.[9] This expectation arose because a letter was generally defined as one half of a conversation.[10] The language used, therefore, had to be natural, just as if the writer were conducting a real conversation with the addressees. It is for this reason readily understandable that Paul's Greek has nothing to do with the controversy in styles that was being waged at a literary level in his time, a controversy between those who believed in emulating the glory years of the language in ancient Athens ("Atticism") and those who would rather produce a highly decorated, musical and flowery prose ("Asianism").[11] Paul therefore does not use the kind of sentence structure characteristic of a literary register of Greek language, namely the περίοδος. The word περίοδος refers, literally, to travelling around in a circle until one arrives back at the beginning. A periodic sentence was a carefully constructed sentence whereby the main clause was often broken apart by several subordinate clauses, thereby suspending the syntax. Only at the end of the sentence would the complex of thoughts be rounded off and the meaning become clear. This typically Greek sentence structure cannot be found anywhere in the letters of Paul. His sentences can sometimes be lengthy, but that is because they are stretched out by a multitude of coordinate clauses that always remain structurally linear (in contrast to the circular περίοδος).[12] Van Eck characterizes Paul's style of writing in Romans and the letters to the Corinthians correctly as follows (translation mine):

> The style of writing that Paul uses can be compared to that of an improvised philosophical discourse, such as what we find in the discourses of Epictetus (transcribed during the lectures by his student Arrian). In this discourse we find both main and coordinate clauses, but without being forged into a well-rounded whole that contains but one thought. The discourse proceeds without much decoration from the one thought to the other, so that the audience (reader) can easily follow it. Now and then a question is posed to the audience, that is immediately answered by the speaker himself. In this way the attention of the audience is held. It is this carefully constructed and yet not all too polished style that Paul uses in

9 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 7.9.8.

10 Ps.-Demetrius, *Typ.* 223–235; Ps.-Libanius, *Ep. Char.* 2; Philostratus, *Dial.* 1.

11 See further Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 77–78.

12 Periodic sentences, although they are no longer common except perhaps in legal documents and poetry, can, as is the case with this sentence, be constructed, although not as readily or ornately, in English.

> his letters, letters, which—and this must not be forgotten—were in most cases written to be recited. Paul follows the style of public teaching that was customary in his time.[13]

It ought to be noted, however, that the fact that Paul wrote in a non-periodic paratactic way probably has less to do with a deliberately simple style befitting letters or improvised philosophical discourse, and more to do with the fact that his mother tongue (presumed to be Aramaic) was a distinctly paratactic language.

Paul also had his letters recorded by others. As was customary in his day, he was content to sign off the letter with a personally written greeting.[14] Already long ago Renan remarked that Paul's dictation must have sometimes come at a very fast tempo, going by the grammatical irregularities that now and then appear in his letters. We may conclude from this that the language of his letters was not always carefully corrected after dictation.[15] Many of these irregularities are possibly evidence of the colloquialisms of spoken language.[16] None of them in and of themselves suggest bilingual interference, nor do they, except

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13 Van Eck, *Kolossenzen en Filemon*, 14.

14 The many extant papyrus letters show that it was quite normal for a letter to be written up by a secretary and for the final greeting to be written in the hand of the author. We also see this practice in the Hebrew letters preserved from the time of the rebellion of Bar Kochba (132–36 CE, Pardee, "Ancient Hebrew Epistolography," 341–42). Paul too makes regular use of a secretary (see Gal 6:11; 2 Thess 3:17; Col 4:18). In Rom 16:22 the secretary, Tertius, even gives his own personal greeting. In 1 Cor 16:21 Paul closes with a final greeting written in his own hand. In this way he confirms the letter's authenticity (cf. 2 Thess 2:2). On the use of a secretary and the stenographic methods known in antiquity, see Richards, *Secretary*.

15 Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 500–501, citing E. Renan, *Saint Paul* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1869), 231.

16 Taking 1 Corinthians as an example, we find the following grammatical irregularities: 2:9 (anacolouthon); 3:2 (zeugma); 3:19 (δράσσομαι should take the genitive, not the accusative); 6:5 (abbreviation for "between a brother and his brother"); 7:5 (εἰ instead of ἐάν); 7:7 (ἐμαυτόν instead of ἐμαυτός); 7:9 (οὐ instead of μή); 7:31 (χράομαι should take the dative, not the accusative); 7:34 (singular verb that should be plural); 9:6 (μόνος instead of μόνοι); 9:15 (anacolouthon); 10:1 (a post-positive particle is placed third instead of second in sequence, showing that Paul tended to treat οὐ θέλω as one word, see also 1 Cor 16:7 and cf. Rom 1:13, 1 Cor 10:20. The ordering οὐ γὰρ θέλω is by far more common in Greek literature, see also Rom 11:25); 10:17 (accusative by attraction); 10:21 (μετέχομαι with ἐκ); 11:22 (clumsy double negative); 12:2 (anacolouthon); 12:25 (plural verb that should be singular); 13:4 (περπερεύομαι instead of ἐμπερπερεύομαι); 14:27 (anacolouthon); 15:1 (ἑστήκατε instead of ἔστατε). The following probable examples of colloquialisms occur: κολαφίζω ("hit with one's fist," 4:11) and λογεία ("tax").

on occasion, seriously disturb the communicative value of what Paul is trying to say.

Paul's language can also be characterized by *inventive* vocabulary, mostly by coining new words. Word coinage was also discussed by ancient rhetorical theorists and the coining of new words could be a conscious device used for rhetorical effect.[17] However, none of the possible neologisms of Paul can be explained in terms of striving for a rhetorical effect. Nock has argued that there are two other possible reasons for coining new words, namely, the use of spontaneous and unconscious creations, and an attempt to describe an idea that seems to need a new expression.[18] Most of Paul's linguistic inventiveness seems to fall into Nock's first category. When people, even with a reasonable level of education, use a second language, quite often neologisms are unconsciously created (I speak from experience, having worked for 20 years in the Netherlands). Nevertheless, a certain amount of caution is necessary when suggesting the presence of neologisms in Paul. Suspected neologisms can sometimes prove to have been more common when new hitherto unknown documents are found.[19] On the other hand, words only found here and there may well have been coined by their authors separately. I suggest the following examples of neologisms: ἡ δοκιμή (Rom 5:4; 2 Cor 2:9; 8:2; 9:13; Phil 2:22, used either in the sense "testing" or "result of testing," i.e., "proven character"; the coinage and its two senses are surely based on the similar two senses of δοκιμάζω and not from the adjective δόκιμος -ον, "acceptable/approved." It would seem that Paul was unaware of the noun τὸ δοκίμιον, "testing," which was known to Peter and James); τὸ κατάκριμα (Rom 5:16, 18; 8:1, elsewhere only Dionysius of Halicarnassus 6,61 and a first century papyrus P.Oxy. 298,4; it seems most likely a coinage from the cognate verb) and similarly ἡ κατάκρισις (2 Cor 3:9; 7:3); ὑπερπερισσεύω (Rom 5:20; 2 Cor 7:4); ἀποκαραδοκία (Rom 8:19; Phil 1:20, from the cognate verb); ἀλάλητος (Rom 8:26, used elsewhere sporadically); μενοῦνγε (a collocation of particles hitherto unattested elsewhere,[20] Rom 9:20; 10:18; Phil 3:8); ἀνακαίνωσις (Rom 12:2; Tit 3:5, coined on the basis of

17 See Anderson, *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, 83–84.

18 Nock, "Word-Coinage in Greek."

19 Compare the well-known case of the noun λογεία in 1 Cor 16:1, once thought to have been a neologism and now known (from the papyri) to have been a well-established term for "tax."

20 In the letter to the Romans this collocation is used, unexpectedly, first in the sentence. The frequent Jewish use of the particle ἄρα first in a sentence (e.g., in the LXX) does not form an adequate parallel, given that Jews do tend to place μέν and its collocations postpositively. It may be that Paul wrote μενοῦνγε intending μέντοιγε which was occasionally used first in a sentence in late Greek, cf. LXX Ps 38:7; P.Lond. 3.897.13 (first century CE).

ἀνακαινόω, Paul's incorrect verb-form for what should be ἀνακαινίζω); θέατρον in the sense of "spectacle" (1 Cor 4:9, a sense that only became current after the first century); εἰδωλολάτρης (1 Cor 5:10, coined from εἴδωλον in the Jewish sense of "idol"); ἥττημα (1 Cor 6:7); χρηστεύομαι (1 Cor 13:4, used only once before Paul in Pss. Sol. 9:6 and thereafter only in Christian writings—Paul seems to have formed it from the adjective χρηστός "friendly") and similarly χρηστολογία (Rom 16:18); περπερεύομαι (1 Cor 13:4, a word that only occurs sporadically after the first century; the verb ἐμπερπερεύομαι was used from the first century BCE on. The adjective πέρπερος had existed for a long time and is probably the basis of the coinage.); ὅμως (1 Cor 14:7, see also Gal 3:15, most probably used in the—at this period otherwise unknown—sense of "likewise," a usage that can most easily be explained from the form ὁμο- combined with an adverbial ending); χοϊκός (1 Cor 15:47–49, formed from χοῦς "earth"/"ground"); ἡ ἐλαφρία (2 Cor 1:17, based on ἐλαφρός); ἡ ἐπιτιμία (2 Cor 2:6 in the sense "punishment," used elsewhere only a few times, probably a coinage from the cognate verb); ἁδροτής (2 Cor 8:20, which should mean "vigor/strength," but Paul seems to have taken or coined it on the basis of the adjective ἁδρός -α -ον, "thick/bulky" and so it comes to mean "abundance"); ἡ κατάρτισις (2 Cor 13:9 coined from καταρτίζω); φρεναπατάω (Gal 6:3); παραβολεύομαι (Phil 2:30); ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ (1 Thess 3:10; 5:13; Eph 3:20, based on the more common ἐκ περισσοῦ); θεοδίδακτος (1 Thess 4:9); καλοποιέω (2 Thess 3:13, used once in Philo, but probably a coinage here).

I find only one example of a neologism that may be attributed to the desire to find a new and better expression for a certain idea, namely Paul's coinage of the word ἀρσενοκοίτης in 1 Cor 6:9 to denote the active partner in homosexual coitus. The term ἀρσενοκοῖται seems to have been coined on the basis of the Greek translation of Lev 20:13 (LXX): ὅς ἄν κοιμηθῇ μετὰ ἄρσενος κοίτην γυναικός ("whoever lies with a man as with [lit. 'the lying of'] a woman"). Despite it's background in the Septuagint translation of Jewish law, it is readily transparent in meaning when read in context.[21]

Although the coinages noted above appear to be the result of writing in a second language, there is another kind of word coinage that appears to have been quite common even in literary Greek of the time, namely, that which uses prefixes, often multiple prefixes, to add some nuance or emphasis to a more common word. Paul does this extensively, but so too, for example, does Plutarch. A cursory reading of the first 14 sections of Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, for example, reveals the following examples: δυσανάτρεπτος (4),

21 See Wright, "Homosexuals or Prostitutes?" Paul perceived the need for a word expressing the act of men who played the active role when engaging in sexual conduct with other men. See Anderson, *1 Korintiërs*, 83.

συνδημαγωγέω (5), συνεπερείδω, συγκατεξανίσταμαι (8), κατερέφω, παρακαθιδρύω (9), διαμαστροπεύω (14). For Pauline examples, compare προεπαγγέλλω (Rom 1:2); προαιτιάομαι (Rom 3:9); εὐπάρεδρος (1 Cor 7:35); συνηλικιώτης (Gal 1:14); ἀποκαραδοκία (Rom 8:19; Phil 1:20, from the cognate verb, although καραδοκέω and its cognate noun are more common); ὑπερεντυγχάνω (Rom 8:26); ὑπερνικάω (Rom 8:37); συνυπουργέω (2 Cor 1:11, used a few times elsewhere, but probably here a coinage); προενάρχομαι (2 Cor 8:6); καταναρκάω (2 Cor 11:9; 12:13–14); συνηλικιώτης (Gal 1:14); συσταυρόω (Gal 2:19, found elsewhere only in Mark 15:32); προευαγγελλίζομαι (Gal 3:8, found also once in Philo); ἐπιδιατάσσομαι (Gal 3:15); συναθλέω (Phil 1:27; 4:3, elsewhere only Aristophanes of Byzantium, *Epit.* 2.511 and Diodorus Siculus 3.4); σύμψυχος (Phil 2:2); εὐψυχέω (Phil 2:19 based on εὔψυχος); ἀκαιρέομαι (Phil 4:10, elsewhere only a few occurrences in the active voice).

When we address the question of bilingual interference in syntax, we are once again confronted with two kinds of influence. In the first place there are trends which, although not non-Greek in and of themselves, are heightened by Paul's Aramaic background. Most basically one could point to issues of word order, of which the most obvious is the tendency to place verbs at the front of a clause, where Greek would tend to place them at the end.[22] Paul is also prone to place the subject of a subordinate clause in front of the subordinating conjunction as is common in Hebrew (cf. Gal 1:11; 2:10; 1 Cor 3:20; 14:37; 16:15; 2 Cor 12:3–4; 1 Thess 2:1; 2 Thess 2:4).[23] Another good example is the greater frequency of periphrastic constructions compared to contemporary *koine* (cf. Rom 13:1; 1 Cor 4:8; 5:2; 7:29; 15:19; 2 Cor 4:3; Gal 1:22, 23; 2:11; 4:3, 24; Phil 2:26). This is not simply the result of the evolution of the language, but the result of indirect Semitic[24] interference since the usage corresponds to the Aramaic היה with a participle.[25] Related to this is Paul's common use of a participle with the

22 The question of word order is actually quite complex and given that it does not affect basic communication (excepting the knotty issue of emphasis and nuance), I would like to leave it further undiscussed in this chapter.

23 For similar displacements of conjunctions in Greek, see Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*, 49–50.

24 For the purpose of this essay it is not strictly necessary to distinguish the exact background of all Semitisms, that is, whether from classical or Mishnaic Hebrew, or from Aramaic (or a particular dialect thereof).

25 Gignac, "Grammatical Developments," 417. It may be noted that such periphrasis is also symptomatic of Mishnaic Hebrew (see Wilcox, 'Semitisms in the New Testament," 993, 1017). The periphrastic construction in Greek traditionally only occurred for the perfect or pluperfect middle/pass. indicative 3rd person plural of stems ending in a consonant (I am discounting subjunctive constructions). Of the texts cited above, only Rom 13:1 falls into

verb to be implied (cf. 2 Cor 5:12; 6:3; 7:5; 8:19; 9:11, 13; 10:15; 11:6). Other examples are the common Jewish practice of placing the preposition ἕνεκα before its case (cf. Rom 8:36; 14:20; 2 Cor 3:10; 7:12, generally the other way around in non-Jewish Greek), the placement of ἄρα first in a sentence instead of postpositively,[26] the excessive use of the articular infinitive in purpose clauses[27] and the frequent use of the preposition ἐν in an instrumental sense, common in *koine* Greek, but made more preponderant due to its overlap with the preposition בְּ in Hebrew, particularly when combined with an articular infinitive (cf. 1 Cor 11:21; Gal 4:18)—this applies equally to a verb like πιστεύω which would normally just take the dative, but under the influence of Hebrew (אמן hiph. + בְּ) Paul also frequently uses it with εἰς or ἐπί (+ acc.), and ἐπάνω in the sense of מִמַּעַל (1 Cor 15:6).[28] Secondly, Paul occasionally uses a syntax that is not Greek, but Semitic. We can see this, for example, in the use of the verb φεύγω with ἀπό instead of a direct object (1 Cor 10:14). While this does not cause any problem in communication, this use of ἀπό is a Hebraism common in the Septuagint. There is also the use of οὐ … πᾶς for "no one" (cf. Rom 3:20, a phrase taken from LXX Ps 142:2) and ἕνα … ἕνα (Gal 4:22, for τὸν μέν … τὸν δέ). Again in Rom 7:3–4 Paul three times uses the idiom γίνομαι ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ ("to marry another man"), which is a literal translation of the Hebrew ל + היה (cf. Num 36:11 and LXX). In Rom 14:11 Paul introduces a quotation—recalling Isa 45:23 inexactly, it seems—stating: ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι … κτλ. These words are not taken from the Septuagint, but from Paul's inexact memory, and render literally, in impossible Greek, the common Hebrew phrase: חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם־יהוה. A Greek reader at this point would likely not have understood the phrase as an oath formula. Furthermore, in 2 Cor 4:16 Paul's expression ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ means "daily" on the analogy of יוֹם וְיוֹם (Esth 3:4, cf. Ps 68:20).

A final example of the way in which a Semitic background can influence Greek expression is the predominance of constructions involving a noun in the genitive modifying another noun instead of the use of an adjective. This, of course, reflects the common construct relation in Hebrew and Aramaic. A good example is provided in Rom 1:4 where Paul speaks of the πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, a

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that category. However, *koine* Greek appears to have used the periphrastic construction somewhat more (see, e.g., Horsley, "Syntax Volume," 56).

26 Related to this is Paul's occasional placement of indefinite τις first in a clause without always appearing to be intending any kind of special emphasis (cf. 1 Cor 8:7; 15:6; Phil 1:15).

27 See for examples Turner, *Style*, 90.

28 πιστεύω + ἐπί + dat. is found in quotations within Paul's letters and once in 1 Tim 1:16 (following NA27).

Hebraic phrase denoting the Holy Spirit (cf. Isa 63:10–11; Ps 51:13, not, however, translated in this way in the Septuagint).[29]

Thus far we have seen that our hypothetical Greek readers would understand Paul's Semitic paratactic style as appropriate to his letters. They would probably accept the anacoloutha as symptomatic of hasty dictation. Although some of the word-coinages would seem to them to be appropriate, they would also see many that could only be taken as the result of someone writing in a second language. The impression of reading the work of a non-native Greek speaker would only be confirmed by the occasional Semitic syntax. So far so good. However, the real challenge for our Greek readers comes with Paul's Semitic vocabulary.

Looking at his vocabulary, we may distinguish several categories. There is, first of all, vocabulary that seems to have been typically Jewish. We are concerned with word forms that, more often than not, are first encountered in the Septuagint and then solely or overwhelmingly in Jewish (and later also Christian) authors. Most of this vocabulary is readily transparent in meaning and would have posed no problem for a Greek reader, except to betray a Jewish way of speaking. Examples in this category are ἁγιάζω (for ἁγίζω, cf. Rom 15:16; 1 Cor 1:2; 6:11; 7:14; 1 Thess 5:23); ἁγιασμός (cf. Rom 6:19, 22; 1 Cor 1:30; 1 Thess 4:3–7; 2 Thess 2:13); ἐκπειράζω (for ἐκπειράομαι, cf. 1 Cor 10:9); εὐδοκία (for εὐδόκησις, cf. Rom 10:1; Phil 1:15; 2:13); θυσιαστήριον (used by Jews of their altar as opposed to βωμός, cf. Rom 11:3; 1 Cor 9:13; 10:18); καθεῖς or καθ' εἷς

29 In 1 Cor 10:17 Paul's use of μετέχομαι ("share") with partitive ἐκ is not customary Greek and is difficult to explain. The fact that Paul in 9:12 and 10:21 uses μετέχομαι in a normal way with the genitive (and without a preposition) suggests that he associates the partitive ἐκ with the sharing of bread. Although the Hebrew/Aramaic מן is sometimes used as a partitive, we do not find this usage in relation to bread. Hollander (*1 Korintiërs*) attempts to find the solution in an absolute use of μετέχομαι (i.e., without an object, possible, but rare) and translates ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου as "on the basis of that one bread." This suggestion, although innovative, is not convincing. Given (1) that μετέχομαι demands that what is shared be made explicit and (2) that the mention of bread is placed next to this verb, the reader/hearer would immediately make a connection between the two, in spite of the grammatical irregularity. Possibly we are confronted here with a colloquialism of the apostle, whether or not this has been influenced by a regional colloquialism from Hebrew or Aramaic. Another example of non-Greek syntax difficult to explain is found in Rom 7:2, 6 and Gal 5:4, namely the use of κατηργέω + ἀπό in the sense "to be separated/abolished from." In Rom 7:4 we have the functional equivalent ἐλεύθερα ἐστίν ἀπό. Although the use of the infinitive for the imperative is sometimes alleged to have a Hebrew infinitive absolute as its background, one may ask whether or not we are dealing with a colloquialism where a simple word such as χρή is to be understood, cf. Rom 12:15; Phil 3:16.

(a typically Jewish barbarism, which is also found in non-Jewish sources from the second century onwards, cf. Rom 12:5); οἰκτιρμοί (virtually only used in the plural, representing רַחֲמִים; the regular word would have been ὁ οἶκτος, cf. Rom 12:1; 2 Cor 1:3; Phil 2:1); παραζηλόω (a word which Paul seems to have taken from the LXX, but which does not seem to have been used much elsewhere, cf. Rom 10:19; 11:11, 14; 1 Cor 10:22); προσευχή (for εὐχή, based on the cognate verb, cf. Rom 1:10 etc.); σκάνδαλον (cf. Rom 9:33; 11:9; 14:13; 16:17; 1 Cor 1:23; Gal 5:11); σκανδαλίζω (cf. 1 Cor 8:13; 2 Cor 11:29); χάρισμα (cf. Rom 1:11; etc.); χρηστεύομαι (only found LXX *Ps. Sol.* 9:6 and 1 Cor 13:4. It may perhaps be better considered a coinage from χρηστός). Along the same lines, but only attested in Paul, is a word form like ἀνακαινόω (for ἀνακαινίζω, cf. 2 Cor 4:6; Col 3:10).

In a few cases Jewish vocabulary would have caused problems in understanding for a Greek. An example from Paul in this category is the word ἀκροβυστία ("foreskin" and from there "uncircumcision," cf. Rom 2:25–29; etc.), which may perhaps be a barbarism derived from ἀκροποσθία, but it is doubtful whether this would have made the word recognizable. Even allowing for a context in which circumcision is the subject, it remains doubtful whether a Greek reader would have been able to interpret this word correctly. Other examples are the words εἰδωλόθυτος, "sacrificed to an idol" (cf. 1 Cor 8:1, 4, 7, 10; 10:19) and εἰδωλεῖον, "idol-temple" (cf. 1 Cor 8:10). They are based on the Jewish understanding of the word εἴδωλον, which to a Greek would have referred to an immaterial phantom or ghost, but could also denote any image or reflection lacking material substance. Jews, however, used the word for cultic images, that is, idols. Therefore, the use of the words εἴδωλον, εἰδωλόθυτος, εἰδωλεῖον or εἰδωλολάτρης, without any attendant explanation could conceivably have been very misleading. Could not an unsuspecting Greek reader totally unfamiliar with Jewish customs think that Paul in 1 Cor 8–10 was discussing some kind of ghost worship?

In addition to vocabulary that was typically Jewish, Jews tended to use regular Greek words in ways that Greeks would not normally have used them. This frequently involves the use of Greek words in ways that correspond, not to Greek usage, but to the Aramaic or Hebrew usage of an equivalent word. A number of these usages make for odd Greek, but would not necessarily engender confusion in understanding. Paul, for example, consistently uses ψυχή as if it represented an exact literal translation of נֶפֶשׁ.[30] We find it used as "person" (Rom 13:1; 16:4; 2 Cor 1:23), "life" or "life-force" (cf. Rom 2:9; 13:1; 16:4), just as in the Old Testament quotations where נֶפֶשׁ is translated by ψυχή (cf. Rom 11:3; 2

30 Paul does also use the word ψυχή in the sense of soul in a few fixed expressions (cf. Phil 1:27; Eph 6:6; Col 3:23).

Cor 12:15; Phil 2:30; 1 Thess 2:8). Even in 1 Cor 15 it does not correspond to the Greek concept of "soul,"[31] but to the matter out of which a body is made.[32] The fact that even certain modern interpreters have not noticed this shows just how tricky Paul's Semitic use of Greek vocabulary can be. Similarly, Paul uses σάρξ in the sense of בָּשָׂר for "person" (cf. Rom 3:20; 1 Cor 1:29; Gal 2:16) and ἄνθρωπος in the sense of אִישׁ for "someone" (instead of τις, cf. 1 Cor 4:1; 11:28). The use of the cardinal number instead of the ordinal for the number "one" (e.g. μία for πρῶτη) is quite common in Jewish-Christian Greek, being Semitic idiom (cf. 1 Cor 16:2). The accusative singular of ἐνώπιος used as a preposition, although not unknown in late Hellenistic Greek, is very common in Jewish Greek, being a literal translation of בְּעֵינֵי, but also substituting for לִפְנֵי (cf. Rom 3:20 etc.). Jews also used other prepositions for this expression in a way not idiomatic in regular Greek, e.g., κατέναντι (cf. Rom 4:17; 2 Cor 2:17; 12:19). The figurative use of κεφαλή for someone in authority (common in Jewish writings) is not found in non-Jewish Greek apart from an extended metaphor relating to the human body, but is based on the use of רֹאשׁ (cf. 1 Cor 11:3–16; Eph. 5:23). The verb γινώσκω is also used in a Jewish sense based on ידע which means both "to know" and also "to learn, hear of, find out" (common in the Septuagint, cf. Phil 2:19), similarly πληρόω in the sense "to complete" (= מלא, cf. 2 Thess 1:11; 2 Cor 10:6; Phil 2:2). The verb κτίζω "to found/build" is used by Jewish authors almost exclusively in the sense "to create" (cf. Rom 1:25; 1 Cor 11:9), and so κτίσις ("founding/settling") comes to mean "creation" (cf. Rom 1:20), and also even

31 When Paul is thinking of what we might call the soul, he uses either some kind of periphrasis such as "the inner man" or the word πνεῦμα (see, e.g., Rom 7:22; 1 Cor 2:11; 2 Cor 4:16, etc.).

32 In 1 Cor 15:42–50, the nature of the body of the first Adam is defined by reference to LXX Gen 2:7. Adam became a "living ψυχή." That Paul is not thinking in terms of a "soul" is not only clear from the way he uses ψυχή elsewhere, but also from 15:44 where he speaks of a σῶμα ψυχικόν ("a body made out of ψυχή"). Paul is comparing a natural earthly body with the special "spiritual" body of the resurrection. In 15:47 he describes this natural earthly (ψυχικός) body of Adam as a body that is made of earth (cf. Gen 2:7) and is thus earthly. That Paul is certainly referring to the material out of which the body is made and not the place from which it originates is clear from his choice of words. He deliberately coins a new word, χοϊκός, which has been formed from χοῦς ("earth" or "ground"), the material from which God formed Adam (Gen 2:7). As descendants of Adam we also bear the image of this earthly man, Adam having a ψυχικός ("natural") body, made out of earth. This material (earth) can also be described as "flesh and blood," as Paul later does in 15:50. In 2:13–14 and 3:1–3 Paul had also used the concept ψυχικός in parallel with σαρκικός ("fleshly"). The material of the natural body ("earth" or "flesh and blood") is of itself corruptible, dishonourable, and weak.

"created thing" (reflecting the flexible use of Semitic nouns,[33] cf. Rom 1:20; 8:19–22, 31; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15). The word ὑπομονή, commonly used of "endurance" in regular Greek, is often used by Jews in the sense of "hope" or "expectation," probably based upon the cognate verb (cf. 2 Thess 3:5). As already noted above, Jews used the word εἴδωλον and its derivatives in the sense of a cult statue or idol. Finally, there is the question of Paul's use of the verb ἐπιγινώσκω and its cognate ἐπίγνωσις. In regular Greek these words would mean "come to know" / "recognize" and "coming to know" / "recognition" respectively. Although it is possible to read Paul's use of these words in this sense, most translations these days understand Paul to have coined his own meaning for ἐπί + γινώσκω/γνῶσις using the prefix ἐπί in a more general intensifying sense.[34] A final example in this category is the typically Jewish ἀνθ' ὧν in the sense "because" (2 Thess 2:10).

In addition to these examples of rather odd Greek that might still have been understood, there are other examples that may have defied understanding. Particularly significant here is the change in meaning for the words προφήτης, προφητεία and the cognate verb προφητεύω. In regular Greek the προφήτης was a person appointed to an oracular temple, who had to proclaim the message of the god(dess) to the temple visitor, having himself received this message from the μάντις ("prophet," i.e., the person who had received the message directly from the god[dess]). Given this background we can understand that the word προφήτης was sometimes used in the general sense of "official proclaimer." Occasionally in regular Greek the word προφήτης could be used in the sense of "prophet" (= μάντις), but this only came about because not infrequently the same person held both the office of προφήτης and that of μάντις. When the word προφήτης is used in this way it is the role of proclaimer (not that of receptor) of the message that is emphasized. The verb προφητεύω in regular Greek meant "to appoint someone to the office of προφήτης" and the noun προφητεία referred to the office of προφήτης (only from the second century CE onwards do we find it used of "prophecy" in non-Jewish sources). The Septuagint (and therefore Jewish writings in general, including the New Testament) always uses the word προφήτης for "prophet" (Hebrew: נָבִיא) and the verb προφητεύω for "to prophesy" (a meaning unknown in regular, that is non-Jewish, Greek until the second century after Christ).[35] In Paul's letters we only find the use

33 Semitic languages frequently use a noun denoting an action for the thing causing that action as well.

34 Compare the respective entries in BDAG.

35 See further Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, and especially Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech*. Forbes has in addition shown that the sort of prophecy described in the New Testament (unsolicited revelation by direct inspiration from God to persons who are

of the verb in 1 Corinthians, where the context imposes upon the reader the meaning "to prophesy," the regular meaning making no sense whatsoever. The noun προφήτης does not in itself create a problem in understanding, given that for both Jews and Greeks the προφήται represent those people who interpret the will of God or gods. A Greek reader understanding nothing of Jewish practice would of course presuppose that there were several oracular shrines in Israel where these προφήται operated, or, if referring to New Testament prophets, that the Christians too had various oracular shrines. The reader of 1 Corinthians would, for example, suppose that there was a Christian oracular shrine in Corinth. With respect to προφητεία, 1 Thess 5:20 would naturally be read as: "Do not set aside the offices of divine spokesman." First Timothy 1:18 might be read as if referring to the fact that Timothy had received the office of divine spokesman at multiple oracular shrines.

Another well-known example is the verb δικαιόω, which in regular Greek would naturally mean "to claim a right," "pronounce judgment," and therefore "to punish." However among Jews, under the influence of the Hebrew verb צדק, it regularly meant "to proclaim innocent" / "to justify" and this is precisely the way it is used by Paul. A Greek reading ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ (Gal 2:16) might understand "by works of the law no flesh will be punished," precisely the opposite of what Paul is intending.[36] Again οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται (Rom 2:13) might be understood as "For the hearers of law are not right with God, but the writers of law will be punished," given that ποιητής in regular Greek refers to an author, not a "doer." In a similar way, Paul's use of δικαίωμα would not be readily understood, given that in regular Greek it refers to a righteous act. In Paul it can either take the Jewish sense of "ordinance"/"decree" (Rom 1:32) or Paul's

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not linked to an institutionalized temple) was extremely rare in the contemporary world of the first century.

36 By way of comparison, during my early years in the Netherlands I was once grafted in as translator for a Dutch group touring Turkey with an English-speaking guide. At one point I needed to translate the guide's explanation of the history of a particular building that had been "expanded" at a certain time in its history. I duly explained that the building at a certain date had been "verwijderd." To my analytical-etymological way of thinking in using Dutch as a second language, the verb "ver-wijderen" ought to have meant "made wider" (i.e., expanded, "ver" being a prefix often used in a causative way, cf. -οω verbs in Greek), and indeed several centuries ago it could have that meaning. However, in modern Dutch it means "to remove." I had communicated the opposite of what I intended. Of course Paul is not unconsciously coining a new meaning here, but using the verb δικαιόω in the analytical way Jews tended to use it.

own coined meaning of "making right" in line with his use of the cognate verb (Rom 5:16).

Terminology for forgiveness can also on occasion be confusing. In Rom 4:7 he quotes Psalm 32 (LXX Ps 31:1) where ἀφίημι and ἐπικαλύπτω are used in parallelism referring to forgiveness. While the first term is regular Greek, the second is a Hebraism that can really only be understood from the context. This leads us back to Rom 3:25 where Paul uses πάρεσις almost certainly as yet another Hebraism for "forgiveness." Most translations seem not to have picked this up and give the term a regular Greek sense of "passing over."[37]

In this category we might also mention the figurative use of κοίτη ("bed") for sexual matters, which is based on a similar use of מִשְׁכָּב in Hebrew. I submit that Rebekah "having a bed" in Rom 9:10 would make no sense, although the sexual connotation of Rom 13:13 may have been guessed from the context.

Another example can be found in πρόσκομμα ("bruise"), which Jewish Greek, ignoring the existing meaning, seems to have taken in two senses, derived from the two main usages of the cognate verb προσκόπτω: (1) "to stumble against" τινι, (2) "to take offence at." We therefore get for πρόσκομμα: (1) "stumbling" and (2) "cause for offence." These two meanings would easily coexist for a Jew given that Semitic languages frequently use a noun denoting an action also for the thing causing that action. The phrase τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ in Rom 14:13 could conceivably be read by a Greek as "not to give a brother a bruise," in other words, a warning not to punch him. This in turn brings us to the use of κοινόν ("common") in the next verse. In Jewish Greek this word substitutes for βέβηλος in the sense "profane." A non-Jewish reader, however, would probably be thinking that the warning against a punch-up in v. 13 is given against the background of a dispute over what is deemed to be special as over against common food.

We may also note the example of Rom 3:23 where Paul says: πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ. A Greek reader would not naturally

37 It should be noted that Paul's use of χαρίζομαι + acc. of a wrong + dat. of person (2 Cor 12:13b; Col 2:13; 3:13) does not strictly equate to the sense "to forgive + direct object." The verb is used in the sense "to show favor to someone (τινι) with respect to something (acc. of respect)." Compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus 5,4,3 φρονίμων μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον ἐστὶ ταῖς φιλίαις χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ἔχθρας, ἀνοήτων δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συναναιρεῖν τοὺς φίλους, "it is a work of prudent men to show favour to friendships with respect to enmities [i.e. to give up enmities and in that way favor friendships] and of both stupid men and barbarians to destroy friends together with enemies"). Although the construction is therefore Greek, it is typically Jewish to use it with respect to sin (see, e.g., references in BDAG). Passages such as 2 Cor 2:7, 10 and Eph 4:32 ought to be taken in a more general sense and not narrowed down to a sense of "forgive."

take δόξη in the Old Testament sense of "glory," but would probably be thinking in terms of God's reputation or opinion.

A particularly obscure example is formed by the use of ἀνάθημα in the sense of being "under the ban." For a Greek, the word referred to "an object dedicated to a god or gods." In Rom 9:3 Paul thus wishes to be a votive offering. In 1 Cor 12:3 it is apparently a negative thing to say "Jesus is a votive offering," whatever that might mean. First Corinthians 16:22, which reads εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα, might perhaps be understood in the sense that if anyone does not love the Lord, he should dedicate himself—as punishment or recompense?—to the Lord as a votive offering, with the implication that the Lord Jesus must have a temple somewhere (similarly Gal 1:8–9).[38]

Finally, it should be noted that words cognate to ταπεινός, which in Jewish-Christian Greek are used in the positive sense of humility, in non-Jewish Greek have a pejorative sense ("low," "mean," "base," "vile"). This does not have too much impact on the interpretation of Paul's letters, however. His use of the verb ταπεινόω does not differ too much in meaning from regular use, and ταπεινοφροσύνη can appropriately be understood from the context.[39] The two instances of ταπεινός in 2 Corinthians may give an unintended negative nuance to what Paul is saying: ἀλλ' ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς (2 Cor 7:6) could be understood: "But God who encourages vile men encouraged us"; and Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς . . ., ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς (2 Cor 10:1) could be understood: "But I myself, Paul, encourage you . . ., who am a vile person in your presence, but I am bold when absent from you."

Early Christians, coming predominantly from Semitic backgrounds, built upon this Jewish use of Greek words in foreign ways. A word such as προσωπολημψία (e.g. Rom 2:11), together with its cognates, seems to have been coined within the circle of the apostles, being used by James, Peter, Paul, and Luke. We may compare Mal 1.8 (LXX, cf. Luke 20:21): εἰ προσδέξεταί σε, εἰ λήψεται πρόσωπόν σου. The idiom is indeed Semitic (נָשָׂא פָּנִים), meaning "to show partiality." While such words would readily be understood by Jewish readers, it is perhaps questionable whether Greek readers would have grasped the sense.

Another example of early Christian vocabulary is the use of the verb διακρίνω in the sense "to doubt." This usage appears suddenly in the New Testament

38 This verse is probably a quotation from elsewhere as others have also suggested. The verb φιλέω is not customary in Paul's language (it is only used elsewhere in Tit 3:15). We would have expected Paul to use the synonym ἀγαπάω. The colloquial ἤτω instead of ἔστω is also unusual (only here in Paul).

39 The words of Jesus as recorded in Matthew would be more problematic.

(Matthew, Mark, Acts, Paul, Jude, James) and seems to spring out of nowhere. This may also have provided confusion. Take, for example, Rom 14:23, ὁ δὲ διακρινόμενος ἐὰν φάγῃ κατακέκριται, which might be understood: "But he who decides for himself whether he should eat has been condemned."

Other words that seemingly spring out of nowhere are παρακοή and ὑπακοή in the senses "disobedience" and "obedience" respectively. Neither are regular Greek. ὑπακούω could mean to obey, even in Attic (cf. the common adjective ὑπήκοος), and the noun has been coined on that basis. It is used by Paul, Hebrews, and 1 Peter.[40] παρακοή is found in Galen frequently and once in Ps.-Plato's epistles, but not in the sense of "disobedience." As "disobedience" it is purely Christian, twice in Paul, once in Hebrews. The cognate verb can mean "to hear carelessly," "to take no heed of" in Hellenistic Greek, but it becomes especially common among Jews. The use of the noun in Paul and Hebrews must stem from this Jewish use of the verb.

Finally, we may note the Christian use of δύναμις in the concrete sense of "miracle," which probably just represents another case of a typically Semitic use of a noun both in the sense of faculty or cause of an action and the action itself. Given that δύναμις regularly denotes "power" or "capability," it is then a small step to "miraculous deed." We find this sense in the synoptic Gospels, Acts, Hebrews, and letters of Paul (e.g. 1 Cor 12:10, 28–29; Gal 3:5).

Paul also uses a number of Semitic words that he normally does not bother to translate. Without translation, these words would naturally have been inexplicable. We note ἀμήν (Hebrew or Aramaic, Rom 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 15:33; 16:27; 1 Cor 14:16; 2 Cor 1:20, which implies the translation "yes"; Gal 1:5; 6:18; Phil 4:20; 1 Thess 3:13); ἀββα (Aramaic, Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6, in both cases translated); πάσχα (Aramaic, used in the sense of the animal to be sacrificed as Passover, 1 Cor 5:7); μαραναθα (Aramaic, 1 Cor 16:22), σατανᾶς (Aramaic, Rom 16:20; 1 Cor 5:5; 7:5; 2 Cor 2:11; 11:14; 12:7; 1 Thess 2:18; 2 Thess 2:9), which would probably have been read as a personal name.

What ought we then to make of all this? There are obviously significant difficulties posed to a Greek reader of Paul's letters. The difficulties highlighted here are separate from the question of Paul's argumentation, which even in ancient times was sometimes hard to follow (cf. 2 Pet. 2:15–16).[41] But when

40 It is also found in LXX 2 Sam 22:36, but in the unrelated sense of "answer."

41 Paul does not often help his reader to follow his train of thought by laying out the main threads of his argument in the way that, for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus does in his treatises. The exceptions that prove the rule are the comment in Rom 3:9 and the indications of topic (περὶ . . .) in 1 Corinthians. Paul is more often discursive in his presentation and vague in his formulation.

those factors are combined with a Greek reader who has no appreciation of Jewish ways of speaking or social customs, the problem of effective communication becomes even more acute.

That said, as already noted at the beginning of this overview of Paul's language, one ought not to think of Paul's Jewish-Greek as a separate dialect (or "sociolect") in the sense of a coherent version of the Greek language that was so separated from regular *koine* Greek that it was virtually inexplicable—or only with difficulty to be understood. The difficulties are there, to be sure, but the difference is not on the same level as say that between a regional Dutch dialect (such as Gronings or Kattuks) and modern "ABN" Dutch.[42] Paul's Jewish Greek may be more profitably compared to the kind of English spoken among certain strongly ecclesiastical Dutch immigrant communities in North America. These closely knit communities have maintained several Dutch idioms in their use of English, despite the fact that only a few among them any longer have actual knowledge of the Dutch language. The comparison with the Greek written by Jews (both within and outside of the New Testament) is real. The amount of Semitic influence, however, particularly on vocabulary, is much more apparent than that with modern English-speaking communities from an immigrant background. The modern global village and mass media have vastly affected the extent to which regional or socio-determined variations of language retain their influence.

We are left with the question whether the average Greek reader might have agreed with the judgment of the astronomer Cleomedes, who spoke of "debased Jew talk, far lower than the reptiles."[43] While considerable prejudice lies behind that statement, the fact that it is said at all betrays the fact that Jews were all too often recognizable by their speech, and this surely applied to more than just a thick accent.

Paul, then, by his own admission an "apostle to the Gentiles," shows remarkably little regard for writing his letters in such a way that they might be easily understood by someone with no knowledge of either Jewish customs or Jewish use of the Greek language. Perhaps, however, this is not too surprising given Luke's picture of the earliest churches established by the apostle Paul. In the book of Acts we see Paul journeying from city to city, deliberately first taking up contact with the Jews (cf. Rom 1:16), and only upon rejection by them taking

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42 ABN is the Dutch abbreviation for *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands*, a traditional—but now outdated—term referring to standard modern Dutch.

43 τὰ δὲ… Ἰουδαϊκά τινα καὶ παρακεχαραγμένα καὶ κατὰ πολὺ τῶν ἑρπετῶν ταπεινότερα. Cleomedes, *The Heavens*, 2.1 (489), translation from Bowen and Todd, *Cleomedes' Lectures on Astronomy*.

the Gospel to the Gentiles. Even then, Paul's churches are generally founded upon groups of converted Jews together with Gentiles who had already been frequenting their local synagogue, and were thus already familiar both with Jewish customs and Jewish ways of using the Greek language. Paul's experience in Corinth, recorded in Acts 18, illustrates just this point. It is, perhaps, telling that Paul's one recorded experience with Greeks who presumably lacked any real knowledge of Judaism, namely his debates with philosophers in Athens and his address to the Areopagus, resulted in what Luke seems to imply was a disappointing outcome (Acts 17). But this has more to do with the content of Paul's message than his use of language. On the other hand, we also need to take account of the receptivity to the gospel of so many Gentiles, who had already been attracted to monotheistic Judaism. It may be that this fact made *koine* Greek with a Jewish flavor an attractive and trusted medium in which to further communicate the gospel of Christ. We, of course, only have Paul's letters to go on and we will never know if he made an extra effort to communicate with less Jewish flavor when speaking to non-converted Gentiles who may have had little or no effective exposure to Judaism.

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CHAPTER 10

Exploring Linguistic Variation in an Ancient Greek Single-Author Corpus: A Register Design Analysis of Josephus and Pauline Pseudonymity

Andrew W. Pitts and Joshua D. Tyra

This chapter will address three of Stan's interests, all topics on which he has published—the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, linguistic criticism, and the social world of the New Testament. The primary goal of this study is to test a method of style-shift analysis recently developed by Andrew W. Pitts.[1] While Pitts explored the implications of this method for the Pauline corpus, here we hope to expand the analysis by testing it against another single-author corpus in ancient Greek, the works of Josephus, where the issue of authorship is not seriously questioned. We will also examine occurrences of Latinisms in Josephus and Paul from the perspective of Pitts's model. If we discover linguistic variation within Josephus's major works similar to what we find in the Pauline corpus, this will further demonstrate the potential viability of a register design interpretation of linguistic variation within a single-author corpus.

1 The Register Design as an Interpretive Model for Linguistic Variation

While this study builds upon the work of Pitts on Paul and pseudonymity, we can only very briefly summarize his model here and seek to add new theoretical components that will aid in the assessment of Josephus in particular. Pitts originally noted a common assumption among studies in the Pastoral letters, which "famously employ several (mainly) linguistic criteria to detect shifts in style on the typically unargued assumption that a shift in style necessarily entails a shift in authorship."[2] Pitts sought to provide an alternative interpretation of linguistic variation accounting for style-shift through shift in register rather than shift in authorship. (In fact, in social linguistics, style is not

1 Pitts, "Style and Pseudonymity."

2 Ibid., 113.

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merely defined as linguistic variation but as *linguistic variation in response to changing registers or social situations*.) This has the distinct advantage in the Pauline corpus of confirming the voluminous external evidence that corroborates Pauline authorship for all thirteen New Testament letters in his name. By register we mean the semantic configuration that is typically associated with the situation type in question, involving three metafunctions, each with their own realizations:

1. Mode of Discourse (Textual Meaning)
    a. Primary Channel
        i. Linguistic medium: written < > spoken, etc.
        ii. Literary structure: letter, novel, etc.
    b. Format/Permanency
        i. Level of publication: published < > unpublished, locally published, etc.
    c. Setting
        i. Institutional vs. personal: private < > public
2. Tenor of Discourse (Interpersonal Meaning)
    a. Addressor
        i. Demographic, social, cultural details of the author
    b. Addressee
        i. Demographic, social, cultural details of the audience
        ii. Plurality < > Singularity
        iii. Present < > Absent
        iv. Levels of interactiveness: interactional < > informational
        v. Shared Knowledge: personal, cultural, etc.
3. Field of Discourse (Experiential Meaning)
    a. Factuality (+/-)
    b. Purposes: goal of writing or speaking
    c. Topics: subject matter

By register design, we mean the way that language is designed by an author to respond to specific social situations or, an author's *style*.

A great deal of confusion has emerged among biblical scholars due to a lack of rigorous attention to an adequate definition of "style" and how an author's style can be not only influenced by but deeply embedded within a variety of social factors. Sociolinguists, on the other hand, have progressively refined their definition of "style" in the course of their longstanding discussion of style variation. At first, for many years they focused their investigation primarily on

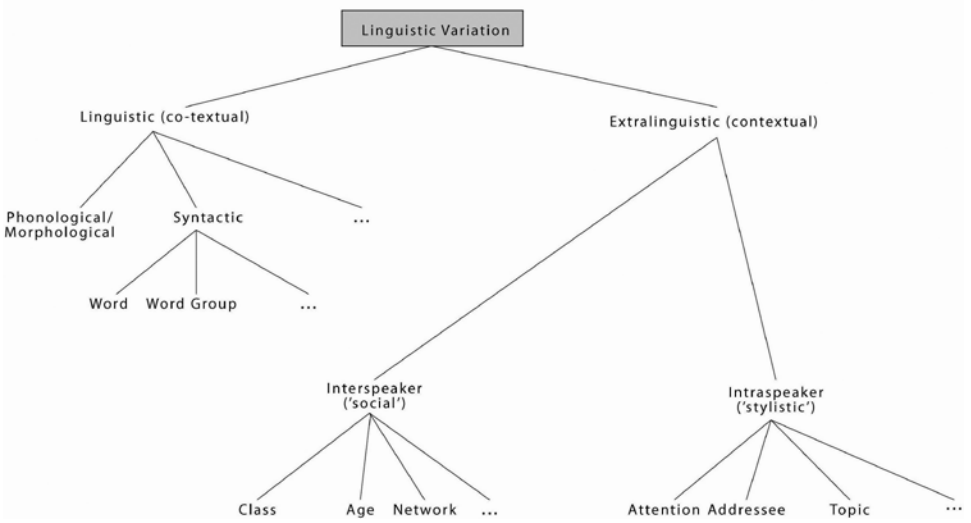


FIGURE 10.1 *Extralinguistic Influences on Linguistic Variation* (*Adapted from Bell, "Language Style," 146*).

speech and writing.[3] Over the last four decades, however, an enormous and continuously growing body of field studies has generally convinced linguists of the significance of contextual factors in language variation, especially the relation between intraauthor (stylistics) and interauthor (social) extralinguistic relations. See, for example, the diagram by Bell.[4]

For many sociolinguists, style emerges as a result of intragroup language variation, constrained mainly by shifts in extralinguistic social factors. This way of understanding language and style creates a predictive model that enables interpreters to predict language variation as a function of the degree of social variation with some level of precision. With an increase in social variation, the model predicts an increase in linguistic variation. In analyzing a corpus of related texts, then, one will expect that the texts with the most differing social

3 E.g., Labov, *The Social Stratification*.

4 Below we will divide the features of linguistic variation differently than Bell does in this diagram, especially the "social" and "stylistic" parameters. We have also added some features to the "syntactic" category. In place of Bell's terms "linguistic" and "extralinguistic" we have instead used (and applied somewhat differently than he does) the terms "co-textual" and "contextual." But in spite of these points in which our work differs from Bell's, his diagram is helpful for the moment in summarizing his version of audience design.

situations will not only diverge from the linguistic patterns of the other texts but will group together with texts emerging from a similar social location.

In addition, these factors remain significant not just synchronically (at a given "Time Slice," or point on the timeline of an author's life), but also diachronically along two parallel trajectories: at the personal level, the addressor and addressee's circumstances may change over time, while at a societal level, language is progressively evolving. Based on these parameters, Pitts constructs a "register design landscape" for the Pauline epistles. This is a chronological depiction of Paul's Time Slices, corresponding to his missionary journeys and imprisonments.

Pitts's original study focused heavily upon shifts in the tenor of the discourse since this is the most significant shift between the nine-letter Pauline canon and the Pastorals (plus Philemon), where the latter group is addressed to individuals while the former group addresses communities. Several field studies showed radical linguistic variation in response to shift in only one register component—tenor, through addressee change. Alan Bell, for example, showed style-shifts rate sometimes as high as 98 percent variation within some features due to changing audiences, although variation rarely exceeds 75 percent, most often coming in at around 50 percent variation for any lexicogrammatical feature due to addressee alteration alone.[5] This is obviously very relevant for the study of the Pastorals where there is a clear addressee change from groups to individuals. Pitts proposed linguistic variation resulting from shifts in register rather than authorship as an alternative to the pseudonymity model for interpreting Pauline language variation, as in Figure 10.2 below.

In Josephus, we do not have the same kinds of shifts in the tenor of the discourse. We do have significant changes within the field of the discourse, however, especially differing topics within and purposes for Josephus's various writings, and perhaps also changes in mode of discourse. And a range of sociolinguistic studies have emerged showing that changes in the field of the discourse are equally significant in accounting for linguistic variation within a single-author corpus.

A study of Hawaiian Creole in children by April Purcell located drastic style-shifts toward decreolizing based not only upon changes in addressee but also changes in genre and topic.[6] Nancy Dorian did a study on the impact of temporal register variation over a period of just four years using her landlady during her stay in Scotland to do a field study in the East Sutherland dialect of Scottish Gaelic (ESG).[7] She based her study on two tape-recorded interviews, one in

5 Bell, "Language Style" 146.

6 Purcell, "Code Shifting Hawaiian Style."

7 Doran, "Stylistic Variation."

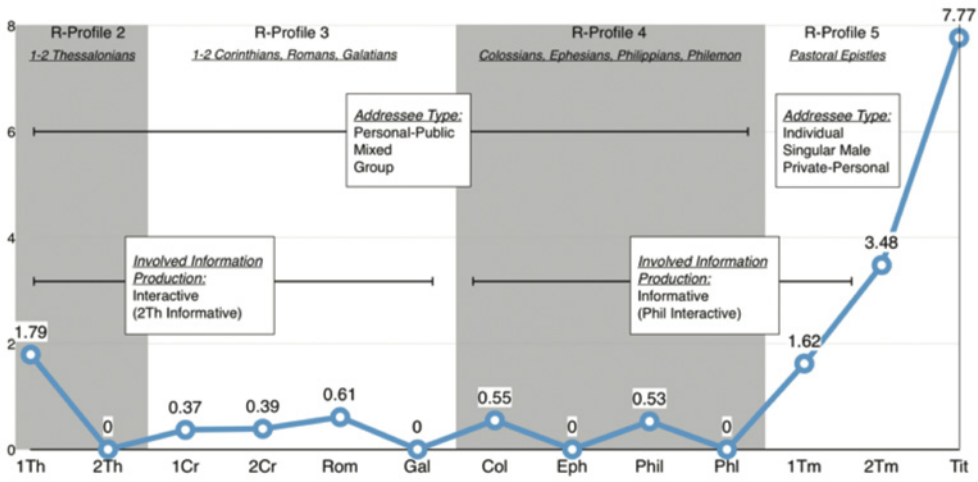


FIGURE 10.2 *Register Profile for φιλ- Vocabulary per 1000 Words in the Pauline Epistles.*

1964 (13 minutes in length) and one in 1968 (25 minutes in length). In these interviews, she examined her landlady's use of English loanwords. She chose ESG because it was a dying language and many linguists view dying languages as less stylistically diverse. Yet Dorian's landlady shows a dramatic increase in English loanwords, a significant stylistic variation, in just a four-year period, showing that register variation impacts linguistic variation in private sphere languages over even short periods of time. John Rickford and Faye McNair-Knox further solidified Alan Bell's findings, who likewise acknowledges topic shift as a source of language shift, in their study.[8] They show style-shifts related not only to addressee relations but also in response to topic variation in a person that they nickname Foxy Boston, an 18-year-old African-American. They analyze five vernacular features in four interviews where the only changing variables in the situation are the race/familiarity, the number of Foxy Boston's interviewers (some interviewers were groups, others individuals) and the topics introduced. Such studies could be multiplied and they demonstrate the impact of register upon modern linguistic variation (both written and spoken), but the point of this paper is to focus mainly upon the data to see whether shifts in the registers of an ancient author like Josephus result in the kinds of linguistic variation we find within the Pauline corpus.

Genre may also play a significant role in language variation in Josephus, whose corpus consists of three different genres—history, autobiography, and apologetic discourse. David L. Hoover shows the impact of shift in topic and

8 Rickford and McNair-Knox, "Addressee- and Topic- Influenced Style Shift."

genre in the drastic change in style that we find in the final chapter of William Golding's *The Interiors*, and portions of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eight-Four*.[9] O'Donnell points to an interesting example of a study in genre and authorship variation that is helpful in firming up this point. He summarizes a recent study by Baayen, Van Halteren, and Tweedie in which "[t]he authors of the study tested a group of works from different registers (crime fiction, literary criticism, popular scientific, scientific, drama and tennis reports), and included two works by the same author in different registers (one was a crime novel and the other was a work on literary criticism)."[10] When methods from corpus linguistics for detecting linguistic grouping were applied to this body of literature, the two texts written by the same author grouped linguistically by register, not by author (i.e., with crime fiction and literary criticism respectively). Jim Libby's recent dissertation cites numerous quantitative studies from, especially, statistical and computational linguistics, that show the impact of genre on style variation.[11]

In fact, it is possible that genre is more than just a discrete property of a given register of discourse; it may actually be defined as the sum total of a register's properties. In other words, genre may be nothing more than a register's specific configuration of metafunctions. Martin expands on Halliday's sociosemantic model and employs the notion of "forms of communication" to describe this model of genre. Register is the "content form" for genre and genre is the "expression form" for register, with the widest form being ideology, a feature of a large range of texts, reflecting the culture. Martin insists instead that text structure is generated at the level of genre.

> Genre networks would thus be formulated on the basis of similarities and differences between text structures which thereby define text types. As part of the realisation process, generic choices would preselect field, mode and tenor options associated with particular elements of text structure . . . with genre defined as a staged, goal-oriented social process realised through register.[12]

Or as Bawarshi and Reife summarize it, on Martin's model, "genre connects culture to situation, and register connects situation to language."[13] So linguistically, genre is realized as a particular set of cultural configurations (context

9 Hoover, "Multivariate Analysis."

10 O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 100.

11 Libby, "Disentangling Authorship and Genre."

12 Martin, *English Text*, 505.

13 Bawarshi and Reife, *Genre*, 33.

of culture) of semantic realizations within field, mode, and tenor (context of situation). Figure 10.3 illustrates this relationship as follows:[14]

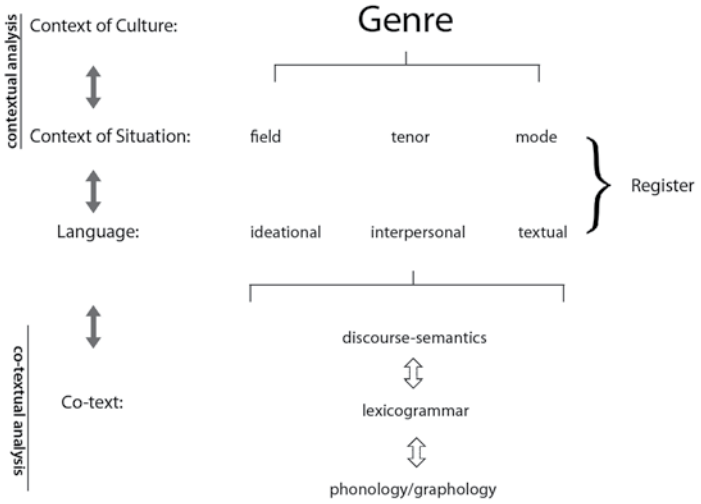


FIGURE 10.3 *Martin's Genre Taxonomy: Register, Context, and Co-Text.*

If shifts in genre are shifts in register in this way, then our model predicts that changing genres within Josephus will likely result in language variation.

In our investigation below, we will test the language variation to see whether field, mode, or tenor seem to have impact upon it or whether a combined shift in these register components—i.e., a shift in genre—may be responsible for language variation in Josephus. One thing that can be ruled out from the beginning, however, is that language variation results from author-shift, since the vast majority of scholars widely accept Josephan authorship for the major works attributed to him.

2 Josephus and Authorship

Steve Mason notes that the works of Josephus were originally subjected to the same enthusiastic wave of source criticism that engulfed the study of the Bible[15] (and virtually every other classical author, from Plato to Cicero[16]). Though that

14 The following chart is revised and expanded from ibid.

15 Mason, "Introduction," xiv.

16 Lowe, "Critical and Skeptical Methods," 703–4.

skeptical approach to Josephus still endures in some circles, Mason notes that now, "it has been replaced in principle by numerous examinations of Josephus' authorial technique over the entire range of his corpus. . . . It is undeniable," Mason affirms, "that he used sources for almost all of his narrative, as did Livy, another historian whose literary art has been minimized in scholarship. But like Livy, as we are now coming to see . . ., Josephus wrote as an author and not as a mere anthologist."[17] The authorship of the major works of Josephus, in other words, is not widely contested. It seems safe for our purposes here to look at the works of Josephus as a stable and uncontested corpus, with the exception of a few short passages such as the co-called *Testimonium Flavianum*.[18]

3 Configuring a Register Profile Landscape for Josephus

As noted above, this chapter assumes the major methodological foundations laid out in Pitts's original article on Paul. As with Paul, the first step, configuring a register profile landscape, involves constructing both a diachronic and synchronic axis for the works of the author whose language variation will be the object of analysis. In this step, we will lean upon leading voices in Josephan studies, such as Mason and Barclay, for the essential details surrounding Josephus and the production of his major works to help objectify as much as possible the register profile for Josephus that we generate.

3.1 *Addressor*

The bare facts of Josephus's life are well known:

> Titus (?) Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100 CE) was born Joseph son of Mattathyahu, a priestly aristocrat in Judea. During the early stages of the war against Rome (66–74 CE), he found himself leading a part of the defense in Galilee, but by the spring of 67, his territory overrun, he had surrendered under circumstances that would furnish grounds for endless accusation. Taken to Rome by the Flavian conquerors, he spent the balance of his life writing about the war, Judean history and culture, and his own career. He composed four works in thirty volumes.[19]

17 Mason, "Introduction," xiv.

18 See Pines, *Arabic Version*.

19 Mason, *Life of Josephus*, ix.

3.2 *Dating*

Josephus's major works include the *Judean War* in seven books, the *Judean Antiquities* in 20 books, the one-volume *Life of Josephus*, and the two-volume *Against Apion*. *Judean War* must have existed in some form by 79 CE, for Josephus claims to have given a copy of it to the emperor Vespasian (*Life* 361–362), who died that year (Book 7, which mentions the death of Vespasian, may have been written or altered later).[20] Josephus gave copies to Agrippa and his sister, who arrived in Rome in 75 CE.[21] Thus we have a range of 75 to 79 CE, but parts of *War* may have been written substantially earlier. In 1.3 Josephus mentions that he composed a precursor to *War* in Aramaic,[22] and in *Apion* 1.49 he speaks of having taken notes on the events of the war as they happened in the field.[23] All things considered, a rough horizon of the 70s CE for the composition of *War* will suit our purpose.

Antiquities was finished much later, in 93 CE, when Josephus was 55.[24] This can be established with some certainty on the basis of his statements in *Ant.* 20.267 and *Life* 5.[25] As for *Life*, it is closely associated with *Antiquities*, and Mason holds that it was intended by Josephus as an "author's supplement" to it. He points out, moreover, that it shares a rougher Greek style with *Ant.* 20.[26] Thus it seems likely that *Life* was issued along with *Antiquities* in 93–94. However, a complex problem surrounding the dating of Agrippa II's death (referenced in *Life* 359) also makes possible a publication date of 101 CE, very close to Josephus's own death.[27] This puts the date for the composition of *Life* within Josephus's last decade in Rome and the last decade of his life, in the 90s CE. Regarding *Against Apion*, Barclay remarks in a melancholy way after a long discussion of its date: "We are left with a simple, though disappointing conclusion. Only one criterion is certain in dating *Against Apion*, and that is its backward reference to *Antiquities*. *Against Apion* was certainly written no earlier than CE 94; how much later than that, we simply cannot tell."[28]

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20 Mason, "Of Audience and Meaning," 86.

21 Ibid., 86–87.

22 Ibid., 90.

23 Ibid., 85.

24 Mason, "Introduction," xvii.

25 Ibid.

26 Mason, *Life of Josephus*, xix.

27 Ibid., xvi–xix.

28 Barclay, *Against Apion*, xxviii.

3.3 *Register Profiles*

This provides us with two Time Slices for a Josephan register design landscape: Register Profile 1 is 70–80 CE, which includes *War*, and Register Profile 2 is 90–100 CE, which includes Josephus's later works—*Antiquities, Life, Against Apion*. In Profile 1, Josephus is in his mid-30s to early 40s; in Profile 2, he is likely in his mid–50s to early 60s (depending on how long he lived). He lived all of this time in the city of Rome, so there is no geographical variation in our landscape.

3.4 *Diachronic Linguistic Factors*

Josephus was a native speaker of Aramaic, living in Rome where he became a highly proficient writer (if not speaker) of Greek. He speaks of his process of learning Greek in *Ag. Ap.* 1.50. His writing also contains some evidence of bilingual interference from Latin (as Paul's epistles also do, an issue that will be addressed further below). So it seems reasonable to suppose that his relationship to his linguistic environment would have changed over time, as he grew more comfortable with Greek and more aware of Latin. As for Greek, there is no clear evidence of an increasing mastery over time. While in the opening of *War*, we have "arguably the richest surviving example of the Greek historical prologue, . . . replete with evocation of Greek epic and tragedy,"[29] by *Ant.* 20 and *Life*, Mason notes that he had "fall[en] into what seems to be his unaided natural voice."[30] Below, we will explore the diachronic effects of bilingual interference from Latin on Josephus's writings.

3.5 *Addressee*

Thus far we have an author, a timeline, a setting, and a linguistic milieu, but we still need to establish Josephus's major audience(s). For *Antiquities*, Mason argues (based on a plain reading of 1.8) that for an audience "Josephus expects Gentile readers who are deeply interested in Judean culture."[31] He further posits that, "since Josephus freely refers to his *Judean War* as if it were accessible to the reader of the *Antiquities*, . . . we should consider the possible continuity of audience from one work to the other."[32] And *Life*, since it is so closely associated with *Antiquities*, has much the same audience.[33] Textual cues tell us that this elite Roman audience only has the vaguest idea of Judean or Galilean

29 Mason, "Of Audience and Meaning," 76.

30 Ibid.

31 Mason, "Introduction," xix.

32 Ibid., xviii.

33 Mason, *Life of Josephus*, xix.

history, geography, or political affairs, but they are eager to learn; and they share with Josephus a large amount of Roman cultural, historical, and political knowledge.[34] *Life* (430) and *Against Apion* (1.1, 2.1, 2.295) contain the added feature of an individual dedicatee named Epaphroditus (also mentioned in *Ant.* 2.8), whose identity is not known.[35] The *Life* reference dedicates all of *Antiquities* retroactively to this Epaphroditus, while *Against Apion* gives him a more prominent place at the beginning of both books and the end of the work (2.295). This individual dedication is a possible factor in style shift, and will be important to note in our register profile landscape.

In 1.3 of *Against Apion* Josephus declares three groups for whom he intends to write: the critics who have slandered the Jews, other people who have been swayed by them, and anyone who desires to learn the truth about Jewish history and culture. Barclay notes that Josephus often speaks of the critics like Apion in the third person and very occasionally addresses them directly (2.65–67; 1.314).[36] Josephus also includes (2.296) a dedication to a group of outsiders, non-Jews who Josephus implies will want to know more about the Jewish people.[37] The declared rhetorical audience differs from the implied audience, in other words, and both may differ from the *intended* audience. However, we must exercise caution in limiting the intended audience of *Against Apion* to either Romans or Jews.[38] Barclay thinks it unlikely that the intended audience is truly hostile,[39] envisioning instead an audience of "*sympathetic non-Judeans and, perhaps, fellow Judeans of Josephus' social and intellectual status.*"[40] In the end, this is not far removed from Mason's proposed mixed audience of mostly Roman, but some Judean, elites in the capital.

3.6 *Primary Channel and Field*

All of Josephus's works were written and intended for publication, although we must be careful to qualify that the circumstances of book production and dissemination in the ancient world were very different from their modern counterparts. Books were often social projects and were in many cases published in phases and disseminated among the community.[41]

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34 Ibid., xx–xxi.

35 Barclay, *Against Apion*, xxvii.

36 Ibid., xlvi.

37 Ibid.

38 Cf. ibid., li.

39 Ibid., xlix.

40 Ibid., li.

41 See Porter and Pitts, "Paul and His Bible."

War and *Antiquities* are both histories, *War* covering the period from 176 BCE to 73 CE, and *Antiquities* from creation down to 66 CE. Earlier exegetes saw *War* as Roman propaganda for the Flavians and *Antiquities* as a desperate bid to turn the tide of anti-Jewish public opinion. *War* is likely placed in its Flavian Roman context; Josephus's imperial flattery, for example, reads as mere convention and his account seems much more balanced.[42] It is unlikely, due to its content (tone, topics, rhetorical strategy, literary characterization, etc.), that it was directed to a hostile outsider and is, thus, not likely apologetic in this sense. It seems instead to provide the inquisitive outsider with responses to criticisms that were likely being made.[43] *Life*, as with much ancient autobiography, has the intention of holding up Josephus as an example to follow, based on a familiar pattern used by classical authors such as Cicero and Caesar. *Apion* is classified by Barclay as an example of the formal literary structure of apology: "the work as a whole is placed within the framework of, and dominated by, defense against explicit accusations. . . . It stands in the tradition of the defense speech."[44] Given his views on Josephus's audience(s), Barclay posits as the purpose of *Apion* "to boost sympathy and support for the Judean people" in an often hostile context.[45]

3.7 *Involved Information Production*

One last parameter to determine is the rank of each of Josephus's works on a scale of "informative" versus "interactive." The method Pitts has used and that we implement here is a register analysis technique developed by M. A. K. Halliday and extended by Stanley Porter.[46] The corpus is first queried for features that encode interaction and information at the lexical and grammatical levels.[47] The resulting raw counts of features are adjusted to reflect occurrences per thousand words. Each result is given a rank of 1 through 6, and then the ranks are tallied for each work. On the basis of these summed ranks a work can be labeled "informative (+/-)" or "interactive (+/-)." Although certain technological limitations prevented us from running all of Porter's searches, we were able to carry out all those that he considers the most important indicators

42 Barclay, *Against Apion*, 99–100.

43 Mason, "Introduction," xxxiv.

44 Barclay, *Against Apion*, xxxv.

45 Ibid., liii.

46 Porter, "Functional Distribution," 67–76.

47 Searches were conducted using Logos 4 software to search *Works of Flavius Josephus: Greek Text with Morphology*.

(+) [Interaction]	War	Ant 1-19	Ant 20	Ant (All)	Life	Apion
Imperfective Aspect (Pres/Impf)	104.10	99.50	91.01	99.24	96.41	95.20
1st Person Sing. Verbs	2.31	2.52	3.59	2.55	24.01	7.48
1st Person Pl. Verbs	1.25	1.52	2.11	1.54	2.39	3.71
2nd Person Sing. Verbs	0.75	2.05	1.37	2.03	2.45	0.34
2nd Person Pl. Verbs	1.43	0.88	0.00	0.85	1.51	0.00
Analytic Negation	7.62	7.97	7.50	7.96	8.80	12.82
Demonstrative Prns. and Adjs.	13.66	20.92	2.32	20.34	21.62	28.17
Verbs	187.94	201.28	197.66	201.16	221.92	186.52
Summed Ranks	35	25	37	29	14	27
Summed Ranks as Percentages	8.7%	52.2%	0.0%	34.8%	100.0%	43.5%

(-) [Informational]	War	Ant 1-19	Ant 20	Ant (All)	Life	Apion
Nouns	210.08	217.07	234.29	217.61	191.75	189.55
Noun-Verb Ratio	1.12	1.08	1.19	1.08	0.86	1.02
Place Adverbs	0.20	0.30	0.53	0.30	0.38	0.17
Summed Ranks	11	11	3	8	13	17
Summed Ranks as Percentages	42.9%	42.9%	100.0%	64.3%	28.6%	0.0%

FIGURE 10.4 *Interactive vs. Information Production in Josephus.*

of interaction except for the category of "private verbs" (thinking, feeling, etc.). We treated *Ant.* 20 separately, since we wanted to see if the change in quality of the Greek, alluded to above, would be reflected in these scores. The results are shown in Figure 10.4 (above), with high and low scores shaded— the smaller the number, the higher the rank for that particular work or section.

Based on these scores, we can determine the following: *Wars* is informational, and *Ant.* 20 is informational+. *Ant.* 1–19 actually scores a little higher on the interactive dimension, but it also has a medium-high information score. When the same work has similar high scores on both parameters, it simply indicates, as Porter points out, that "elements of both types of discourse . . . are prominent."[48] The high interactive score of *Ant.* 1–19 may be connected with that work's "general celebratory tone . . . in an assumed bond with the audience," which Mason notes.[49] *Apion* scores as interactive, and *Life* as interactive+. This is noteworthy since we observed above the addition of an individual dedicatee to the addressee profiles of these two works, along with the specified rhetorical audience of *Apion* ("critics" and "outsiders").

48 Porter, "Functional Distribution," 69.

49 Mason, "Introduction," xxxiv.

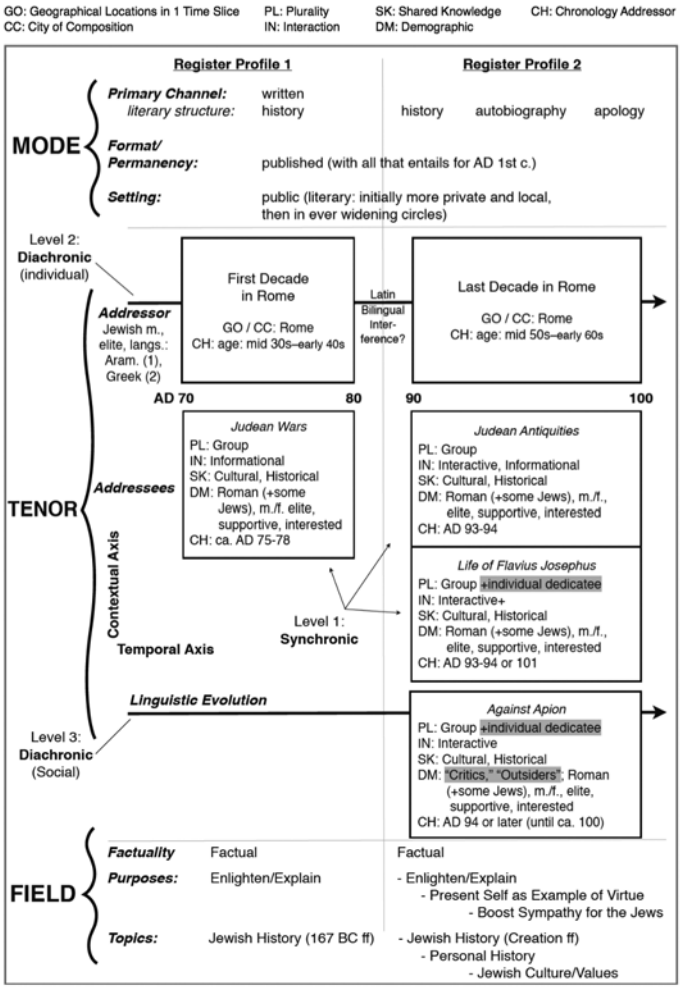


FIGURE 10.5 *Register Design Landscape for the Works of Josephus.*

At this stage all the information assembled on Josephus can be plugged into the same register design landscape template used by Pitts for the Pauline Epistles (Figure 10.5).

We can readily observe that compared to the Pauline register design landscape, the shift in audience between Profiles 1 and 2 is slight compared to that between Profiles 2–4 and 5 for Paul. Thus addressee shift will not have the relevance or explanatory power that it does for the the Pauline corpus. However, this landscape does show a greater variety in literary structure than we find in

Paul: from history to autobiography to apology. This shift better accounts for the higher interactive scores of *Life* and *Apion* than the slight shift in addressee.

4 Analysis of Language Variation in the Josephan Corpus

The next step is to test linguistic variation in Josephus according to specific linguistic features, as Harrison and others have done in arguing for a pseudepigraphy interpretation of Pauline linguistic variation. Let us be clear: we do not adopt Harrison's criteria because of their quality or superiority for testing an author's style but to show that Harrison's criteria for language variation can be best accounted for through register shift rather than author shift. (Later work in this area will involve the construction of additional sound linguistically nuanced criteria for language and style variation.) An obvious choice would be either the α-privative words or the φιλ- words, both mentioned by Harrison and used by Pitts in constructing his original argument. We found the α-privatives unfeasible for this project for two reasons: (1) the difficulties inherent in designing a computer search that returns *all* the highly variable α-privative forms in a corpus of over 460,000 words, and (2) the high number of lexemes involved. The φιλ- words, on the other hand, presented a much more manageable number of lexemes and a stable root that proved much easier to search for.

Working with the corpus of Josephus is very different from working with the Pauline corpus, principally because of the sheer size difference. At one end is a tiny letter like Titus, with its 772 words, and at the other is *Antiquities*, at a whopping 300,000 words. Because we wanted to see how (particularly) *Antiquities* scored when broken up into smaller chunks, we decided to run the searches by book and not just by complete work. We omitted from the searches the Greek summaries at the beginning of each book, which are not in any English translations of Josephus, including the Brill series. We also omitted the handful of passages that are overtly marked in the text as direct quotes from other authors,[50] along with the *Testimonium Flavianum*. The results for the occurrences of compounds containing the root φιλ- per 1,000 words by book are as as follows:

50 We were greatly aided in identifying the direct citations by Bowley, "Josephus's Use of Greek Sources," 204–5.

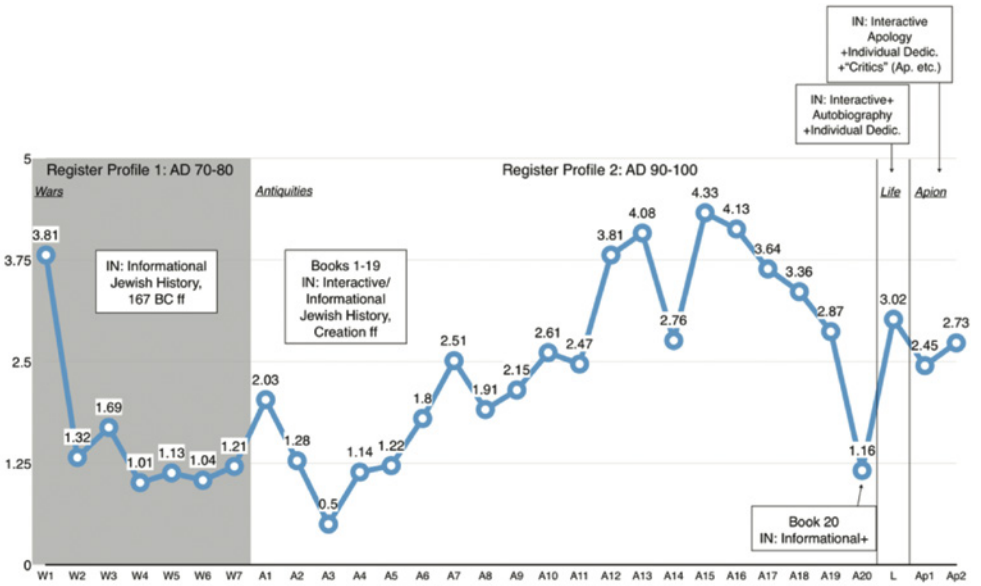


FIGURE 10.6 *Occurrences of φιλ- Compounds per 1,000 Words in the Works of Josephus.*

Particularly striking in this graph is how much variation exists within the longer works. The average variation among the book of *War* was 68 percent, and 65 percent in *Antiquities.* Notably, these figures fall within the expected range for a shift in addressee (cluster at 50 percent, rarely exceed 75 percent, even more rarely as high as 98 percent), but there is no addressee shift internal to each work. We will have to account for this variability in other ways. Across the whole corpus, Register Profile 2 (*Antiquities*, *Life*, *Apion*) showed on average a 41 percent increase (maximum of 47 percent) over Register Profile 1 (*War*). The change in genre could be a major factor, since Profile 1 only contains history, while Profile 2 also contains autobiography and apology. *Life* turns out to be the high scorer of all four works on average, with 3.02 occurrences per thousand. But this masks the fact that *Antiquities* only scores lower than *Life* on average (2.49), while in reality it contains the four highest ranking scores, including one tie with Book 1 of *War* (whose high score is itself a fascinating enigma). Thus neither addressee shift nor shifts in genre at the level of whole works seems to offer an adequate explanation. The alternative is that the works are heterogeneous, and internal shifts may be causing this variation.

In the Pastoral Epistles, α-privative and φιλ- words tend to cluster around paraenetic sections, such as 2 Tim 3:2: "φιλο-initial words are virtually restricted to the paraenetic portions of the undisputed Pauline corpus as well."[51] Although

51 Pitts, "Style and Pseudonymity," 147.

there is very little (if any) Pauline-style paraenesis in Josephus, there are other uses in ancient Greek for φιλ- vocabulary. This family of words plays a very important role when Josephus is discussing royal, military, and aristocratic loyalties. When a new dynasty begins, when a new king succeeds the throne, when the king's relatives plot to overthrow him, when a new general demands allegiance, then these words seem to be most at play. Herod is always surrounded by his friends, his φίλοι (e.g., *Ant.* 15.31), whom he must scrupulously discern from those who oppose him; they are liable to be φιλόνεικος "contentious," like Herod's mother-in-law Alexandra (15.165). The king may have φιλοστοργία "affection" for his loyal subjects (15.222), and he might even be φιλαδελφότατον "loving of his brothers" (*J.W.* 1.485). This word group figures not only in political intrigue, but with interfamily relationships—two topics that tend to be intertwined when Josephus discusses the royal family. It is possible, of course, to find exceptions to this phenomenon, but we would argue that the really top-scoring books (*Ant.* 12–13, 15, and *J.W.* 1) contain a concentration of this sort of material. *War* 1 covers the whole Hasmonean period ending with Herod's death, while *Ant.* 15–16 puts Herod and his family under a magnifying glass.

These findings can be illustrated in Register Profile 1—*War* and *Antiquities*—as follows:

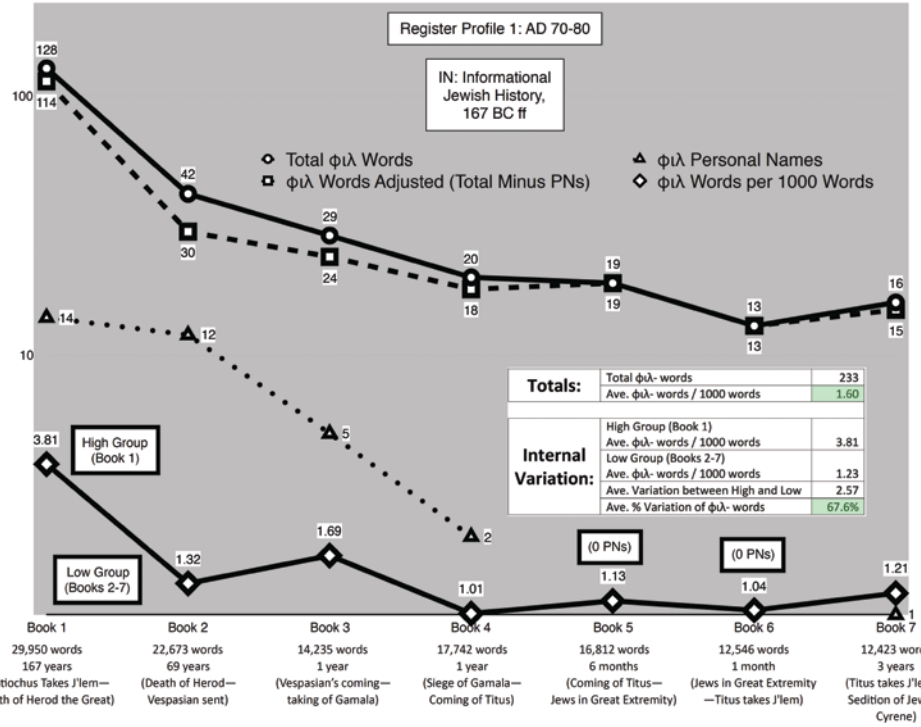
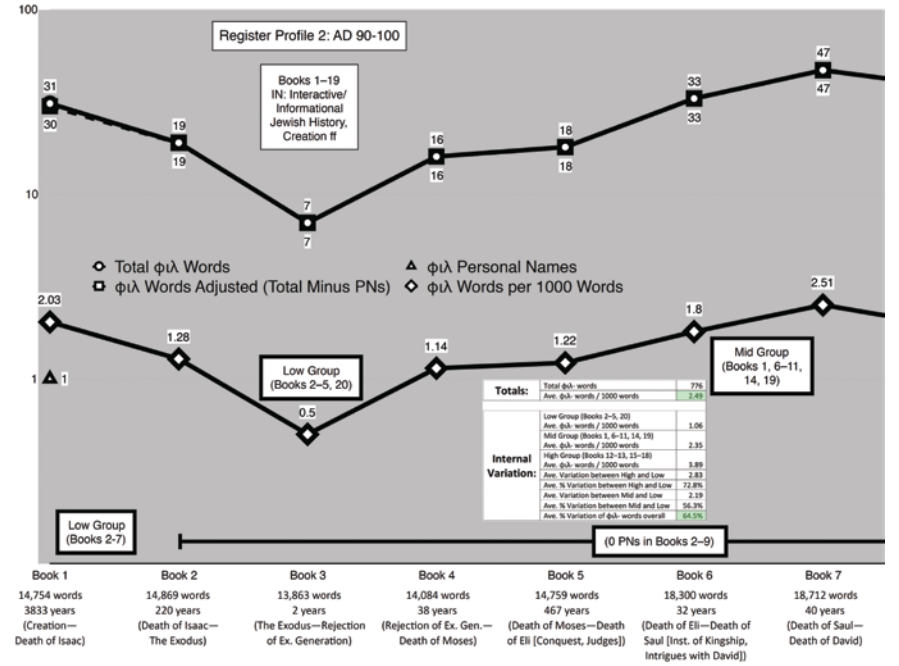
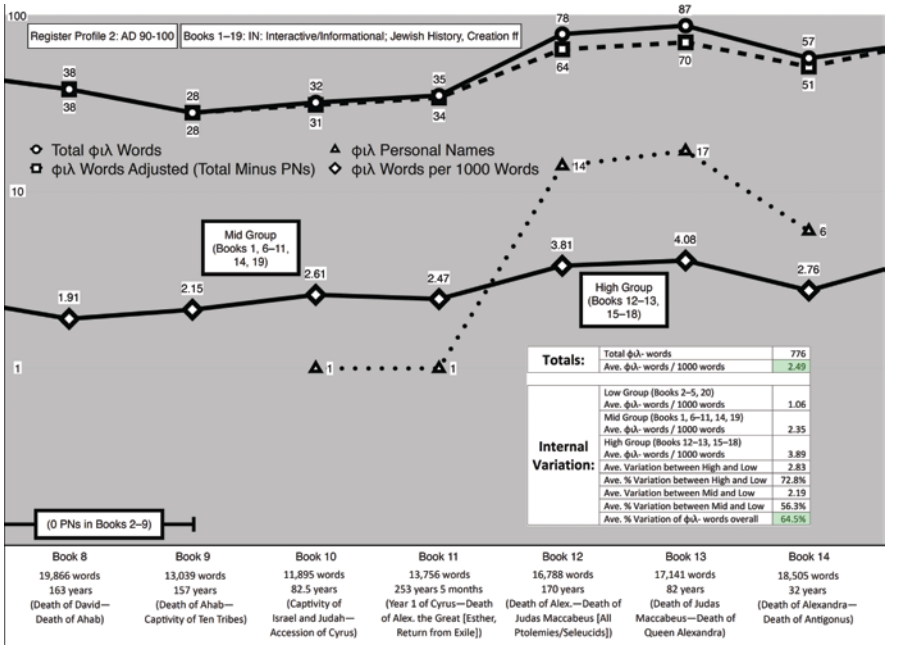


FIGURE 10.7 *φιλ- Word Counts by Book in Josephus's* Judean War.

And we can see this in the *Antiquities* as well:





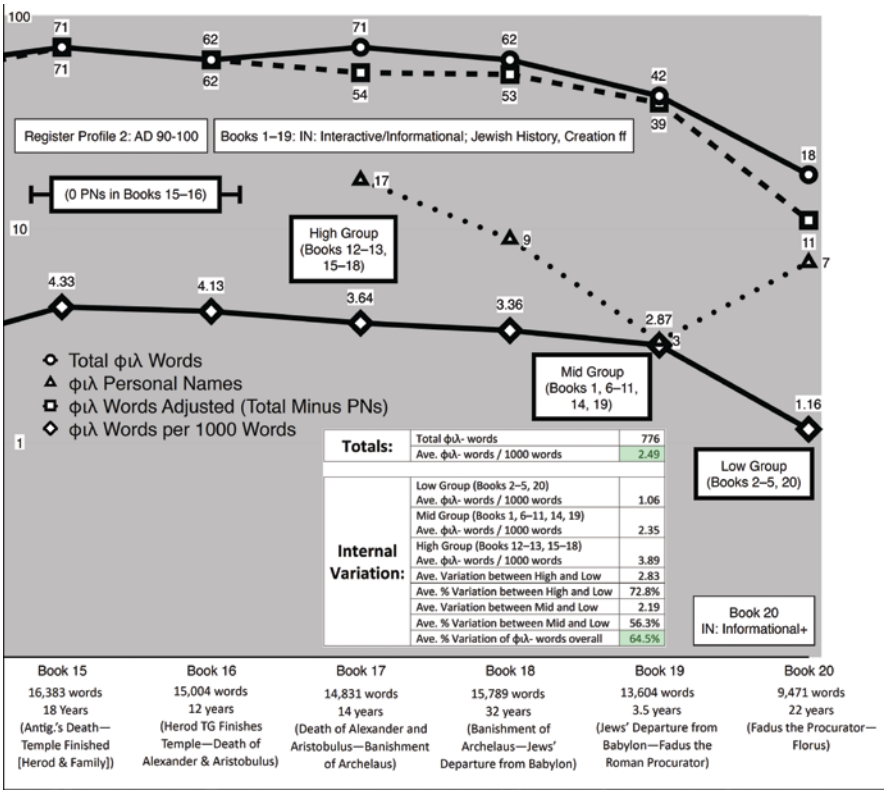


FIGURE 10.8 *φιλ- Word Counts by Book in Josephus's Judean Antiquities.*

The spike at Book 12 that marks the end of the biblical material and the turning back to more recent dynastic history is particularly interesting. In books 2–9 of *Antiquities*, there are no φιλ- personal names at all. And if you look at the subject matter of these books, it easy to see why: they treat the Old Testament history from the death of Isaac to the captivity of Israel and Judah. So these sections naturally do not have any characters with a Greek name based on a φιλ- derivative. On the other hand, there is a large spike in φιλ-personal names in books 12 and 13, when we get to the Ptolemies/Seleucids and the Maccabees. This provides another compelling example of how subject matter within the field of the discourse can affect the occurrences of certain types of words in different sections of a single work by one author.

In Register Profile 2—with *Life* and *Apion*—we find a similar phenomenon (Figure 10.9):

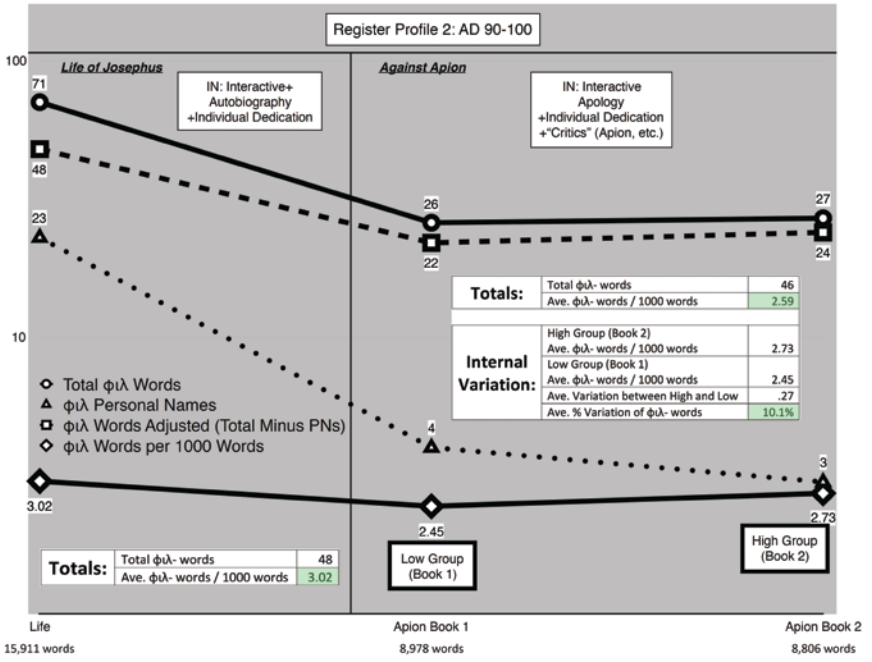


FIGURE 10.9 *Average φιλ- Words per 1000 Words in the Works of Josephus.*

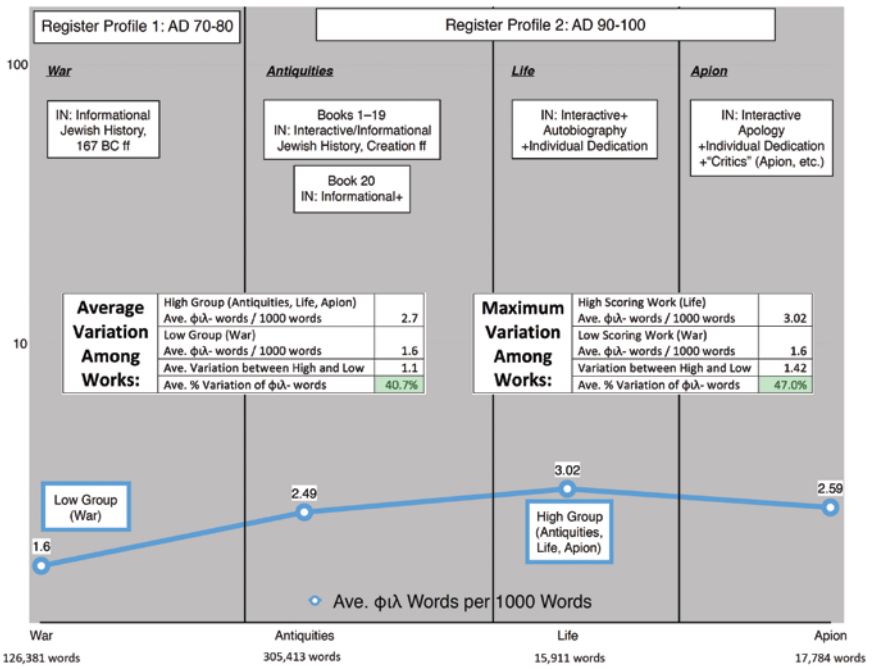


FIGURE 10.10 *φιλ- Word Counts by Book in* Life of Josephus *and* Against Apion.

As summarized above in Figure 10.10, the φιλ- word group is one that shows significant variation in occurrences across the Josephan corpus. Although this fact cannot be attributed to addressee shift, as in the Pauline corpus, it most certainly has nothing to do with pseudepigraphy, since we have a firm single-author corpus as a control group. Significant variations do occur within ancient Greek single-author corpora, and they are likely the result of one or more shifts in metafunction in the register design model.

5 Latinisms in the Pastoral Epistles and Josephus

Lastly, as a companion exercise we will briefly explore the incidence of Latinisms in the Josephan corpus. This issue is relevant to the Pauline authorship question because of the many Latinisms that scholars have seen in the Pastoral Epistles. Hitchcock identified over 160 features in the Pastoral Epistles that he considered as showing Latin influence.[52] Simpson reiterated some of these and added others.[53] While some, like Hitchcock and Simpson, have seen these Latinisms as the natural result of Paul's imprisonment in Rome, others, like Quinn, have seen the increased Latinity as supporting the pseudonymity theory.[54] Although we consider a few of the putative Latinisms debatable,[55] if even half of Hitchcock's suggestions are valid, then that would mean the Pastorals are brimming with Latinisms at the rate of 20 per thousand words. According to the register design model, this state of affairs would indicate that Profile 5 shows significant bilingual interference from Latin. If it could be shown that Latinisms also increase in Josephus along the diachronic axis (the longer he remained in Rome, the more Latin influence we observe), then

52 Hitchcock, "Latinity in the Pastorals."

53 Simpson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 20–21.

54 Quinn, *Letter to Titus*, 5.

55 For example, we do not see how the fact that Paul used *diakonos* for both "servant" and "deacon" where Latin had a different word for each (*minister/diaconus*), proves that his usage was influenced by Latin; likewise with his use of *presbyter* for both "old man" and "elder" (Lat. *senex/presbyterus*) (Hitchcock, "Latinity in the Pastorals," 351). Other examples are much more certain. There are two Latin loanwords in the Pastoral Epistles, both in 2 Tim 4:13. The first is nearly certain: φαιλόνης < *paenula* "cloak" (with metathesis). The second is definitely certain: μεμβράνα < *membrana* "parchment." Eleanor Dickey writes that when words from such basic everyday semantic fields have been borrowed, this indicates that they are fully integrated into the borrowing language; not only that, but "in the typology of language contact, the difference between borrowing of basic and nonbasic vocabulary holds important implications for what other types of linguistic influence are likely to have occurred" ("Latin Loanwords," 66).

this may lend further support to the register design approach to the Pastoral Epistles.

A recent study by J. S. Ward has identified some 150 Latinisms of various types in Josephus.[56] As far as we can tell, these items have nothing in common with those suggested for the Pastoral Epistles, with one possible exception.[57] This is not surprising: most of the Pauline examples are individual words and phrases (calque translations, short quotes of Latin authors, etc.), while Ward's Latinisms are largely of a grammatical type more likely to occur in narrative sections.[58] Although Ward's concern was to describe rather than quantify Josephus's Latinity, his results can easily be graphed over the register design profile.

Figure 10.11 shows the occurrences of four types of Latinism across the corpus.[59]

Figure 10.12 shows the occurrences of two remaining types (temporal datives), for which Ward only carried out partial counts. Mounting to only 154 items over the whole corpus, the Latinisms in Josephus are exponentially sparser than in the Pastoral Epistles. Even if Ward had discovered ten times that number of Latin-influenced items, this would only bring the score up to 3.3 per thousand words—far below the 20 (or 40) per thousand posited for the Pastorals. Thus for Josephus, Latinity would be a feature very nearly on the order of our φιλ- words: that is, consistently but not very densely represented in the corpus. The reason for this linguistic chasm between Josephus and Paul may be that, as Simpson believed, Paul was intentional about learning Latin in preparation for his mission to the Gentiles.[60] Josephus's goal, on the other hand, was to write a sophisticated literary work in good Greek (at least, in the earlier books of his longer productions!), and he may have avoided Latinisms, whether consciously or not.

On the first glance at Figure 10.11, one is inclined to see a general increase in Latinisms over time, but we believe this may be an illusion. Without the peak

56 Ward, "Roman Greek."

57 This is 1 Tim 2:9, which has κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς "to adorn themselves" (present active infinitive plus accusative reflexive pronoun; cf. Lat *ornāre sē*) rather than the form more common in ancient Greek, κοσμεῖσθαι (present middle-passive infinitive).

58 E.g., prepositionless datives to express duration (τρισὶ ἡμέραις "for three days," versus standard accusative) and time "within which" (τέσσαρσι ἡμέραις "in four days," versus standard κατά, ἐν, or genitive), fashioned after the Latin ablative.

59 (1) lexical items, (2) reflexive pronoun + active/middle for classical middle, (3) use of accusative subjects in same-subject indirect discourse, and (4) one instance of a dative absolute.

60 Simpson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 21.

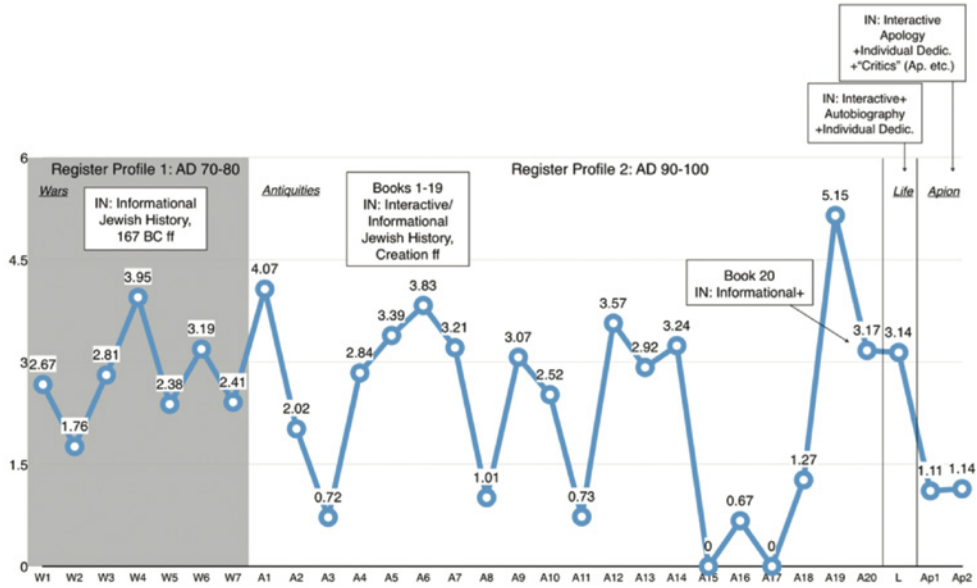


FIGURE 10.11 *Occurrences of Latinisms (4 Types) per 10,000 Words in the Works of Josephus.*

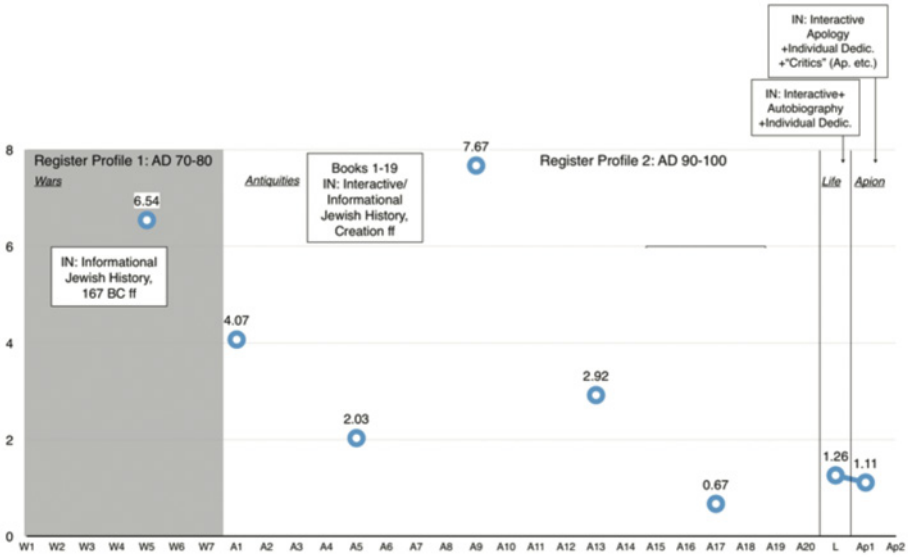


FIGURE 10.12 *Occurrences of Latinisms (Temporal Datives) per 10,000 Words in Select Books of Josephus.*

(+) [Narrative]	Wars	Ant 1-19	Ant 20	Ant (All)	Life	Apion
Perfective Aspect (Aorist)	64.06	76.51	85.63	76.80	101.63	62.19
3rd Person Sing. Verbs	54.49	56.41	57.12	56.44	28.16	47.40
3rd Person Pl. Verbs	26.14	17.40	19.74	17.47	27.65	22.72
Stative Aspect (Perf/Plup/FtPerf)	13.83	16.48	12.25	16.35	13.39	22.21
Summed Ranks	15	15	13	13	13	15
	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%

FIGURE 10.13 *The Narrative Dimension in Josephus.*

at *Antiquities* 19, the scores actually seem to decline. The more linguistically relaxed *Ant.* 20 and *Life* show no higher scores than the average, and the scores overall do not seem to cluster in any logical way that relates to the register profiles. We add nothing to the discussion by overlaying the scattershot, partial data set for temporal datives (Figure 10.12), and in fact in so doing we only augment the sense that these scores are distributed randomly through the corpus. We can understand this distribution better when we remember that many of the features in Ward are associated with narrative, and that every part of the Josephan corpus contains narrative passages.

It is helpful in this connection to look at the register analysis scores for the dimension of "narrative±" (Figure 10.13). The rankings are all tightly clustered, which tells us that narrative features are (on average) uniformly prominent throughout the corpus. So while the diachronic considerations that helped us understand Latinisms in Paul may not be relevant, shifts in topics within narrative discourse may provide an alternative register-based mechanism (potentially impacted from changes in field and mode) for interpreting this variation.

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

We have seen that words containing the root φιλ- vary by an average of 40 percent across the two register profiles of the Josephan landscape, and by up to 68 percent within one work. The static addressee profiles did not allow us to attribute this variation to a shift in audience; but the thematic clustering of the φιλ- words suggested an alternate explanation connected to the field rather than the tenor of discourse. Since we are in a single-author corpus, we can confidently assert that a change in author has nothing to do with this linguistic variation, which at least disconfirms the validity of one of Harrison's linguistic-stylistic tests for authorship.

We have seen that the distribution of Latinisms in Josephus, although it proved to be random, aligns well with the uniform prominence of narrative

features throughout the corpus (a factor involving the *mode* of discourse). We further posited a shift in the addressor profile (perhaps for Paul's desire to learn Latin) that can plausibly account for the vastly higher density of Latinisms in the Pastoral Epistles as over against Josephus.

There are several avenues for improvement in this and similar studies. First, the hypothesis of the thematic clustering of φιλ- words needs to be verified. This would be done by determining how many of the occurrences actually do fall within the topic areas of royal, military, aristocratic, and/or family allegiances. Second, more linguistic features should be checked for variation across the Josephan corpus. This will require more flexible software so that all of Porter's register analysis dimensions can be measured.[61] Finally, for reasons we are unable to determine, the Logos edition of Josephus in Greek appears to contain nearly 3,000 more words than the Perseus version.[62] This is only a 0.6 percent difference in size, and we judged that it would not significantly affect the outcomes. But the possibility remains that some items were not returned in the searches due to this discrepancy, and future work should endeavor to correct or compensate for it.

As for the Latinisms, the primary need is to bring a more organized and systematic approach to studying them. Ward's incomplete counts should be finished so that they can be incorporated into the full data set. The Pastoral Epistles Latin evidence from books and articles needs to be brought together in a database where it can be truly useful—perhaps with cross-referenced links to Latin lexicons and digital editions of the putatively quoted authors. Additionally, data on Latinisms in the rest of the Pauline corpus needs to be collected, however slight it may be, so that we can have a complete data set across the register design landscape. Lastly, since many of the suggested calque translations seem doubtful (or at least impossible to prove or disprove), all the suggested Latinisms in both corpora need to be reevaluated as to their degree of certainty. Studies on bilingual interference should be integrated into the method so as to lend some methodological heft to this process. Scholars who are experts in both Latin and Greek (and, ideally, sociolinguistics!) will naturally be the best qualified to carry out the last two projects.

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61 It is particularly disappointing that Logos 4 cannot be made to produce the data for a type-token ratio by book—the ratio for a 300,000-word composition is all but useless unless the author has an extraordinarily large vocabulary!

62 See Crane, *Perseus Digital Library*; and *Perseus under Philologic*.

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CHAPTER 11

Οὖν in the New Testament: The Minimal Semantic Contribution of a Discourse Marker

Cynthia Long Westfall

1 Introduction

Οὖν functions as a post-positive intersentential conjunction that occurs frequently in New Testament literature (489x). In common with most of the conjunctions in ancient Greek (particularly in the Hellenistic period), οὖν suffers from a neglect of careful study and adequate linguistic analysis.[1] Ancient Greek offered a broad range of choice of conjunctions in its linguistic network that was available to ancient speakers and writers. This paper will examine the minimal semantic contribution of οὖν as a signal of logical semantic relationship above the sentence level. The corpus from which the data is drawn will be the New Testament.

Οὖν is often classified as an inferential particle and a co-ordinating conjunction in narrative in the continuation or resumption of a discourse.[2] Inferential particles signal a deduction, conclusion, or summary,[3] whereas the narrative function is said to be temporal. However, this description fails to account for all of its occurrences, it does not clarify any semantic connection between the functions, and it does not recognize the various discourse levels at which οὖν functions. There have been suggestions that οὖν has other rather unusual functions that require additional categories, but most of the discussion has

1 The most extensive study of conjunctions and particles is the standard work on the classical use of οὖν, by Denniston, *Greek Particles*. Hellenistic use of conjunctions has often been seen as inferior to classical usage, e.g., Thrall, *Greek Particles*.

2 See for example BDF, 234, BDAG, 736–37. In Beale et al., *Interpretive Lexicon*, 77, these two functions are expanded to five categories, claiming a rare use of "but, however" in Rom 10:14, though there is otherwise significant overlap. See also Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 43–48, where he further nuances the two basic functions given in BDAG, with a focus on the function in narrative. However, also see Wallace who places οὖν in three categories, primarily stressing the functions it has in common with other conjunctions: emphatic, inferential, and transitional (*Greek Grammar*, 673–74). Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 460–81, has an extensive discussion of the classic use of οὖν.

3 For a description of inference, see Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec, *Semantic Structure*, 106–7.

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revolved around the seemingly idiosyncratic use of οὖν in the Gospel of John. The author's use of οὖν is one of several unusual features that have led E. A. Abbott, for instance, to write a separate grammar for John.[4] However, unless one assumes that the author of John has used οὖν "incorrectly" or inconsistently with what was within a normal or acceptable range in Hellenistic Greek, the significance of the differences is likely to be lost unless there is first some understanding of how οὖν is used in a broader sample in contemporary discourse. Classifying οὖν as an inferential particle confuses one of its particular uses with its general function. Rather, an explanation is needed for a logical-semantic constraint that covers its wider variety of phenomena.[5]

Some have focused on the multifunctionality of οὖν, and have treated its functions in diverse contexts as if those were its meanings. Each time it has been determined that οὖν was used for a different purpose or in a different way, a new meaning has been added to its definition or it has been added to another category.[6] In part, this approach is driven by translation issues in order to provide words in English that can gloss the meaning in that particular function. When the function of the word seems to require a different sort of English gloss than "then" or "therefore," a new meaning is proposed. Such approaches on the one hand may say as much or more about English than they do about Greek, and on the other hand, they reflect the particularities of descriptions and their immediate context to such an extent that they defy attempts to recognize general patterns. The primary attachment of meaning to genre is particularly problematic in the study of οὖν. As mentioned above, much of the focus has been on the use of οὖν in narrative, and certain functions of οὖν, such as the function as a "transitional conjunction," are "reserved for narrative material."[7] Of course, if the term "transitional" is defined as chronological, then by definition it would tend to be limited to narrative. However, if the term were defined more broadly as sequential, then similar patterns may be found in exposition, argument, or exhortation. The question is whether οὖν in narrative has a chronological meaning, or whether the chronological element is supplied by

4 Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*.

5 As described by Levinsohn, the approach "is to describe each conjunction in terms of the single *constraint* that it places on the way the sentence concerned is to be processed with reference to its context." Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 69. See also Fewster's description of monosemy in Fewster, *Creation Language*.

6 See for example, Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 252–53, where in order to correct the treatment of οὖν as having only inferential meanings, the authors report that Mantey wrote his doctoral thesis on "The Meaning of Οὖν in John's Writings," and published his results in the *Expositor* under "Newly Discovered Meanings for οὖν."

7 Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 693.

the context. The objective in determining the meaning of οὖν is "to be able to tease apart the contribution made by meaning from that made by context, or, to see what meaning and context contribute together."[8]

J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida classify οὖν as both an inferential particle and a discourse marker.[9] The term "discourse marker" was introduced by D. Schiffrin, who defined them as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk."[10] The term "sequential dependence" indicates that the markers work at a discourse level rather than on the syntactic features of upcoming sentences. M. Stubbs suggests, "they have a sequencing function of relating syntactic units and fitting them into a textual or discourse context."[11] "Units of talk" is deliberately vague, and can range from a word up to an entire discourse. The brackets initiate or terminate a unit, and "look simultaneously forward and backward—the beginning of one unit is the end of another and vice versa."[12] The discussion on discourse markers in English includes conjunctions, but also many other particles that most commonly occur in speech, but which also may occur in written discourse. These include, for instance, words such as *oh, well, but, or, so, because, now, then, I mean*, and *y'know*. While Louw and Nida have included the concept as a category in their lexicon, the concept of οὖν as a discourse marker is underdeveloped. It is simply identified as a marker of emphasis. While this is a beginning, in order to be useful, there is a need for a generalization that is less vague about the shared properties of the variety of phenomena surrounding this word.

This study reports the conclusions of an investigation that identified the general patterns and shared properties of the occurrences of οὖν in the corpus of the New Testament. It will be a search for general functional similarities across the different genres and registers that are represented. This is looking at the uses and functions of οὖν in terms of what meaning and context contribute together. Then, by examining formal characteristics such as the elements that occur as themes, the finite verb of the independent clause that οὖν introduces, and the variety of collocation, there will be an attempt to test hypotheses about the contribution of the particle's meaning versus its function in its location. Finally, there will be some general observations and conclusions on how οὖν is used in specific discourse contexts, with a particular focus on discourses that appear to have marked patterns in its usage. The patterns of the occurrences of

8 Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, 70.

9 Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, 783, 812.

10 Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, 31.

11 Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, 78.

12 Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, 37.

οὖν at the sentence level and at the discourse level suggest that it functions as a marker of prominence in that it marks sentences, clause clusters, and passages as salient elements relative to co-text with which they are linked.

2 Methodology

The research and substance of this study were first presented at the Roehampton Circle in London, approximately around 1997, which significantly contributes to the tenor of this contribution, as it was one of the first papers I wrote under Stanley E. Porter's supervision. He led the Roehampton Circle as Head of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Roehampton University.[13] It seems appropriate in a Festschrift dedicated to Dr. Porter to bring my research into dialogue with *Idioms* as well as with Porter's and O'Donnell's later article on conjunctions.

In Porter's *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, his labels or categories for οὖν are "Inferential or Consecutive or Emphatic or Adversative,"[14] as on Dana and Mantey's and Robertson's suggestion that the uses extend beyond the inferential and consecutive.[15] However, his article "Conjunctions, Clines and Levels of Discourse," co-authored with Matthew Brook O'Donnell, is of particular interest for this study.[16] Porter and O'Donnell assert that (1) conjunctions constitute a functional system of discourse markers that create cohesion, mark boundaries, and guide how the reader is to process the discourse; (2) conjunctions are procedural or functional words rather than content words; (3) they contribute minimal semantic content; (4) there is a cline of markedness on which the conjunctions function. This study assumes the functional system, and the use of conjunctions to create cohesion and mark boundaries.[17] The methodology

13 In addition, Matthew Brooke O'Donnell was my fellow PhD student who started his doctoral work the same year as I, and he was a co-member and participant in the Roehampton Circle. Stephanie Black was also a member of the Roehampton Circle and later published Black, *Sentence Conjunction*.

14 Porter, *Idioms*, 214–15.

15 Dana, and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 252–58; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1191–92.

16 Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions."

17 In addition, Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," suggest that the conjunctions function on three axes: (1) the vertical axis of discourse level; (2) the horizontal axis of continuity and discontinuity, which they tentatively suggest indicate primary clausal conjunctions; and (3) the cline of logical-semantic significance ([“least marked”] comparative, local, temporal, conditional, inferential/causal, purpose/result [“most marked”]), which they tentatively suggest indicates secondary clausal conjunctions.

is interested in determining how οὖν guides the reader in how to process the discourse in relationship to its creation of cohesion as well as discontinuity, with special attention to its collocation with boundaries. The relationship with markedness will be discussed in the conclusion.

The procedure that this study will follow begins with the inductive approach to lexicography described by Louw and Nida:

> Once a specific, fairly large, and illustrative set of occurrences of a term in any language has been put onto separate slips of paper and the slips sorted into piles of seemingly related sets of meanings, one must then ask the question, "What do the meanings of the slips in any one pile have in common, and what distinguishes them from meaning in the other piles?" . . . After setting up a tentative system of classification of different meanings, one must test the system by seeing how readily and how well the rest of the occurrences of the term fit the classification.[18]

The "set of occurrences" of οὖν consists of all of its occurrences in the corpus of the New Testament. I will first analyze patterns of collocation at the sentence level between οὖν and a variety of types of clauses, including commands, questions, responses, and conditionals. Next, I will examine the functions of οὖν in larger discourse contexts, including within reported speech, with introductions and frame shifts, with inferences, summaries, and conclusions, and its occurrence in clusters.

3 The Collocation of οὖν with Features at the Sentence Level

An analysis of the uses of οὖν in the New Testament reveals several major but overlapping phenomena: the collocation of οὖν with commands, questions, response to commands and questions, and conditionals. These uses of οὖν account for over 70 percent of its total occurrences in the New Testament.

3.1 *With Commands*

Οὖν collocates with a command in 27 percent of its total occurrences in the New Testament. This statistic includes imperatives, prohibitions, hortatory subjunctives, and other modals such as δεῖ (it is necessary), and παρακαλέω (to urge, exhort). Introductions to commands with "saying" verbs (in projections) are also included.

18 Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*, 39.

> Imperative: Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν, ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (Col 3:12). *Therefore*, as elect of God, clothe yourselves
> Prohibition: Μὴ οὖν φοβεῖσθε (Matt 10:31). *Therefore*, do not be afraid
> Hortatory Subjunctive: Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν κατάπαυσιν (Heb 4:11). *Therefore*, be eager to enter into that rest
> Modal: Παρακαλῶ οὖν πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις … (1 Tim 2:1) *Therefore*, I urge you first of all to offer prayers …
> Speaking verb: Εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ· μετάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν … (John 7:3) *Therefore*, his brothers said to him, "Leave from here …"

As noted above, the Gospel of John displays distinctly different patterns in the use of οὖν, because it accounts for nearly half of the occurrences. Therefore, given John's extensive use of οὖν, by definition, John does not reflect the same patterns of its use in commands as the other discourses; commands account for 8 percent of the occurrences in John, which is the lowest ratio of all of the books. However, this is not to say that John's association of οὖν with commands is significantly lower in number than for the other Gospel writers in terms of the number of conjunctions that join finite sentences. On the contrary, οὖν occurs with a command in John 15 times. Of the other three Gospel writers, only Matthew exceeds John in this respect, with the highest ratio of its collocation with commands. John uses οὖν so extensively for other functions that its use with commands is less marked in the context of his idiosyncratic use of the conjunction. Apart from the Gospel of John, 40 percent of the occurrences of οὖν in the New Testament are connected with commands.

3.2 *With Questions*

Οὖν occurs with questions in 23 percent of its total occurrences in the New Testament.[19] This statistic includes the occurrence of οὖν within the question, and the use of οὖν here and in subsequent categories to introduce the question in narrative with a speaking verb.

> Within Questions: Λέγει αὐτοῖς· πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον (Matt 22:43). He said to them, "*Then*, how is it that David calls him Lord by the Spirit?"
> Introducing Questions: Εἶπαν οὖν αὐτῷ· τίς εἶ; (John 1:22). *Therefore* they said to him, "What is it then?"

19 Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 425–26. Denniston notes the use of οὖν in answer-questions and indirect questions.

The ratio of this occurrence is highest in the four Gospels, Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Galatians. Some of the epistles do not have questions that occur with οὖν, but each of those epistles is characterized by a very high ratio of commands. Twenty-three percent of the occurrences of οὖν in John are connected with a question. This may seem like it is a normal pattern, when, in fact, it is not. John has marked a total of 45 questions with οὖν, while Matthew has only marked 14. Romans also has an unusually high number of questions associated with a high number of occurrences: 19 out of 41.

3.3 *With Responses*

An interesting function that occurs less than the collocation with commands and questions is that with questions/answers.[20] Οὖν is sometimes used to join a question or an answer, and this accounts for 5 percent of the occurrences.[21]

> Question and Answer: βούλεσθε οὖν ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκραύγασαν οὖν πάλιν λέγοντες· μὴ τοῦτον ἀλλὰ τὸν Βαραββᾶν. (Jn. 18:39b-40). "*So*, do you want me to release for you the King of the Jews?" *Therefore*, they said again, "Not this man, but Barabbas!"

Not surprisingly, all occurrences with responses are either in the Gospels or Acts. This does not include responses to information, which seem to be more inferential, but is also limited to narrative (except for Rom 11:19, in which the author conducts a hypothetical dialogue). However, John accounts for 16 out of 22 of the responses, which correlates with the high number of questions. One occurrence in John is particularly interesting, because of a collocation with a question (more remote but with strong cohesive ties) and a response to a command and also functions as the conclusion to an episode:

> Question-Response-Command-Corresponding Action: Διδάσκαλε, ποῦ μένεις; λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔρχεσθε καὶ ὄψεσθε. ἦλθαν οὖν καὶ εἶδαν ποῦ μένει (Jn. 1:38b-39). "Teacher, where are you staying?" "Come and you will see!" *Therefore* they came and saw where he stayed.

Therefore, in the New Testament corpus, 64 percent of the occurrences of οὖν occur with either a question or a command, or a response to a question or a command, or some combination. These functions in discourse occur across the

20 Ibid.

21 Dana and Mantey find "about thirty" cases in which οὖν is "responsive" and should be translated "in response" (*Manual Grammar*, 254).

different genres and registers, though the occurrence of οὖν with a response is generally limited to dialogue. Also, the occurrences are interpersonal in their context, whether it is a reported dialogue with questions and/or commands, or questions and/or commands addressed to the recipients.

3.4 *With Conditionals*

Οὖν occurs with conditionals in 7 percent of its total occurrences.[22] This function is quite significant, because it combines two features that are commonly associated with οὖν: marking summaries and drawing inferences. The protasis of the conditional statements marked with οὖν have an anaphoric summarizing function, and the apodosis draws an inference or forms a conclusion, as in 1 Cor 10:31:

> Protasis: Εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε,
> *Therefore,* if you eat or drink or whatever you do,
> Apodosis: πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε.
> Do all to the glory of God

The protasis is anaphoric in its references to eat and drink, and forms cohesive ties with elements from the previous three chapters, forming a discourse summary. The apodosis is an imperative and gives the all-occasion conclusion or guiding principle for the situations described in the preceding co-text. While the protases of most conditionals marked with οὖν do not all provide summaries for several chapters, in the New Testament they can summarize the preceding sentences, paragraphs, or sections, because they typically form cohesive links with the preceding co-text that indicate the relevance of the apodosis to the co-text and/or the context of situation. In addition, the occurrence of οὖν with the protasis joins the entire clause complex to the co-text, and therefore marks the inference, which is the conclusion or point in the apodosis. However, rhetorical questions demonstrate a collocation with both questions and a variation of conditionals marked by οὖν that have no apodosis.

> τοῦτο ὑμᾶς σκανδαλίζει; ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον; (John 6:61b–62). Does this bother you? *So*, what if you see the Son of Man ascending to where he was before?

22 Denniston concentrates on the appearance of οὖν in the apodosis after a temporal, causal, or conditional protasis, presumably because he is interested in the position of οὖν. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 428.

In this case, Jesus offers completely new information that he connects with the preceding context. Some of the disciples were offended by his teaching about the bread from heaven, so he enigmatically adds another item to the list of things that are going to bother them, leaving the reader to supply the apodosis. One of the inferences that the reader must draw is that seeing the Son of Man ascending is going to bother them far more, but they have no idea what that means. With the rhetorical question, he leaves the listener doing extra work and his question is further provocative and emphatic because it raises more questions that remain unanswered and also leads into an important statement about the nature of Jesus' teaching and his confrontation of their unbelief (John 6:63). Therefore, the rhetorical question gets the attention of the listeners in the story, which is consistent with why a speaker/writer would choose to offer information with a conditional instead of a propositional sentence—it is a rhetorical device.

3.5 *Conclusion regarding Οὖν at the Sentence Level*

οὖν in collocation with commands, questions, response to commands and questions, and conditionals is not always inferential and it does not always mark conclusions or summaries. It is associated with phenomena that are prominent, like commands, questions/answers, and conditionals, because they emphatically engage the listener in a dialogue or the reader of a text in a way that the information offered in a propositional statement would not. In other words, οὖν has a very high collocation with grammatical constructions that are rhetorical devices in a broad sense. Therefore, we can say that at the sentence level, οὖν tends to occur in emphatic clauses,[23] which leads to the question as to whether it tends to be associated with prominence above the sentence level—at the discourse level.

23 Dana and Mantey note that there "is extensive and convincing evidence in the papyri and much in the New Testament that οὖν was frequently used also as an emphatic or intensive particle" (*Manual Grammar*, 255). A nuanced understanding of how discourse markers are associated with prominence link these occurrences, in which the primary function of οὖν is understood as emphatic, to its essential semantic contribution in all occurrences, with special attention to those associated with inferential, consecutive, and adversative logical relationships.

4 The Functions of οὖν at the Discourse Level

In discussing these functions of οὖν, we are placing it in a larger discourse context than the previous uses. We are looking at phenomena above the sentence level. The function of οὖν at the level of discourse is already widely recognized.

4.1 *With Speech*

There is a high correlation between the occurrences of οὖν and speech. This may seem like a genre-specific function limited to narrative, but it could have some connection with the discourse function of οὖν in the other genres of the New Testament. There is almost a phenomenal association of οὖν with speech in Matthew and Luke. The author of Matthew uses οὖν in the narrative only twice out of 56 occurrences, and Luke uses οὖν in narrative only four times out of 33 occurrences. The other occurrences are clearly placed within reported speech. One of the reasons that John appears to be so different is that οὖν occurs in reported speech in only 5 percent of the occurrences. However, 58 percent of the occurrences, or 113 out of 195, introduce speech. Most of these occur with speaking verbs. It appears that where the author of Matthew or Luke would place οὖν within recorded speech, the author of John preferred to use it to introduce the speech.

> λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· τί οὖν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετείλατο δοῦναι βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ ἀπολῦσαι [αὐτήν]; (Matt 19:7). They said to him, "Why *then* did Moses command us to give a certificate of divorce and to divorce her?"
>
> Ἀπεκρίθησαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· τί σημεῖον δεικνύεις ἡμῖν ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς; (John 2:18). *Therefore* the Jews answered and said to him, "What sign will you show us for doing this?

The small number of occurrences of οὖν within reported speech in John occur largely in questions, commands, and conclusions that are embedded within the context of extended speeches of more than one sentence, with the exception of John 1:21 and 25. As with questions, John's use of οὖν within speech is less than Matthew's and Luke's, but pragmatically, its collocation with speech far exceeds the other two. Acts is the only narrative that has somewhat of a balance between the use of οὖν in narrative, reported speech, and introduced speech. Reported speech accounts for 59 percent of the occurrences, introduction for 7 percent, and narrative for 34 percent. Margaret Thrall suggests:

> The New Testament provides us with examples of the contemporary language as it was used in conversation (this is obvious in the case of the Epistles; but the Gospels and Acts also, are narrative interspersed with conversation, and not formal history, so that one may count them as examples of the vernacular).[24]

Thrall makes an intuitive suggestion that may be supported by the patterns of οὖν in reported speech. The occurrences in the reported speech of Matthew, Luke, and Acts have some similarities to the patterns in John and the epistles. However, this may not be an indication of the vernacular as much as an indication of the role that the writer is assuming in relation to the readers. This will be discussed more fully in the section below on how οὖν is used is specific discourse contexts.

4.2 *With Introductions and Frame Shifts*

Denniston associates οὖν in classical Greek with "marking a new stage in the sequence of events" and "proceeding to a new point, or a new stage in the march of thought."[25] Similarly, Wallace labels its function sequentially in narrative as "transitional," which "regards the connection as more chronological than logical."[26] However, the context provides the temporal or logical element, so that there is no need to suggest any attributes for the function of οὖν other than sequential, which fits nicely with Schiffrin's description that discourse markers function as initial brackets.[27] In Acts, Luke uses μὲν οὖν to mark narrative, and it typically introduces a new stage in the narrative.

> Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες ἠρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; (Acts 1:6). So, when they gathered together, they said to him, "Lord, is this the time that you are restoring the kingdom for Israel?"

Within recorded speech, such as the teaching units of Jesus, οὖν may be used at the beginning of a new unit such as a discrete illustration:

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24 Thrall, *Greek Particles*, 7.

25 Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 425–26.

26 Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 674.

27 Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, 36–37.

> πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτούς, ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ . . . (Matt 7:24). *Therefore*, everyone who hears these words of mine and does them will be similar to a wise man . . .

This passage continues with the illustration of the comparison of the man who built his house on the sand and the man who built his house on the rock. However, it must also be noted that Matt 7:24 also introduces the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, which looks backwards, summarizing the entire sermon with "these words of mine." The use of οὖν with commands and/or conditionals may also introduce a new stage in an epistle.

> εἴ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ, εἴ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, πληρώσατέ μου τὴν χαρὰν ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε . . . (Phil 2:1–2a). Therefore, if there is any comfort in Christ, if any encouragement from love, if any sharing in the spirit, if any mercy and compassion, complete my joy by thinking the same way . . .

The clause complex also looks simultaneously backward and forward, which Schiffrin asserts is a property of discourse markers:

> Despite the significance of opening brackets, it is important to note that brackets look simultaneously forward and backward—that the beginning of one unit is the end of another and vice versa. It is this anaphoric and cataphoric character of discourse markers that I want to capture by including in their definition the property of sequential dependence.[28]

The difference between the use of οὖν as sequentially marking a new stage or a new point and the so-called "resumptive" function of οὖν is only a matter of degree.[29] Both functions may be subsumed under the heading of "frame shifts," which refer to some change in the contextual realms that shape discourse. The term "resumptive οὖν" is usually reserved for a return to narrative after a "parenthesis" or after "background material." While Denniston notes that this

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28 Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, 37.

29 Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 428–29. Denniston states, "Allied to the above idiom, and not always to be rigidly distinguished from it, is the resumptive use of οὖν, mostly after a parenthesis." It is unclear as to whether "the above idiom" refers to "in apodosis," or further to the "normal use," which was either sequential or inferential. However, his anaphoric reference makes the most sense if it is referring to the sequential and inferential functions.

function is most common in Herodotus and Plato,[30] the Gospel of John has numerous examples, due to the author's tendency to explain, define, and interpret terminology, events, and attitudes for the readers.[31] The author provides the background with an overview of why Jesus left Judea and traveled through Samaria on the way to Galilee in 4:1–4, which is introduced with an οὖν in 4:1. In 4:5–6a, historical background information is given. In v. 6, the οὖν marks the frame shift from description to action/narrative/storyline:[32]

> ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ· ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη (John 4:6). Jacob's well was there. *Therefore* Jesus, because he was tired from the journey, was sitting at the well. It was about the sixth hour.

John marks some frame shifts with οὖν's that are somewhat surprising to grammarians, because they appear to mark a setting or explanation (John 11:54; 21:23). Such occurrences still qualify as "frame shifts" and it is not necessary to suggest that there is another function such as a "background οὖν."[33] The same applies to shifts in subject or agent, as well as interpersonal shifts between units of exposition and exhortation in the epistles or in Jesus' teaching units. Such are often examples of frame shifts.[34] Though John is a prolific user of οὖν in frame shifts, Acts also provides a number of examples, and the epistles often have frame shifts with commands. Romans has frame shifts in which οὖν collocates with questions such as τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν (Rom 4:1; 6:1; 7:7; 8:31; 9:14, 30). Frame shifts, broadly defined, account for 55 percent of the occurrences of οὖν in the New Testament.

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30 Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 428.

31 Robertson quibbles about labeling the οὖν in John 7:40 as resumptive, because he cannot accept designating the single sentence in 7:39 as a parenthesis. Robertson, *Grammar*, 433. However, a frame shift may exist between two sentences, so that again, the size of the units involved should not detract from the fact that a shift has taken place.

32 See also Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 85–86, where he states that οὖν is a development marker that "introduces information that represents a significant development," and analyzes John 4:1–7.

33 Buth, "Οὖν, Δέ, Καί," 149. Buth says that the function is "suggested somewhat facetiously because the other examples of οὖν suggest that οὖν is actually signaling that the sentence in NOT 'background.'" Nevertheless, "frame shift" covers both beginning units, as well as shifts either way from setting to narrative, so that an additional function is not necessary.

34 Buth, "Οὖν, Δέ, Καί," 150. Buth also suggests other functions for οὖν include shifts in subject and new agent.

4.3 *With Inferences, Summaries and Conclusions*

The inferential function of οὖν is so widely recognized that it is often characterized as an inferential particle. Denniston states baldly that "The inferential use of οὖν is too common to need illustration."[35] Οὖν occurs at the end of some sort of unit in at least 21 percent of its occurrences, though it may not coincide with the end of a topic. Often it occurs with the last clause in reported speech before a change of speakers. It is sometimes used at the end of books (Matt 28:19; Mark 16:19; 2 Thess 2:15; 2 Pet 3:17). One of the most classic examples of inferential summaries concludes the genealogies in Matthew:

> πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως Δαυὶδ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, καὶ ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες (Matt 1:17). *Therefore* all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David to the Babylonian captivity, fourteen generations, and from the Babylonian captivity to Christ, fourteen generations.

It has been shown above how summaries and conclusions are a major function of οὖν with conditionals. However, summaries and conclusions are by no means restricted to conditionals. Summaries and conclusions occur with propositions, exhortations,[36] prohibitions, and modals,[37] as well as conditionals.

> Proposition: Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν μᾶλλον ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἔλυεν τὸ σάββατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγεν τὸν θεὸν ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ θεῷ (John 5:18). *Therefore*, for this reason, the Jews sought even more to kill him, because he not only was breaking the Sabbath, but also he said that God is his own father, making himself equal to God.
>
> Prohibition: Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον, ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς· ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς (Matt 6:34). Therefore, do not worry about tomorrow, because tomorrow will worry about itself; today's evil is enough for today.

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35 Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 426.

36 Exhortations or commands include not only imperatives, but hortatory subjunctives. Usually prohibitions are included under the category of commands as well.

37 A modal is a type of auxiliary verb that is used to indicate necessity and obligation (both of which are often paraenetic in function), as well as likelihood, ability, and permission.

In both cases, a conclusion marks the end of a unit, however, conclusions are forward-looking as well as backward-looking, as illustrated in John 5:18. The verse concludes the story about Jesus healing on the Sabbath, but the attitude of the Jews provides the setting for Jesus' teaching in 5:19–47.

4.4 *With Discourse Peaks and Mainline Material*

New Testament writers sometimes mark a cluster of clauses with οὖν. Though this is most common in John, other books have the same phenomenon, particularly Matthew and Acts, but Hebrews as well (cf. 4:11–16). Because οὖν tends to occur at emphatic points such as introductions, summaries, and conclusions, it can be disconcerting to deal with an intense concentration of occurrences. It is almost like attempting to read a letter in which the writer overuses exclamation points. Luke 3:7–10 has four occurrences of οὖν in four verses. Two occurrences are with questions (vv. 7, 10), and one occurs with a command (v. 8). The οὖν in 3:9 connects an inferential prophecy. Luke is presenting these details as an essential summary or extract of the major themes in John's preaching. In Matt 18, Jesus tells the parable of the unforgiving servant, and vv. 26, 29 and 31 are marked with οὖν, but they are not boundaries or summaries in the story. Rather, they emphasize parallel material and stress the essential story line:

> πεσὼν οὖν ὁ δοῦλος προσεκύνει αὐτῷ λέγων· μακροθύμησον ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί, καὶ πάντα ἀποδώσω σοι (Matt 18:26). *Therefore*, falling down, the slave kneeled to him saying, "Be patient with me, and I will repay you everything."
>
> πεσὼν οὖν ὁ σύνδουλος αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν λέγων· μακροθύμησον ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί, καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι. (Matt. 18:29). *Therefore*, falling down, the fellow slave begged him saying, "Be patient with me and I will repay you."
>
> ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτοῦ τὰ γενόμενα ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα καὶ ἐλθόντες διεσάφησαν τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῶν πάντα τὰ γενόμενα (Matt 18:31). *Therefore*, when the fellow slaves saw what happened, they were very offended and came to report to the Lord himself everything that had happened.

John uses this technique in several stories. As Buth states, "Οὖν in John does seem to pragmatically mark some sentences as more significant."[38] It also appears to mark some episodes as more significant. The story line and dialogue with the woman at the well in Samaria is marked fairly heavily in ch. 4; the feeding of the 5,000 and walking on the water is marked heavily in ch. 6;

38 Buth, "Οὖν, Δέ, Καί," 147.

the death and raising of Lazarus and the accompanying dialogue is marked heavily in ch. 11; and Mary's anointing of Jesus' feet is marked heavily in 12:1–3. Certain dialogues are also heavily marked, in contrast with extended units of Jesus' monologues or John's commentaries, which have little marking. One can almost derive a summary of John's main story line and key statements by deleting all material except for the clause clusters marked with οὖν. In Hebrews, οὖν operates at various levels, but in ch. 4, it marks a series of hortatory subjunctives in a way that contributes to the cohesion between them and highlights the themes of Hebrews:

> φοβηθῶμεν οὖν, μήποτε καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ δοκῇ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερηκέναι (Heb 4:1). *Therefore*, since the promise that we can enter into rest is still open, let's be afraid so that none of you will appear to miss it.
>
> σπουδάσωμεν οὖν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν κατάπαυσιν (Heb 4:11). *Therefore*, let's make every effort to enter that rest
>
> Ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας (Heb 4:14). *Therefore*, let's hold on to the confession since we have a great high priest who passed through the heavens, who is Jesus, God's Son
>
> προσερχώμεθα οὖν μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος (Heb 4:16). *Therefore*, let's draw near to the throne of grace with confidence

I have argued elsewhere that in ch. 4, οὖν marks or collocates with the three discourse themes of Hebrews, but not in 4:6.[39] Therefore, it is too much to say with Neely that οὖν always marks mainline (backbone) material in Hebrews.[40] Rather, it collocates with material that is relatively prominent at different levels of discourse.

5 Conclusion

The collocation of οὖν occurs with commands, questions, response to commands and questions, and conditionals and therefore it has a very high collocation with grammatical constructions that are rhetorical devices and tends to occur in rhetorically emphatic clauses and clause complexes. Above the

39 Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 128–29, 133–39.

40 Neeley, "Discourse Analysis," 26.

sentence level, it occurs with introductions and frame shifts, with inferences, summaries and conclusions, and with discourse peaks and mainline material. The occurrences at the boundaries of discourse draw attention to the shifts in the discourse, while summaries, conclusions, and peaks indicate mainline material. Therefore, οὖν collocates with material that is relatively prominent in terms of at least two different functions: the horizontal discontinuity in the discourse in the creation of transitions at various levels: frames, paragraphs, or sections, and vertical discontinuity in the creation of emphasis. Οὖν occurs in prominent places at various levels of discourse. On the horizontal plane of discourse, it can function in a way that is comparable to a set of brackets that frames discrete material directly above the sentence level, or an indentation at the paragraph level, or a marked subheading at the section level. On the vertical plane, it has logical-semantic significance that indicates that within the context of the sentence it joins (which looks backward and/or forward through cohesive ties) it indicates content that is emphatic and logically central or salient to that context.

According to the criteria of markedness, οὖν is a moderately marked conjunction or discourse marker: it occurs 489x in comparison to καί (8,895x) and δέ (2,754x), but there are many conjunctions that occur fewer times (and are thus more marked), and a number of those have similar functions in marking inferences (summaries and conclusions). While marked features contribute directly to prominence, authors/speakers use a number of devices to create prominence—invariably prominence is created by the cumulative effect of a variety of phenomena selected from the linguistic system by the speaker or author, including the rhetorical devices listed above.[41] For example, a number of particles such as ἰδού (199x) are fairly common but nevertheless are emphatic. Conjunctions give information that guide the reader in how to process the discourse in terms of the logical-semantic significance of the material. This study suggests that οὖν is the default signal for the reader or hearer to pay attention, with the expectation that it introduces something comparable or consistent with a central or pivotal sentence. But the context determines the logical relationship, and the relative level of prominence is determined by the level of discourse in which it functions, and whether other markers of emphasis are present.

41 See Westfall, "Methodology."

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CHAPTER 12

The Telic Conjunctions of Isaiah 6:9–10 in Mark's Mythopoeia

Thomas R. Hatina

The paraphrase of Isa 6:9–10 in Mark 4:11–12 is one of the most controversial passages in the New Testament. Its poignant exclusivism has led to seemingly endless controversy and even disgust.[1] One of the major problems with this paraphrase is that it appears to be at odds with other sayings where Jesus is inclusive. Consequently, the search for an adequate explanation of the passage has resulted in a plethora of literature, with much of the attention focusing on its tradition history. It has been reconstructed, re-contextualized, re-translated, and re-read in numerous ways at the diachronic level, often with theological aims.[2]

By contrast, there has been very little attention paid to alternate functions of the paraphrase. One of these is a mythopoeic function within the field of literary criticism. A mythopoeic or myth-making vantage point has not been very popular in mainstream approaches to the Gospels.[3] It can, however, yield results that can be not only complimentary to traditional historical and theological approaches, but open new vistas where traditional (often theological) controversies recede.[4] In this article, I ambitiously attempt to create space for reading the paraphrase of Isa 6:9–10 from a mythopoeic approach that synthesizes language and imagination. Mythopoeia, which is described below, gives us a vantage point that opens up the evangelist's imagined cosmic drama wherein the division of humanity into "insiders" and "outsiders" is influenced by a synergy of suffering and Scripture.

1 E.g., Manson, *Teaching of Jesus*, 76; Räisänen, *Die Parabeltheorie*, 118; Boers, *Theology out of the Ghetto*; Fowler, "Rhetoric of Direction," 222.

2 For a survey of the literature, see Hartley, *Wisdom Background*.

3 This aversion or omission is understandable since "myth" can easily conjure up the history-of-religions schools, which gained prominence in the nineteenth century through the influential work of figures like David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874) and the existentialist approach of Rudolf Bultmann in the middle of the twentieth century.

4 I have recently attempted to tap its value in the study of New Testament theology in Hatina, *New Testament Theology*, 209–38.

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But this is not where I begin. One of the most pressing issues in the paraphrase that requires attention before tackling its mythopoeic function is the use of the conjunctions ἵνα and μήποτε in Mark 4:12. Since Mark is rooted in a past that is far removed from our concepts of the mythopoeic, the Greek text needs to be part of the ongoing conversation about meaning and imagination, which are never static or one-sided, always embracing both the old and the new.[5] Since advocates of a synchronic reading tend not to hear the voices of historicists or grammarians, I try to offer a corrective that can significantly influence our understanding of the "outsiders" in Mark's mythic vision.

1 The Form of Isaiah 6:9–10 in Mark 4:11–12

Despite the lack of a citation formula and the difficulty of matching the quotation with a known version, there is little doubt that Mark is appealing to Isa 6:9–10. There is enough of the text here to warrant it being called a paraphrased quotation, rather than an allusion. This is clearly how Matthew read it, since in his parallel account the quotation is introduced as a fulfillment of the "prophecy of Isaiah" (13:14–15). Mark 4:11–12 reads,

> καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ·ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, [12] ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.
>
> And he said to them, "To you has been given the mystery of the kingdom of God; but those who are outside get everything in parables [12]so that (ἵνα) they may indeed see but not perceive, hear but not understand; so that (μήποτε) they may not turn again and be forgiven."

Mark's source is a mystery since it contains traces of the MT, the LXX, and the Targum. In the MT, Isa 6:9–10 contains both verbs ("to hear" and "to see"), but in the imperative mood ("Hear, hear, but do not understand; and see, see, but do not perceive"). The LXX is slightly closer. As in Mark, it is slightly truncated and the verbs have a future connotation. The future tense-forms ἀκούσετε and βλέψετε in the LXX correspond on a functional level to Mark's subjunctive

5 The challenge of the conversation is well addressed in Boer, *Bakhtin and Genre Theory*.

rendition of ἀκούωσιν and βλέπωσιν.[6] Mark's use of συνιῶσιν and ἴδωσιν is also similar to LXX's use of συνῆτε and ἴδητε, with some differences. Though all are active subjunctives, συνιῶσιν does not follow the aorist pattern. Mark also shifts to the third person plural.

Two similarities with the Targum have led some scholars to conclude that the quotation is largely based on the Aramaic tradition instead of the Greek.[7] The relevant portion of *Tg*. Isa 6:9–10 reads,

> ואמר איזיל ותימר לעמא הדין משמע ולא מסתכלין וחזן מיחזא ולא ידעין ...דלמא...וישתביק להון

> And he said, "Go and speak to this people who hear indeed, but do not understand, and see indeed, but do not perceive . . . lest . . . it be forgiven them."[8]

First, both Mark and the Targum render the verbs in Isa 6:9 in the third person plural unlike the LXX and the MT versions, which use the second person. The meturgeman makes this shift in order to cohere with the relative pronoun ("who") that introduces the clause. Second, both Mark and the Targum use the verb "forgive" (καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς and וישתביק להון respectively) in their renditions of Isa 6:10, instead of "heal" which appears in the MT (רפא) and the LXX (ἰάομαι).[9]

One of the problems in the search for Mark's source is that the similarities with the Targum have overshadowed at least two differences. The first difference is that Mark (like Matthew and Luke) reverses the order of sense experiences in Isa 6:9 by placing the couplet "hearing and not understanding" after "seeing and not perceiving." This reversal, which continues to be discussed, does not correspond to any extant version. The second difference is that the mood of the verbs in the Targum is not the same as in Mark. The Targum uses

6 Not only does the future form generally resemble the subjunctive morphologically, especially with the infix of the sigma in the aorist subjunctive, but it has been argued by many grammarians that the future form is closely related in function to the subjunctive mood since both express an action that is yet to take place. See, for example, Magnien, *Le futur grec*, 2:v–vii; E.g., Moule, *Idiom Book*, 21–22; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2:290–94. See the detailed discussion on the future form in Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, ch. 9.

7 E.g. Manson, *Teaching of Jesus*, 76–79; Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 14–15; Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels*; Chilton, *Galilean Rabbi*, 91–93.

8 Translation is taken from Chilton, *Isaiah Targum*, 15.

9 The Peshitta also agrees with this reading, but it is most likely based on the Targum and/or Mark. See Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 77–80.

the indicative mood, which expresses reality to the writer; but Mark uses the subjunctive mood, which expresses how reality might appear.[10] In other words, the subjunctive expresses the writer's mental image that he awaits to be realized.[11] In Mark the event or action is in a state of potency, not actualization. In the end, it is probable that the Aramaic tradition in its oral form played a role at some point in the developmental process—be it in Jesus' use of Isa 6:9–10, in the early church's interpretation, or in Mark's. It is also probable, however, that the LXX played a role. As the text stands in Mark, it is next to impossible to reconstruct its source. The form of Mark's quotation is not unusual, however. Surveys of Isa 6:9–10 in biblical versions and in early Jewish and Christian literature reveal an abundance of dissimilarity.[12] This comes as no surprise given its theological weight in expressing the extent and nature of God's judgment on Israel, which was reformulated when new circumstances arose.

2 The Conjunction Controversy

Central to the discussion of Isa 6:9–10 in Mark 4:11–12 is the controversy about the conjunctions ἵνα and μήποτε in v. 12, both of which are usually translated as "so that." Usually in Hellenistic Greek when these conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive, they convey either purpose or result. The difference is huge. If the conjunctions convey purpose, then the goal of the parables is to intentionally keep some people on the outside, denying them the mystery of the kingdom of God.[13] This is often referred to as the telic meaning of the conjunctions. If the conjunctions convey result, then the parables function as a consequence. Those who are already on the outside, not privy to the mystery of the kingdom, will not understand Jesus' message. All they receive are parables. Since many scholars have found the telic meaning difficult to reconcile with the

10 Contra Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 92.

11 See Gonda, *Indo-European Moods*, 70.

12 See the citation of the texts at the beginning of each chapter in Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, and in a more succinct format in Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 14–15. See also the discussion in Carlston, *Parables*, 57; Hartley, *Wisdom Background*.

13 E.g. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 126–28; Blass and Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, §396.2; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated*, 147; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1:237–38; Ambrozic, "Mark's Concept of the Parable," 220–27; Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 155–56; Schweizer, *Good News according to Mark*, 92–94; H. C. Kee, *Community of the New Age*, 58; Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 91–99; Marcus, *Mystery of the Kingdom*, 119–21.

overall portrait of Jesus in the Gospels and with the evangelistic agenda woven throughout the New Testament, alternative proposals have been offered.

2.1 *In Search of Non-Telic Meanings*

The search for a non-telic meaning has gone in two directions. Some scholars have taken the route of reconstruction, with the aim of discovering the "original" or "underlying" function of the logion as it was allegedly intended by Jesus. The implication is that since Mark's construction does not accurately represent this saying of Jesus, it is somehow less of a problem. Others have taken a more grammatical route, searching for alternate nuances that might make better sense.

2.1.1 Grammatical Options

I turn first to the grammatical options, some of which have been on offer for decades and continue to be relevant. First, C. F. D. Moule argues that a telic meaning is inconsistent with the function of the parables in the New Testament and suggests that it is far more reasonable to take both conjunctions as "instances of Semitic blurring of purpose and result, so that Matthew's change of ἵνα to ὅτι is essentially true to the sense."[14] Unfortunately, Moule does not explain how his so-called Semitic blurring of purpose and result coincides with Matthew's focus on causality. Elsewhere, Moule suggests that μήποτε must mean "otherwise" or "unless" since the context indicates that the choice of belonging to the inside group or the outside group depends on the volition of the hearer and not on a predetermined event. For Moule, the context is not concerned with a literal description of the purpose of a ministry, but with a "vigorous and hyperbolic description of its conditions."[15] More recently, Donald Hartley has likewise argued that μήποτε should be rendered as "otherwise" or "in order that . . . not," which seems to turn the logion onto an innocuous implication. The parables are obscure to the outsiders because they lack understanding and perception.[16]

Second, T. Alec Burkill similarly argues that ἵνα should be taken in a causal sense, much as Matthew understood it (13:13). Burkill appeals to a similar construction in John 8:58 where the causal use of ἵνα is coupled with a subjunctive. For his understanding of μήποτε, Burkill, who is not alone, draws on its

14 Moule, *Idiom Book*, 143.

15 Moule, "Mark 4:1–20 Yet Once More," 100–101.

16 Hartley, *Wisdom Background*, 288–91.

use in Matt 25:9 where it means "perhaps."[17] Christopher Marshall offers a related meaning, claiming that the outsiders do not gain insight "for fear that (μήποτε), if they did, they might have to repent and be forgiven." According to this option, the obduracy results from the outsiders' unwillingness to repent. The ἵνα in Marshall's reading does not "specify the purpose of Jesus's teaching method, but the reason why for some people everything appears or remains enigmatic."[18]

Third, some scholars claim that ἵνα introduces a result clause. Carl Peisker, for example, claims that since ἵνα in Mark 4:12 reflects the consecutive use of למען (e.g., Jer 7:18), it can be translated as "that" or "so that."[19] Bruce Chilton agrees, but bases his reading of ἵνα in Mark 4:12 on its use in Mark 9:12 where, he claims, it conveys the meaning "that" or "to the effect that." Chilton translates 9:12 as "And how is it written of the Son of man that (ἵνα) he should suffer much and be despised?" Chilton also appeals to a Greek textual variant of Matt 13:13 where the text reads ἵνα instead of ὅτι. For Chilton, the variant indicates that the scribe saw little difference between ἵνα and of ὅτι, for both would have conveyed the meaning "that."[20]

Fourth, still others search for an alternative meaning by proposing that ἵνα in the context of Mark 4 reflects the MT version of Isa 6:9–10 and as such has an imperatival meaning. According to Cecil Cadoux, for example, Mark's use of ἵνα should be translated as "let them see indeed but not perceive."[21] Dawn Wilhelm also attempts to preserve a correspondence between the MT and Mark, but more so to show the theological continuity.[22]

Finally, Joachim Jeremias represents the view of those who argue that the ἵνα clause can only be understood properly if the subsequent reference to Isa 6:9–10 is placed in quotation marks. This punctuation would turn the ἵνα clause

17 Burkill, *Mysterious Revelation*, 112–13. See also Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, 408–9; Pernot, *Études sur la langue des Évangiles*, 19–20; Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus*, 34. Cf. Moule, *Idiom Book*, 139; Robertson, "Causal Use of INA," 51–57.

18 Marshall, *Faith as a Theme*, 73. See also Carrington, *According to Mark*, 104–5.

19 Peisker, "Konsekutives ἵνα in Markus 4:12," 126–27. See also Suhl, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate*, 149–50; Kirkland, "Earliest Understanding," 6–7; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark*, 110–13.

20 Chilton, *Galilean Rabbi*, 93–94. See also the epexegetic use of ἵνα in Lampe, "Die markinische Deutung," 140–50; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1:239; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 211–12.

21 Cadoux, "Imperatival Use of *hina*," 173.

22 Wilhelm, *Preaching the Gospel of Mark*, 72.

into a formula that introduces the quotation. Jeremias views the ἵνα as a kind of abbreviation for ἵνα πληρωθῇ, which combines fulfillment and purpose.[23]

Several responses can be marshaled against these arguments for a non-telic meaning of the conjunctions. One of the overarching problems that the grammatical or semantic options do not adequately address is Matthew and Luke's divergence from Mark's conjunctions. While Luke does not alter Mark's ἵνα, both Luke and Matthew omit μήποτε and its clause. Why did Matthew depart from Mark if ἵνα is as clear as the proponents for a non-telic meaning suggest? Likewise, why did Luke and Matthew omit μήποτε if it means "unless" or "perhaps"? If they found the meaning of μήποτε ambiguous, they certainly had other options, such as ἐκτός, εἰ μή, παρεκτός or πλὴν ὅτι.[24]

Since Luke retains ἵνα, it is difficult to know how he read Mark. Matthew's rendition is not as easily explained as is sometimes implied, because it is capable of being understood in two ways. His shift from ἵνα to ὅτι may have been intended to clarify Mark's meaning or to change it. Matthew's omission of the μήποτε clause suggests the latter option.

Of course, these options assume that Mark was Matthew and Luke's source. There is, however, another angle from which to view these comparisons. Since there are several agreements between Matt 13:11 and Luke 8:10 in contrast to Mark 4:11, it is possible that another source was influential, maybe even Q. The agreements include (1) the use of ὁ δὲ εἶπεν instead of Mark's καὶ ἔλεγεν, (2) the position of δέδοται, (3) the addition of γνῶναι, (4) and the plural τὰ μυτστήρια instead of the singular. The form of Matt 13:13 may even have been influenced by another source that alluded to Isa 6:9, given his use of βλέπουσιν instead of Mark and Luke's βλέπωσιν.[25]

More specific criticisms can also be marshaled against proposals for a non-telic meaning of the conjunctions. For example, Burkill appeals to the ἵνα clause in John 8:56, but it is better described as a complement or as epexegetic rather than causal since the clause defines the content or the ground of the action expressed in the main verb.[26] Regardless, the syntactical chasm between

23 Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 17. See also Winer, *Treatise on the Grammar*, 576–77; Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Marc*, 99; Marxsen, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Erklärung"; Marxsen, *Der Exeget als Theologe*, 25; Siegman, "Teaching in Parables," 176; Kirkland, "Earliest Understanding," 5–7 (allowing also for result); Falusi, "Jesus' Use of Parables in Mark," 41; Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 131; Lane, *Gospel of Mark*, 159; Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 45–48.

24 Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 95. See also Evans, "Function of Isaiah 6:9–10."

25 See Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 377–78.

26 See Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses*, 91; Windisch, "Die Verstockungsidee in Mc. 4.12," 203–9.

Mark 4:11 and John 8:56 must be bridged if this example is to have any weight. The same can be said about Chilton's argument. While there is a closer syntactical similarity between the use of ἵνα in Mark 9:12 and Mark 4:12 than with John 8:56, Chilton's appeal to a similar text does not adequately account for the syntactical relationship between ἵνα and μήποτε, let alone the implication of purpose in the preceding phrase "but those who are outside get everything in parables" (Mark 4:11).[27] Furthermore, Chilton's text-critical argument raises more questions than answers. For example, why would a variant of Matt 13:13 that includes ἵνα have the same meaning as the weightier manuscripts that have ὅτι? There is another option. It is possible that a scribe wanted to change the meaning of the logion from a causative to a telic one. Elsewhere Chilton fails to note that many of the variants that include ἵνα also retain the μήποτε clause, which in the end proves to be a greater problem for a non-telic rendering. In response to Jeremias's proposal, the precise distinction that is made between ἵνα and ἵνα πληρωθῇ is vague since both can also have a telic meaning. Jeremias and his supporters fail to provide an adequate explanation regarding the difference between an action that is performed for the purpose of achieving a desired effect and one that is performed for the purpose of fulfilling a text concerned with the same effect. Evans rightly points to Bruce Metzger's study on quotation formulas wherein he remarks that ἵνα accompanied with verbs of fulfillment, usually πληρόω, most likely express a telic meaning.[28] The fulfillment of a scriptural quotation does not preclude the telic meaning of ἵνα when the fulfillment in view is a simple verification of direct prophecy.[29] What is more, there is good reason to suppose that ἵνα is actually part of the quotation itself, rather than the introduction.[30]

2.1.2 Reconstruction Options

Another group of scholars that is dissatisfied with a telic reading of Mark's conjunctions turns instead to arguments that focus on the pre-Markan level. Many grant that Mark's conjunctions probably convey a telic meaning, but they do so incorrectly. The common aim is usually to discover a non-telic option that better coheres with more inclusive language in other sayings of Jesus. T. W. Manson and Joachim Jeremias are the most prolific representatives of this approach. The most widely discussed proposal is offered by Manson

27 Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 94; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1:237–38.

28 Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 94. Cf. Metzger, "Formulas Introducing Quotations," 306–7.

29 On the various nuances of fulfillment, see the summary in Longenecker, "Who is the Prophet Talking About," 4–5.

30 See Fusco, *Parola e regno*, 255–57.

who claims that Mark misunderstood the original meaning of the paraphrase, which goes back to Jesus. Manson's case is largely built on a distinct understanding of the function of parables that he in part derives from the Old Testament. For Manson, the main function of parables is to awaken religious insight that leads to repentance and faith. Their effectiveness is dependent on the responsiveness of their intended recipients. Despite their form and content, they are vehicles by which religious faith is attained, fostered, and transmitted. Since Mark's form of the paraphrase is incongruous with this alleged function of parables in the Gospels, Manson searches for an explanation that takes him behind Mark's text.[31]

Manson's search focuses on the close similarity between Mark's paraphrase of Isa 6:9–10 and the Targum, which he claims approximates the words of Jesus, against both the LXX and the MT. When Mark appropriated Jesus' saying, he incorrectly turned the relative clause into a final clause. In Aramaic the relative clause is initiated by the particle ד, which in Isa 6:9–10 is prefixed to דשמעין. Mark should have translated ד as οἵ, which conveys a relative clause, instead of ἵνα, which conveys a final clause. For the second conjunction, μήποτε, Manson again appeals to its Aramaic source, דלמא, observing that two possibilities emerge. Either דלמא can be taken as a conditional particle, in which case the last clause of the quotation can be translated as "for if they did [i.e., perceive and understand] they would repent and receive forgiveness," or it can be taken in the sense of "perhaps" with a full stop after "understand." In this case the clause would be translated as "Perhaps they may yet repent."[32]

Jeremias likewise tries to find answers at the pre-Markan level, but he is less certain about the meaning of the μήποτε clause, arguing that along with its Aramiac counterpart דלמא, it is ambiguous. He claims that while both can mean either "in order that not" or "lest perhaps" (though it is not exactly clear what he means by the latter), the Aramaic can also mean "unless," which is exactly how he renders the Greek term. Admitting that the LXX and the Hebrew express a telic meaning, he bases this view not on the use of the term in the Targum, which surprisingly he does not address, but on the rabbinic exegesis of Isa 6:10 which regarded the clause not as a threat of hardening, but as "a promise that God would forgive his people if they repented." As a result, he translates Mark 4:12 as, "in order that (as it is written) they 'may see and yet not see, may hear and yet not understand, unless they turn and God will forgive them.'"[33]

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31 Manson, *Teaching of Jesus*, 65–66, 73–76.

32 Manson, *Teaching of Jesus*, 77–79.

33 Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 17.

The reconstruction option, as Manson and Jeremias propose, is problematic in several ways. First, even if we accept Manson's overall understanding of the function of parables, Mark's supposed incorrect explanation of the purpose of parables is not as obvious as it is made out to be. The parables in Mark are still intended to function positively as a means of instruction for awakening religious faith, though they are limited to those who have "ears to hear."[34] Manson focuses entirely on the negative aspect of the logion without considering its potential positive impact on those who subsequently inquire into its meaning, be they Jesus' audience or Mark's.

Second, while Manson is certainly correct that the particle ד can have a variety of meanings, it is doubtful that someone proficient in both Aramaic and Greek would translate it as ἵνα within the context of Isa 6:9–10 in the Targum (assuming, of course, that the Targumic form of Isa 6:9 as we have it today reflects its oral form in the first century). To do so would clearly indicate an elementary knowledge of the Aramaic to such an extent that the rest of the quotation would prove too difficult to translate.[35] Moreover, Manson's rendition of the ἵνα clause does not adequately account for its dependent μήποτε clause. The problem is not averted in the Aramaic because דלמא is still dependent on ד. Even if one removes the telic meaning from ד, one cannot escape from its necessity in דלמא.[36]

Third, Manson's attempt to explain the so-called "original" meaning of the quotation, as it was spoken by Jesus, does not provide a suitable answer to the question why Mark opted for a telic meaning. To say that Mark simply misunderstood a hypothetical Aramaic source does not extend much credit to the author nor does it seriously account for Mark's new narrative context wherein the paraphrase is embedded. While it is possible that Mark misunderstood his source, this is a hypothesis that must be justified and not simply assumed. It is important to be reminded that Mark's paraphrase is not a verbatim quotation from the Aramaic tradition, as it appears a century or two later in the Targum. As a result, it is not entirely clear that Mark relied solely on this source.

Finally, the fundamental problem with Jeremias's proposal is not the suggestion that ἵνα is an abbreviation for a quotation formula, but that it does not tackle the use of μήποτε as it is used in Mark's context. While Jeremias's exegetical process is self-consistent because it is narrowly limited to a reconstructed context that is solely concerned with the alleged underlying function

34 See Chilton, *Galilean Rabbi*, 94.

35 Chilton, *Galilean Rabbi*, 93.

36 Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 154–55.

of the Aramaic דלמא, there is once again no attempt to deal with the Greek conjunctions as they appear on narrative level.

2.2 *In Search of a Telic Meaning*

The arguments for a non-telic meaning of the conjunctions are difficult to sustain. The grammatically oriented arguments, which at least try to deal with the conjunctions at the narrative level, run into the problem of the syntactical relationship between ἵνα and μήποτε as well as the implication of purpose expressed in v. 11. An overarching methodological problem with many arguments for a non-telic meaning is that they allow underlying theological concerns to govern the agenda.[37] The arguments that attempt to deal with the problem at the pre-Markan level simply discard or do not address the text as it stands in Mark. But can anything else be said in favor of a telic meaning besides the objections that have been leveled against alternate proposals? There are several reasons that have led some scholars to accept a telic meaning as the best option.

First, at the risk of being repetitive, consider the grammatical arguments that limit the options for understand ἵνα in this context. If the meaning of ἵνα is causal or resultant, then its connection with the division of the two groups of people in the previous verse (v. 11) becomes strained. A causal meaning raises the irritating question: Why does Jesus speak in parables to the outsiders if they already do not perceive and understand? Do the parables function as a kind of double insurance? If so, does this not imply a telic meaning? In the parallel account, Matthew (13:13) opts for a causal conjunction, but he likewise does not escape a telic meaning with respect to the function of the parables. Assuming that Mark is Matthew's source, he changes ἵνα to ὅτι and redirects the conjunction toward the outsiders (though Matthew does not use this term). This allows Matthew to compare the outsiders with the description of the hardened people in the Isaian paraphrase in 13:14–15, but it does not evade the inconsistency that the irritating question forces. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, it appears that Matthew has not freed himself from Mark's telic meaning.

Second, the meaning of μήποτε corresponds with the meaning of ἵνα.[38] When all four of the meanings of μήποτε are considered and subjected to a process of elimination, a dominant option emerges. In Hellenistic Greek, μήποτε is used (1) as a negative particle when coupled with the indicative (e.g., Heb 9:17), (2) as a conjunction, either denoting purpose ("in order that . . . not"), or

37 See the also the assessment in Porter, *Idioms*, 236.

38 See also, e.g., Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 40; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 210.

as an emphatic form of μή ("that . . . not," "lest"), which is most frequent in the New Testament and the LXX (e.g., Gen 38:23; Matt 5:25), (3) as an interrogative particle ("whether perhaps") in, for example, John 7:26 and Luke 3:15, and (4) as a weakened negated conjecture ("perhaps") in, for example, Matt 25:9. Given the position of μήποτε in Mark 4:12, the first and third options are clearly eliminated. The fourth option is strained because it does not cohere with the telic use of ἵνα or the division of groups in v. 11. If parables are given so that (telic use of ἵνα) the outsiders do not understand, where does one possibly fit the fourth option, which expresses a hope? In other words, where would one fit the phrase "perhaps they might return and be forgiven"? This use of μήποτε suggests that the intended obduracy somehow leads to a "return." The best, if not the only, consistent grammatical option is to take both ἵνα and μήποτε as conjunctions conveying purpose, as is their frequent function when accompanied with aorist subjunctives in the Greek of the New Testament period. If the meaning of μήποτε is consistent with the meaning of ἵνα, then Jesus gives the mystery of the kingdom to the insiders, but to the outsiders he intentionally gives parables "so that" they will not understand and ("so that they will not") return.

3 Mythopoeic Function of the Telic Conjunctions

The telic function of the conjunctions contributes to Mark's contrast of insiders and outsiders within his mythical vision of reality.[39] A literary approach to myth, which is concerned with the imaginative shaping of the narrative, does not presume theological or apologetic interest. One of the most advantageous theoretical frameworks for understanding the mythmaking process is Northrop Frye's concept of myth as it was originally articulated in his *Fearful Symmetry* and later developed in *Words with Power, The Great Code*, and *The Double Vision*.[40] Not only does Frye understand the function of myth as identity formation and legitimization, but he also recognizes its poetic and imaginative features that analogously look to the past to make sense of the present. Some have categorized his approach as an anthropology of literature because he aims at uncovering the archetypes that give literature its communicative ability through time.[41] When we apply Frye's concept of myth to Jesus' condemnation of the outsiders, it opens up a hermeneutical space that is guided

39 Räisänen, *Die Parabeltheorie*, 78–79; Boucher, *Mysterious Parable*, 43.

40 Indispensable to the discussion are Gill, *Northrop Frye*, and Denham, *Northrop Frye*.

41 Meletinsky, *Poetics of Myth*, 81.

by analogy, metaphor, and typology, which is where we find the fusion of language and imagination, and by extension subject and object.

The advantage of a mythopoeic approach over a theological one (though they can overlap) is that Jesus' harsh language is not constrained by ideological (or historicizing) concerns, which have dominated the recent exegetical history of this passage. The inclusive, metaphorical, and descriptive aims of mythopoeia allow us to veer away from the guiding prescriptive assumptions of what Nietzsche called the "myth of immaculate perception" (*Zarathustra* 2.15) toward a critical development of sympathetic understanding, which Paul Ricoeur is well known for advocating. If the text as artifact becomes the text as an imaginative and intuitive act of understanding, with which every generation can identify, the distance between the ancient text and the modern reader potentially decreases.[42] For some biblical scholars, however, a sympathetic understanding that emphasizes a mythical and metaphorical character of the Bible is viewed with jaundiced eyes because it is "counter historical." For those who resonate with Frye (and others like Ricoeur), the historical-critical enterprise has created an illegitimate chasm between text and meaning as well as the parts and the whole.[43] This is the dialogue of our time. Sometimes it takes place in the form of audible conversation with each other (to which I hope this essay contributes), but most often it is a silent conversation that takes place in our own thoughts. I suggest creating a space where the historical-critical enterprise is supplemented by the mythopoeic insights of Frye, which would allow us to approach ancient writers like the evangelists as architects of mythopoeia. While sympathetic understanding is not my immediate concern here, it becomes a useful category in conceiving of Mark's own fusion of imagination and language.

A mythopoeic reading begins with the recognition that Mark's hieratic language functions in the story as an expression of his embodied imagination that is neither without influence nor strictly psychological.[44] What this means is that his experiences (i.e., the effects of the Jewish war and the tensions in Syria with Jewish opponents) and hopes (which are apocalyptic) are integrated with and give shape to his language.[45] Cognitive scientists would recognize this as "embodied cognition." The outsiders (ἔξω) and insiders (those to whom the mystery of God is given) are metaphors that are analogous to the past when Isaiah categorized Israel into the faithful and unfaithful. The division is a

42 J. M. Kee, "Introduction," 2.

43 Velaidum, "Towards Reconciling the Solitudes."

44 Contra Mack, *Myth of Innocence*.

45 On the tensions in the Syrian context, see Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 25–39.

familiar one. Jewish literature is replete with attempts to resolve a paradox in which power groups (be they foreign kingdoms or domestic political bodies) that are categorized as evil or unfaithful prosper at the expense of groups that are categorized as righteous or faithful. This is especially manifested in ancient societies that assumed what Max Weber called the "enchanted universe," where the visible and invisible worlds are fused. In Mark, as in Isaiah, the only thing that the unfaithful do not have is permanence. The classic division allows Mark to give hope and power to the hopeless and powerless situation of the insiders.

Within Mark's vision of reality (which is his conception of the story of humanity from creation to apocalypse), the two contrasting groups represent those who are in the community of the kingdom of God and those who are outside of it. From the viewpoint of both the narrator and Jesus, there are only two kingdoms and no neutral ground. There are those who belong to the kingdom of God and those who belong to the kingdom of Satan. In the drama that brings heaven and earth together, human beings have choice, but the influence of invisible forces cannot be underestimated. Behind the actions of the opponents—be they the crowds, the religious leaders, or the "rulers of the Gentiles" (10:42)—lies the influence of Satan.[46] And behind the actions of Jesus lies God. In Mark's reality, there are ultimately two rulers of their respective kingdoms, God and Satan, who vie for control.[47] This is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the Beelzebul controversy, where Jesus describes the activity of Satan in kingdom language (3:22–30). Mark also speaks of this dualism in terms of human interests and divine interests. Those who are motivated by human interests are perceived to be blind, even if for moments at a time by Satan.[48]

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46 The religious leaders and the "rulers of the Gentiles" are clearly opponents of Jesus, and hence the kingdom of God. That the crowds are within this camp is less obvious. They are depicted as "sheep without a shepherd" who follow Jesus from place to place. They are glad to listen to him and are drawn to his ability to heal, but at the same time they reject Jesus because they do not understand him. They see Jesus simply as Elijah, John the Baptist, a prophet, or as a Son of David who will lead a military revolt against the Romans and the Jewish collaborators. In the end, Jesus proves to be a disappointment to them. After Jesus is arrested the crowds choose Barabbas. Unlike Peter, who represents the disciples, the crowd does not express sorrow. Instead, the crowd hurls insults. See the discussion in Rhoads and Michie, *Mark as Story*, 134–35.

47 Marcus, "Mark 4:10–12," 558. The correlation between human conflicts and those of spiritual entities is a common mythological theme across many religions. See, for example, Lincoln, "Conflict"; Oosten, *War of the Gods*; Kinnier Wilson, *Rebel Lands*.

48 On the Satanic influence of those who reject the seed, see Knowles, "Abram and the Birds in Jubilees 11."

Jesus' rebuke of Peter is a clear expression of the spiritual forces from which no one is immune (8:33), not even those in the kingdom. It is not simply Peter who is responsible for correcting Jesus' prediction of his own fate, but Satan, who underlies all opposition to the divine agenda. While it is fairly safe to assume that Peter belongs to the kingdom of God, by virtue of his commitment to follow Jesus (e.g., 10:27–31), there is no indication that the influences of Satan are automatically eradicated when one enters the kingdom. Another example of this spiritual dynamic is the subtle comparison between human and Satanic actions in 5:1–20, where human opposition reflects that of the demons. Like the demons, the Gerasene townspeople are initially drawn to Jesus almost as if against their will, but instead of welcoming him they entreat him to depart (5:7, 15).[49] The importance of Satan and the demons as characters that underlie the plot of the mythopoeic is often underestimated and sometimes completely omitted. While Satan and the demons are usually recognized as playing a role alongside the human characters, they are rarely viewed as the instruments in the larger struggle that underlies the conflict between Jesus and his opponents.

Mark's mythical contrasts are enhanced and developed by his use of irony, which plays reality against appearance. For those who only experience the appearance by "seeing" or "hearing" are thoroughly persuaded that theirs is the true reality.[50] They become the victims of the narrator's irony and the foils for those who truly understand. There are numerous occasions throughout the story where those who are outside are confident in their knowledge and actions, but in light of the divide that is conveyed through the telic conjunctions, their confidence unknowingly rests only in the apparent. Irony extends beyond the Isaianic paraphrase. One example is the crowd's celebration at the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem. They perceive that Jesus is indeed one who brings the kingdom of David, but do not understand the significance of that kingdom or even of Jesus' role in bringing it about. Another example is found in the story about the resurrection of Jairus's daughter (5:35–43) where the mourners are confident that the child is dead. When Jesus arrives and tells them that the child is merely sleeping, they laugh in disbelief of any hope for the child. The ensuing resurrection of the child confirms the mourners' lack of understanding. While they assess the situation correctly at the level of "seeing" and are convinced by the appearance of the situation, they fail to understand and believe the reality. Several other examples are found in the ironic sarcasm

49 See Marcus, *Mystery of the Kingdom*, 113.

50 On this approach to irony, see Muecke, *Irony*, 35; Booth, *Rhetoric of Irony*, 36–39.

directed at Jesus during his trial and crucifixion. What Jesus' opponents sarcastically claim about his ability and identity is in reality true.[51]

The condemnation of outsiders conveyed through the telic conjunctions appears to be permanent, but not predetermined. Mark neither uses the Isaianic paraphrase to explain an arbitrary division of the insiders and outsiders nor to express a temporary obduracy initiated by God to insure the death and resurrection of Jesus. Rather the obduracy and condemnation conveyed by the conjunctions is a judgment in response to the rejection of revelation (cf. 4:15–19). The process of division within the mythopoeic is connected to Mark 4:21–25, which indicates that the obduracy in v. 12 is a result of human responsibility.[52] The point of vv. 21–22 is that the revelation of the word—which is Jesus' message as it is encapsulated in Mark 1:15—is accessible to everyone, for all can see the lamp that has been placed on the lampstand.[53] The lamp's light does not refer to the preceding explanation that is restricted only to the disciples as, for example, Gundry argues.[54] Likewise, as is widely held, it does not refer to the evangelistic activity after Easter when the

51 See the survey of discussion of irony in the Passion account in Marcus, *Mystery of the Kingdom*, 115–17. An entirely different approach is offered by Fowler ("Rhetoric of Direction," 221–24) who claims that the irony is first directed at the reader who is intentionally excluded from the understanding of the insiders by the storyteller. As the reader continues the story, he or she realizes that it is actually the disciples who are the outsiders and the readers who become the insiders. Fowler's approach is focused more on the level of the reader's response and in the process he omits the function of obduracy as judgment in Mark and early Jewish and Christian thought. Still another approach to the irony is that of Moore, "Mark 4:12," 336–41. Moore claims that the original saying by Jesus was expressed—with the appropriate tone of voice, body posture, and facial expression—something like this: "Why do I teach in parables? Why I tell them so people won't see. I tell them so they won't hear. After all, I wouldn't want to instruct the people or save them." Since the answer to the disciples' question was so obvious, Jesus answered in the absurd. This approach, however, focuses entirely on the function of the quotation at the pre-Markan level.

52 Many have argued for the connection between vv. 11–12 and 21–25 on redaction-critical grounds. See, for example, Kirkland, "Earliest Understanding," 12–21; Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle*, 165–66; Dupont, *Études sur les Évangiles synoptiques*, 259–67; Marcus, *Mystery of the Kingdom*, 130; Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9–10," 167–68.

53 On the imagery of the lamp in early Judaism as a reference to teaching, see Schneider, "Das Bildwort von der Lampe"; Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 230–32; Marcus, *Mystery of the Kingdom*, 141–43.

54 Gundry, *Mark*, 212.

messianic and kingdom secrecy is revealed,[55] or to the consummation of the kingdom at the parousia.[56] These meanings can be part of the term's sense, but not its referent. Rather, it refers to the revelation of the kingdom of God that has come to Israel through Jesus.[57] An interesting feature of the lamp is that it is not "brought out" as most translations render it, but literally it "comes" or "appears." The verb found in our best textual witnesses is ἔρχομαι, which is unusual since lamps do not come or appear.[58] On rare occasions, the verb ἔρχομαι can mean "to bring" when used with reference to inanimate objects, but in this context it is a metaphor for Jesus speaking about himself as one who "comes" to reveal the kingdom.[59] The intention of the lamp is that everyone should see the light and as a result accept the word that is sown. The word is accessible if one has ears to hear (v. 23); that is, if one accepts the word the way the good soil takes in the seed and allows it to take root. But, again, the time of revelation signified by the lamp is not Easter or even the parousia as most scholars think, for these interpretations assume temporal schema that are external to the setting of the story and actually take away from the function of the logion in the context of the parabolic teaching. Rather, the time of revelation in the narrative context is during the ministry of Jesus, who proclaims the kingdom of God to his fellow Jews (cf. 1:14–15).

The most difficult, yet illuminating, part of this passage is vv. 24–25. Once again there is strong indication that these verses refer to the same division of groups (i.e., the insiders and outsiders) that we find in 4:11–12 and are not to be seen as an ominous threat directed at the disciples.[60] Aside from the close proximity of vv. 24–25 in the narrative context, the connection is supported first by the common distinction between those who "have been given" and those who "have not been given." Second, in both passages the implied agent who gives or does not give is God. And third, in both passages the addressee is referred to in the second person plural. In vv. 24–25 Jesus lays out the positive and negative outcome of one's choice of adherence. The outcome depends on

55 This view has received the widest support. For references, see Ambrozic, *Hidden Kingdom*, 93 n. 200, 103–5. In addition, see Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1:253; Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle*, 168; Carlston, *Parables*, 155; Tuckett, "Mark's Concerns," 12–13.

56 E.g., Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 232.

57 A similar temporal reading is taken by Marshall, *Faith as a Theme*, 73.

58 Some manuscripts, however, do read ἅπτεται (D it samss bopt), which is more appropriate for a lamp.

59 See also Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1:180; Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 234.

60 E.g., Fusco, *Parola e regno*, 300–301; Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 40.

what one hears; that is, what one accepts and devotes oneself to. If one adheres to a foreign word, thereby rejecting Jesus' preaching, God will respond in judgment and take everything away; hence, by implication, obduracy sets in. But if one accepts the word of Jesus, blessing ensues. In other words, if one accepts the revelation—that is the word (cf. v. 20)—more revelation will be given, but if one does not embrace it (cf. vv. 15–19), further blindness will result.[61]

The upshot of vv. 21–25 is that the multitude has been given an opportunity to hear and accept the good news of the kingdom (1:15). After all, the ministries of both the Baptist and Jesus are in the public arena (1:4–5, 14–15, 38–39). The purpose of the parables in Mark's story is to obscure the kingdom from those who do not have ears to hear. For they are being measured by the same measure they used in evaluating the message of Jesus. In light of v. 25, to those who have accepted the preaching of the kingdom, more seed is given, but to those who reject, every seed is taken away so as to ensure no turning. In the narrative, very few characters actually seek an explanation or a deeper understanding of Jesus' teaching. Jesus offers an explanation to the disciples, but to everybody else, presumably those in the crowd, he does not. While the crowd does not consist of the same people throughout Jesus' travels, they nevertheless appear to be characterized consistently in some respects by the narrator.[62] They are very interested in Jesus as a miracle worker, teacher (especially prior to 4:1), and even as a royal figure, but unlike the disciples they do not inquire into the real meaning of his teaching.[63] The crowd sometimes follows Jesus, but it does not follow in the same way as the disciples who forsake all things for their master (e.g., 10:28–31). Also unlike the crowd, the disciples never ask Jesus for a sign or a miracle for validating his identity or the truth of his message. At the end of the story, while the disciples simply scatter in fear, as represented by

61 The connection between v. 25 and vv. 14–20 is widely supported. See, for example, Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1:181–82. The positive consequence can be compared to Col 1.6–10 where the "word" is described as bearing fruit.

62 On the crowd possessing no unitary role in Mark, see Best, "Role of the Disciples," 392.

63 Several Church Fathers pointed to the disciples' enquiry as a very important feature that separated them from the outsiders (e.g., Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 12.13). See Arida, "Hearing, Receiving." At Qumran, enquiry into the things of God was regarded as an act deserving further insight. See Marcus (*Mystery of the Kingdom*, 91) who cites 1QH 4.23–24, which says that all who enquire of God are blessed, and 1QS 5.11–12, which describes the wicked as those who do not inquire in order to know hidden things. In new translations of the scrolls, 1QH 4.23–24 becomes 1QH 12.23–24.

the actions of Peter, the crowd becomes part of the actual rejection movement that leads to the execution of Jesus.[64]

Jesus' intent on keeping the outsiders obdurate or hardened so that they would not turn and be forgiven is not as esoteric as one might think in the broader Jewish context of the ancient world. The purposeful infliction of obduracy by God on those who do not repent and return has precedence in the Jewish Scriptures and early Christianity, but not in early Jewish (non-biblical) literature. In addition to Isa 6:9–10, several Scripture texts speak of God as one who confounds human wisdom and intentionally deceives (e.g., 2 Sam 17:4; 1 Kings 22:13–23; Isa 29:9–10). A specific example is God hardening Pharaoh's heart in Exod 4–14, which is not only a significant event in the Exodus story, but has become an important part of the retelling of Israel's deliverance at every Passover celebration. In early Christianity there are several examples of God withholding vital spiritual knowledge. Some of the sayings in the Q tradition clearly indicate that concealment and revelation of spiritual truths about Jesus are contingent upon divine volition (e.g., Luke 10:21–22; Matt 11:25–27). The author of John's Gospel echoes this as well. Appealing to Isa 6:10, Jesus explains that the Pharisees' unbelief is intentionally caused by God (John 12:38–40). Paul can also be included. In Rom 9:6–29 and 11:1–10 Paul explains that God has for a time hardened the hearts of the Jews to the Christian message.[65]

Conversely, clear references to God causing blindness or intentionally hardening the heart are difficult to find in early Jewish literature. In the Qumran writings there are occasional references to the angel of darkness inflicting blindness (e.g., 1QS 3.21–22) and several references to the "stubbornness of heart" of those who are not part of the community (e.g., 1QS 4.2–3; CD 2.17–18).

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64 Having said this about the distinction between the crowds and the disciples, there is a need to integrate the events found in Mark 3:31–35 where Jesus appears to include the crowd within the redefined family. Although Jesus points at the crowd that is sitting around him, he does not necessarily say that each person in the crowd is a member of the redefined family, as his brothers and sisters. The image of the circle does not require us to understand this as the "inner circle." Certainly, the circle would have included the Twelve, but it includes others as well. Nevertheless, one cannot escape the implication in this context that Jesus is contrasting his biological family with the redefined family whose members "do the will of God." The qualification of the "crowd" in this context as one that does the will of God may distinguish it from other uses of "crowd" in Mark. As Guelich (*Mark 1–8:26*, 183) observes, "here the 'crowd' becomes synonymous with 'those around him' (cf. 4.10)."

65 For a fuller treatment of these and other texts that contain this theme, see Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 42–51, 58–59, 66–67, 73–75, 81–89, 97–98, 138.

What is usually found is God revealing knowledge or removing blindness, not the opposite.

4 Conclusion

What does it all mean in relation to the function of Mark's paraphrase of Isa 6:9–10? In light of Frye's archetypal theory of the mythopoeic, which connects prior symbols and images with later ones, Mark's purposeful infliction of obduracy is typologically (or analogously) informed by Isa 6:9–10, which itself is indebted to pre-biblical types and mythologies, just as New Testament antitypes become types in later literature.[66] If archetypes and analogies are the structural principles of literature, which unify and integrate the literary experience, then Mark's telic meaning of the paraphrase becomes a typological expression of (and contribution to) a cohesive and a socially established truth and reality, which is not necessarily tied to or derived from evidence or reason. As distasteful as the telic meaning of the paraphrase may be, it is an imaginative expression of that single mental form that unifies the totality of the evangelist's experience. That experience is a religious conflict that has arisen out of a situation where rival interests can no longer be negotiated, set aside, or abandoned. Mark clearly expresses a phase in religious conflict that has reached a bitter, confrontational, and violent stage.[67] Like other threatened minority groups, Mark's insiders attempt to reconcile their struggles with the precepts of their kingdom discourse, prompting what Bruce Lincoln calls "a highly selective reading of texts and tradition, along with the most ingeniously strained hermeneutics."[68]

As a result of the conflict, Mark identifies his insiders as a just and holy community that is set apart from the metaphorical outsiders—a label that is multiplied many times over in the history of religion (e.g., heretics, the Jews, pagans, infidels). So, the language of the paraphrase is not referential or representative of an objective value between the insiders and outsiders, but rather it is applied to reality like a mathematical symbol. It is "the language of belief" influenced by experience within a larger story about human identity and destiny.[69] As is customary with parables, the language is meant to shock, but not in the

66 On Frye's development of typology, see Burgess, "From Archetype to Antitype."

67 Lincoln, "Conflict," 65–66.

68 Lincoln, "Conflict," 66.

69 Frye, *Critical Path*, 36.

sense of compelling the obdurate to hear and repent.[70] The conjunctions do not lead in that direction.

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70 Cf. Snodgrass, "Between Text and Sermon."

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CHAPTER 13

Greek Tenses in John's Apocalypse: Issues in Verbal Aspect, Discourse Analysis, and Diachronic Change

Buist M. Fanning

This essay will concentrate on discourse functions for the Greek tenses in the Apocalypse of John. I will pursue this through a dialogue with and critique of David Mathewson's views as presented in his 2010 monograph published by Brill and an earlier article in *Novum Testamentum* (2008) on this topic.[1] Mathewson's work is a reflection of a larger school of thought on NT Greek verbal usage that has been influenced greatly by Stanley Porter, and so this gives me an opportunity to interact with the views of a larger group of recent writers based on work that I have done on verbal aspect in NT Greek.[2]

The issue that triggers this discussion is what some have called the confusion of tenses or erratic shifting of tenses in John's Apocalypse, just one area of the larger topic of John's solecisms or unusual Greek grammatical expressions.[3] What Mathewson argues for (following Porter) and what I will dispute in this paper is twofold: (1) that aspect alone is the focus of the ancient Greek tense forms; they do not in themselves express any temporal meaning; in regard to the Apocalypse if we take time out of the equation, we eliminate all of the supposed problems with shifting tense forms; (2) the main secondary effect of aspect is a certain function to reflect discourse prominence, that is, background, foreground, and frontground events or features in a text. According to

1 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*; Mathewson, "Verbal Aspect in the Apocalypse."

2 I have great admiration for Stan Porter's widely influential contributions to NT studies, especially in Greek grammar and linguistics. I am grateful that our interaction with each other has always been cordial and, I hope, productive. This essay is intended to explore the fundamental ways in which we agree about the Greek verb as well as points on which we still disagree.

3 An example of such tense shifting is Rev 7:9–14a, where the indicative verbs recounting the vision itself (not dialogue within the vision) are in sequence: aorist, imperfect, present, pluperfect, aorist, aorist, aorist, perfect, aorist. This is followed in 7:14b–17 by a declaration by one of the elders in which the indicative verbs are: present, aorist, aorist, aorist, present, present, and then six futures.

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Mathewson this discourse function for Greek verbal aspect appears frequently and consistently in the Apocalypse.

On the first point, Mathewson's argument is that the frequent occurrence of tense switching in the Apocalypse, often in the same passage, makes a temporal sense untenable. He writes:

> One of the conspicuous features of John's use of Greek tenses is their appearance in contexts that seem to violate their assumed (temporal) values. Specifically, Revelation's visionary material commonly exemplifies a shifting between all the major Greek tenses (present, aorist, imperfect, future, perfect) while often apparently maintaining the same temporal sphere of reference (the narration of what John saw εἶδον).[4]

On the second point, discourse prominence, he writes: "Verbal aspect, by indicting the author's particular perspective on a process, can at times also function pragmatically in narrative to structure the discourse and indicate levels of prominence (background, foreground, frontground)."[5] He argues that aorists are associated with background, presents and imperfects with foreground, and perfects with what he and Porter call frontground.[6]

In responding to Mathewson's approach, I will first survey some broader principles about what the Greek tense forms mean in general and how they work in discourse structure, and then examine representative texts in the Apocalypse to illustrate how these principles show up in the book. A related question that arises along the way is the issue of diachronic change that appears in John's use of the Greek perfect tense. One final introductory caveat: Semitic influence on Greek tenses in the Apocalypse will be mentioned here and there, but will not be a primary focus of this essay. This is not a primary part of Mathewson's argument or of Porter's before him. In their view as well as mine there is clearly Semitic influence but it does not help in solving the issue of "tense confusion" in the Apocalypse.[7]

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4 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 3.

5 Ibid., 47.

6 Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92–93.

7 See a similar conclusion in the recent monograph by Mot, *Morphological and Syntactical Irregularities*, 191–94.

1 Broader Principles: Ancient Greek Tense-Aspect in Linguistic Perspective

The first point to make about broader principles is that I agree with Mathewson (and Porter) that Greek aspect in and of itself is a viewpoint feature, i.e., it shows how a speaker or writer chooses to conceptualize or portray an occurrence; it is not directly related to how the occurrence actually takes place in objective reality. This understanding of aspect as the speaker's *viewpoint* rather than a matter of "kind of action" or Aktionsart has become widespread in studies of aspect in general linguistics and in ancient Greek. Comrie, Bache, and Smith have been clear and early exponents of these ideas in general linguistics. For ancient and NT Greek, K. L. McKay, Stan Porter, Trevor Evans, Constantine Campbell, and Mathewson have joined in affirming these important points about the primary semantic meaning of the tense forms. This significant area of agreement about the basic sense of aspect in Greek is tempered, however, by disagreements about three issues regarding how aspect interacts with other features of verbal meaning and function.

For most who analyze verbal aspect in ancient Greek and in other languages of the world, aspect is semantically *distinct from but closely related to* three features I want to survey quickly: (1) tense in the sense of temporal location in time, the traditional past, present, future meanings. Aspect concerns not location in time relative to some reference point such as the time of speaking or writing, but "temporal distribution or contour." But it occurs in the Greek indicative forms in a mixed tense-aspect system and the two inevitably interact with each other. (2) Aktionsart or procedural character of actions. The older grammars sometimes used the term "Aktionsart" as a rough synonym for aspect, but it has come to be used of a related but distinct semantic feature, the actional or procedural character that is inherent in the normal lexical sense of verbs as well as in their combinations with closely related features like subject and object phrases, adverbial phrases, etc. used with the verb. These "kinds of action" are things like state vs. action, process vs. event, repeated vs. single action, durative vs. momentary occurrence, etc. (3) Discourse structuring, how aspect can be used to display the flow and coherence of ideas across the units of language above the sentence level. The first and third of these will be more important for purposes of this paper but I will survey all three briefly.

1.1 *Aspect and Time in the Greek Tenses*

The question of a possible temporal meaning for the Greek tenses in some or all of the indicative forms—in addition to the aspectual meaning—is a continuing area of dispute, and it arises as mentioned in the treatment by Mathewson

of verbs in the Apocalypse. He rejects all treatments that imply a temporal sense for the Greek tenses. In this he is following Porter's view very closely, i.e., that NT Greek verbs do not grammaticalize location in time as any part of their meaning. Any temporal idea that we may sense should be attributed to some secondary, contextual effects of the more basic aspectual meaning; it is not part of the semantics of Greek verbs or verb tenses. As a matter of actual practice, Porter and Mathewson often concur with the temporal interpretation that a more traditional view of the Greek tenses would find (aorist and imperfect indicatives: almost always past narrative; etc.); but their resistance to the idea that the tenses grammaticalize a temporal value leads to some related but perhaps unnecessary hindrances to solid interpretation.

As I argue more extensively in an essay published in 2011, this argument by Porter and now Mathewson is based on a misconception of how temporal meaning should be construed in the Greek tenses.[8] They (as well as McKay and Campbell in some measure) understand the temporal element as something that must be objective and true to the time frame of the real or external events so described. If the expected time frame is not true in all cases, the temporal element cannot be a valid semantic sense. This is the point of Porter's contrastive substitution lists, NT examples showing that present, aorist, and perfect can each be used of present, past, future, omnitemporal, and timeless occurrences. This is thought to prove that the Greek tenses cannot be said to grammaticalize temporal meaning, since as he says, "the same form may be used with a variety of temporal and non-temporal references."[9] Mathewson makes this same point when he argues that the tenses in Revelation have no temporal meaning because they appear "in contexts that seem to violate their assumed (temporal) values."[10]

What must be properly grasped is that the temporal element in the Greek indicative tenses operates in a *subjective* way: it gives the speaker's *portrayal* of the time of the event or state. In most cases this corresponds quite well to some conception of the actual time of occurrence—hence aorists and imperfects are used overwhelmingly to describe situations actually past or prior to the time of speaking, presents overwhelmingly refer to situations that are contemporaneous with the time of speaking, and so on. But in some instances the temporal portrayal is different from the objective time frame in order to serve

8 Fanning, "Greek Presents, Imperfects, and Aorists," 159–63.

9 Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 75–79; quotation from p. 78. Runge, "Contrastive Substitution," 154, 163–65, 171–72, has pointed out serious errors in linguistic method in Porter's "contrastive substitution" argument.

10 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 3.

some rhetorical or descriptive purpose. This is true of tense usage in many languages that clearly grammaticalize time in their verbal system but display some exceptional usage. And this is the proper way to understand tense in Greek. Thus, the temporal element should be seen as a matter of the speaker's subjective presentation of the time of the occurrence, not as an objective, absolute time frame. To expect the latter is to misconstrue the temporal sense of the Greek indicative tenses.

In regard to tenses in the Apocalypse, Mathewson raises the objection that a reader would be confused by such switching of time frames in a narrow context.[11] But this sentiment is rooted in an objective, absolute understanding of temporal meaning in the Greek verb. He feels perfectly comfortable seeing *aspectual* shifts occur in Revelation within a narrow context, presumably because he understands aspect as a matter of the speaker's portrayal rather than some external, objective characteristic of the occurrence. It is not too much then to see the same flexibility operate in regard to temporal shifts as well, when they are seen as subjective.

1.2 *"Viewpoint" Aspect in Close Interaction with Procedural Character*

This principle of *distinct but closely related* features means that working with verbal aspect requires attention to two levels of meaning for the aspects: a definition level focusing on what aspect itself means and a function level analyzing how the aspects combine with these related features to produce an overall sense for the verbal proposition. This is particularly important in regard to how aspect relates to Aktionsart or procedural character.[12]

At the definition level then we focus on what the aspects mean on their own apart from other features they combine with. The crucial aspectual distinction according to Comrie (1976) is whether one chooses an internal or external viewpoint on the verbal state or action. We may see it from a point of view *within* the occurrence, without reference to the beginning or end-point, but with focus instead on its internal structure or make-up. Or we may see it from a vantage point *outside*, with focus on the entire occurrence from beginning to end, without reference to its internal structure.[13] Another way to articulate this is to say that one can take a *near* view, emphasizing the detailed *parts* of whatever may constitute the occurrence; or one can take a *distant* view, picturing the *whole* occurrence in summary without attention to the details. This

11 Ibid., 80, 118.

12 See Bache, "Aspect and Aktionsart"; and Bache, *English Tense and Aspect*, 102–6.

13 Comrie, *Aspect*, 3–6.

difference of viewpoint or focus is the essential nature of verbal aspect, and it is semantically distinct from procedural character (i.e., Aktionsart).

At the function level on the other hand, we can trace predictable ways in which these two viewpoints combine with related features (temporal, lexical, compositional, discourse-oriented) to produce an overall sense in specific contexts. The aspects behave differently with, for example, lexically stative verbs, telic verbs, and verbs that express a momentary event. Discussion of these kinds of combinations is axiomatic in contemporary studies of aspect.[14] This approach constitutes the broad consensus of contemporary linguists who study aspect. Porter and his followers are exceptional in insisting that procedural character should not be considered at all in working with verbal aspect. Instead they resist and misrepresent the value of looking for these combinations. Mathewson for his part is consistently dismissive of the observations of other interpreters who cite Aktionsart features (ingressive aorists, customary or progressive presents, etc.).[15]

I argue that stopping at the definition level for aspect is too abstract and vague to be of any help for interpretation of actual texts. To say that one aspect "portrays the action as a complete or undifferentiated whole" and that the other "conceives of the action as 'being in progress. Its internal structure is seen as unfolding'"[16] is a good starting point but it stops well short of giving interpretive insight. My essays in the forthcoming book on the perfect tense shows why paying attention to the interaction of aspect and procedural character is essential for interpreting the aspectual usage.[17] This is part of a broader dissatisfaction that I have with the Porter-Mathewson approach to verbal aspect: it is a system imposed from "above" with little attention paid to contextual details from "below" because they are thought to be detrimental to a true reading of aspect in Greek. Thus it tends to miss specific contextual features that help to explain the aspectual sense in specific usage. As I have complained elsewhere perhaps unkindly, it is the kind of grand linguistic solution that purports to explain everything but ultimately provides almost no help for interpretation of usage in actual texts; interpreters are right I think to be impatient with such grand schemes.[18]

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14 See various articles in Binnick, *Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*.

15 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 27–28, 51–52, 125–26, 130, 136.

16 Ibid., 30.

17 See my basic essay, Fanning, "Defining the Ancient Greek Perfect."

18 Fanning, "Approaches to Verbal Aspect," 62.

1.3 *Discourse Functions for the Greek Tenses*

There is a long history of research and broad agreement among researchers that the Greek tense-aspect forms can contribute to discourse structuring as a secondary function of their basic meanings.[19] Those who study how tense-aspect variation can be valuable in the interpretation of literature have worked on this question extensively.

As mentioned earlier Porter and Mathewson have discussed these functions as well, but I believe there are three problems with how they have approached this: (1) they have reversed the foreground and background values; (2) they have added a third level, "frontground," which is unsupportable in its present form; and (3) they have failed to observe genre distinctions and to be aware that different genres are often mixed together in actual texts. I will mention the first two of these problems only briefly and take a bit longer with the third.

1.3.1 Reversal of Foreground and Background

In narrative, the primary events of the story—the main occurrences that move the narrative along—are recounted in the aorist or external aspect. Because it views occurrences in summary from beginning to end without regard to their internal character, the aorist provides this primary framework of sequential events that characterizes narrative genre. Since this is the mainline of the story, almost everyone labels this as foreground. See text example "A" from Smith (Figure 13.1) for an illustration of how this works in English (the simple pasts structure the mainline of the brief account). The imperfect on the other hand functions in two ways: (1) It often gives background features that are off the mainline of sequenced events. In this way it provides more general supportive circumstances and additional details that fill in the backdrop of the story augmenting the mainline in important ways but not advancing the narrative. Because the imperfect is a form of the present or internal aspect, it pays attention to the details of the occurrence but does not have the beginning or end points of the action in view. Hence it often overlaps with the sequenced events to fill in customary actions or conditions that are background to the main events (e.g., line 2 of text example "A"). This basic distinction between aorist (or perfective aspect in general) as foreground and imperfect (or the imperfective aspect in general) as background is widely articulated in treatments

19 Fanning, "Greek Presents, Imperfects, and Aorists," 167–68. Discourse functions are secondary because they are pragmatic uses of the basic aspect distinctions in certain contexts. The aorist and present aspects in Greek are commonly associated or correlated with certain discourse functions but they cannot be equated with those functions or assumed to have those functions in every occurrence. Levinsohn makes this point clear in "Aspect and Prominence in the Synoptic Accounts," 167, 173.

of Greek usage and in general linguistics.[20] (2) The other possibility for the imperfect in narrative is that it *does* in fact sometimes fit into the mainline of events that move the story along (i.e., foreground), although still perhaps overlapping in sequence with the surrounding aorist events. The internal viewpoint of the imperfect in these cases provides a more descriptive recounting of a specific event, emphasizing not just *what* happened but *how* it occurred. This is an additional option for the Greek imperfect that is not generally recognized in treatments of the discourse functions of Greek aspect. I argue the case for this more extensively elsewhere, and others have observed this use of the imperfect as well.[21] In my 2011 essay I suggest that a specific contextual feature—general versus specific scope—helps to delineate which imperfects take the background role (more general, customary uses) and which fit on the foreground (specific, descriptive uses).[22]

Figure 13.1: Text Examples from Smith (2003, 2005)

A: 1 I slipped outside into a shock of cool air and ran down the pier. 2 Several small boats were rocking lazily to and fro in the water. 3 I unfastened the rope to one, paddled out toward the "Republic," then hauled myself hand over hand up a rope ladder to the topgallant bulwark, over onto a broad empty deck. (Charles Johnson, *Middle Passage* 1990)[23]

B: 1 On the big land below the house a man was ploughing and shouting admonitions to the oxen. 2 On the track to the station the loaded wagon with its team of sixteen oxen creaked and groaned. 3 A group of children walked to school. 4 On the telephone wires the birds twittered and sang. (Doris Lessing, *Under My Skin* 1994)[24]

20 See Hopper, "Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse"; Wallace, "Figure and Ground"; and Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 34–35.

21 Fanning, "Greek Presents, Imperfects, and Aorists," 178–81. See also Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 243–44, 247–49. This has been argued also by Bakker, "Verbal Aspect and Mimetic Description," 13–16, regarding such uses of the imperfect in Thucydides. In addition, Loney, "Narrative Structure and Verbal Aspect," 5–11, surveyed and adapted these insights for his study of Luke. See also Ehrlich, "Aspect, Foregrounding and Point of View," who noted foreground uses for the imperfective aspect similar to this as an addition to the background role that has often been described. Her argument is that attention must be paid to the specific discourse features in the local context to discern such shifts.

22 Fanning, "Greek Presents, Imperfects, and Aorists," 180–81.

23 Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 27.

24 Smith, "Aspectual Entities," 235.

> C: 1 In earlier years with little incentive for drillers to find and tap new oil, supplies eventually dropped, and in the past year OPEC deliberately dropped its production as well. 2 In response to the law of supply and demand, prices have now risen. . . . 3 Sooner or later, oil prices are likely to drop. 4 But prices at today's level have their advantages. 5 With the incentive for more production back in place, there will be more drilling in new places, like the deep water off the coasts of many countries of the world, including the United States. 6 Off our Gulf Coast, deep-water drilling, developing and producing are already going on. (Rob Mosbacher, "Cheap oil's tough bargains," *New York Times* March 13, 2000).[25]

Porter's system (followed by Mathewson) is the reverse of what is accepted in the wider linguistics discussion. They argue that aorists provide *background*, subsidiary information to support the *foreground* features that are expressed by imperfectives (i.e., presents and imperfects). They both cite Hopper and Wallace, and even quote them in support of their argument without acknowledging that they apply the work of Hopper and Wallace in exactly the opposite way from the description of the phenomena given in those works.[26]

1.3.2 Questionable "Frontground" Distinction

The second area of disagreement about the use of tenses in discourse concerns Porter's proposal, followed closely by Mathewson, that the Greek perfect should be seen as most prominent, what he calls "frontground." This constitutes his third plane of discourse, the one that carries the greatest emphasis. While this claim has been repeated as a theoretical suggestion by those who follow Porter, it has not been demonstrated convincingly by examination of actual NT usage in my opinion. Several who mention it as a theoretical possibility have pulled back from defending it consistently in their treatment of actual texts.[27] Others who have discussed perfect usage in NT passages have struggled to articulate how it reflects the highest level of prominence in the discourse.[28]

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25 Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 269–70.

26 Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92–93; Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 40–42.

27 Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 107–8, 112–15; and Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 34.

28 See Hatina, "Perfect Tense-Form in Colossians," 249–50; and my discussion of the arguments of Hatina and others in Fanning, "Greek Presents, Imperfects, and Aorists," 176–78.

In regard to narrative usage, seeing the perfect as frontground must overcome several significant obstacles from the outset. One problem is that at a theoretical level the perfect aspect—described by Porter as "stative"—should be expected to fall at the other end of the scale of prominence. In Stephen Wallace's 1982 treatment of foreground and background (followed by others since then), stativity occurs in the list of linguistic features that characterize *background*, while processes and events are expected to characterize *foreground*.[29] Also in regard to actual usage, perfects and pluperfects almost never occur in the narrative framework of indicative verbs; they occur predominantly in sections of speech or in embedded uses in relative clauses or as participles or infinitives.[30] From the outset then they are unlikely to have a discourse role in the narrative sections.[31]

Mathewson consistently argues for perfect verbs as most prominent in passages in the Apocalypse, and most of them involve perfect participles used to describe participants as they are introduced to the account.[32] These are subject to the same critique just stated. The participant may figure prominently in the vision to be recounted, but it is the role he takes in the *actions* of the vision that makes this so, not the description of him or her when *introduced* to the account. Introductory details such as these have a bearing on the events, but they invariably serve to provide *background* to the story, not foreground or frontground occurrences.[33] There are, however, a few perfect indicatives appearing in the narrative structure itself in Revelation's visions—a quite unusual thing compared to other NT narrative passages. These will be evaluated further in the final section of this paper.

1.3.3 Genre Distinctions and Mixed Genres

Porter's early treatments of the discourse function of Greek aspect (1989; 1994) asserted his three "planes of discourse" for the Greek aorist, present/imperfect, and perfect forms without any qualifications for different genres and occasionally with explicit claims that the planes of discourse apply to all genres.[34] More recently Porter (2009) distinguished two basic genre types

29 Wallace, "Figure and Ground," 212; also Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse*, 79–84; and Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 93–98.

30 See Levinsohn's brief mention of this in "Verb Forms and Grounding in Narrative."

31 Runge also critiques the view of the perfect as "frontground" in "Perfect, Markedness, and Grounding."

32 E.g., Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 44–45, 105–8, 158–62.

33 Barnard, "Is Verbal Aspect a Prominence Indicator," 8–9, 14–16, gives a similar critique of Porter's view of the perfect as "frontground" in discourse function.

34 Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92–93; Porter and Reed, "Greek Grammar since BDF," 154–56; and Porter, *Idioms*, 302–3; see also *Idioms*, 23, where Acts 16:1–5 and Rom 5:1–2 are treated

(narrative vs. "discursive or expositional") and adjusted his terminology a bit, but maintained his earlier three-part view regarding the discourse function of aspect right across the genre types.[35] Mathewson follows Porter's theories quite closely in this regard. He maintains the same three planes of discourse (i.e., background, foreground, and frontground) as seen in the use of Greek aorist, present/imperfect, and perfect forms throughout the Apocalypse without any adjustment for genre differences.[36]

In contrast to Porter and Mathewson, I argue (and others concur) that Greek verb forms are used in quite different ways in different genres, and this must be observed both at the macro- and micro-level. The macro level pertains to the discourse genre of a NT book in general. For example, discourse analysis of the Gospels and Acts should be broadly different from analysis of the Epistles since the genres are different. The micro level focuses on the study of individual sections and subsections. Black, for example, begins her study of the historical present in Matthew by laying out four discourse types into which she classifies each sentence of Matthew for purposes of evaluating discourse signals: narrative, exposition, speech, and OT quotations. These are described as follows: "narrative (events recounted from the evangelist's viewpoint in roughly temporal order, forming the framework for the discourse), exposition (longer discourse sections attributed to Jesus, including parables), speech (conversation; short statements attributed to Jesus, especially as a reply to another's question or statement), or Old Testament quotation."[37] As her taxonomy suggests, we should look for different characteristics in the narrative sections themselves as over against the usage in longer expositions or shorter conversational exchanges that are mixed in. Even in the narrative sections proper, we should focus on aspect use in main clauses and pass over most verb forms in subordinate clauses, participles, infinitives, and so forth. We may discover in a few cases that grammatically subordinate elements fit on the event line—e.g., some adverbial participles or temporal clauses following the

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the same. In *Idioms*, 302, Porter explicitly says, "The planes of discourse apply both to narrative and to expositional material."

35 Porter, "Prominence: An Overview," 57–58. He acknowledges here that aorists are used for "the mainline or storyline" of narrative, but continues to regard this as a kind of background to the foreground and frontground provided by presents and perfects. See a similar ambivalence in Mathewson, who speaks of the aorist as background and yet as carrying the story line of main events that move the narrative along (*Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 127, 129, 130, 143, 147, 163, 169).

36 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 40–45.

37 Black, "Historic Present in Matthew," 122.

main verb or some relative clauses—but for the most part we should concentrate on main clauses.[38]

Initially then let me describe a basic difference between narrative as over against non-narrative genres. This basic division of genres must be observed in order to assess the discourse use of Greek tense-aspect properly.[39] The reasons for this are as follows. The essence of narrative—telling a story—means that patterns of tense usage take on a central role in structuring the discourse. Longacre helped to define this essential genre quality in his broad categorization of discourse into four types (narrative, procedural, behavioral, and expository) based on two features that may or may not be present in the discourse structure (i.e., "contingent temporal succession" and "agent orientation"). He argues that narrative is marked for both of these features. He explains these two as follows: (1) "a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events and doings" and (2) "orientation towards agents . . . with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse."[40] Since narrative is in essence telling a story, it is natural that participants and flow of events would be central. So in working with narrative discourse we should pay attention to the sequencing of events relative to each other and to the introduction and role of participants in the story. For the purposes of this essay we will set aside the second feature (participant reference), but the first ("contingent temporal succession") is of central importance for assessing how Greek verb forms are used in narrative discourse.[41] To affirm "contingent temporal succession" as a primary feature of narrative does not mean that every occurrence is subsequent and contingent on the preceding one, but that this is the overall framework of the narrative and most events reflect this feature.

This sequential framework of narrative constitutes the essential difference between narrative and all non-narrative genres. Narration is broadly structured as a series of occurrences related to each other sequentially.

38 Givón, *Syntax*, 174n5.

39 See Campbell, *Verbal Aspect*, 3–5 and passim, for discussion of NT usage patterns that support this.

40 Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, 8–9. See also Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse*, 7–9.

41 Smith, "Aspectual Entities," 232, also affirms the centrality of this feature of narrative in her treatment of aspectual usage in discourse: "Narrative presents a sequence of consequentially related events and states, and the order in which they occur is crucial for understanding. . . . The essence of a narrative is dynamism: narratives consist of events that occur one after the other in time."

Non-narrative texts are not structured in this way but are organized in other ways—thematically, spatially, logically, and so forth.

For working with the Greek tenses in the Apocalypse it will be helpful to pursue further several varieties of non-narrative genres to give some idea of the range of possibilities to look for. Smith, for example, lays out two types of non-narrative texts that are useful for our purposes. These are description and report or argument.[42] In *descriptions* (example "B" in Figure 13.1) a panorama of conditions or ongoing events can be presented, but these are seen as occurring all at the same time (non-sequenced). The time frame is often past (i.e., prior to the time of speaking) but could be present or future as well. Any progression in the text is spatial rather than chronological, moving from one facet of the scene to another. In *reports* or *arguments* (example "C") events and general states can be recorded, but they are not temporally sequenced in relation to each other but only in relation to the time of speaking. Or they may simply deal with general propositions or abstractions rather than events. Frequent shifts in tense are common and the events could appear in the report in a different order without distortion. These are often evaluative or predictive. Various thematically related elements are presented such as: a claim or personal opinion or command sometimes with its support added, a prediction, a question, a statement of the significance of something, or some other element to be brought to the attention of the reader.[43] In the ways that they use verbal aspect to structure discourse, reports or arguments would be very much like NT epistles or longer segments in the Gospels' accounts of Jesus' teaching, although I have not tried to work this out in detail.

A pattern that *can* be observed in the NT is that in one type of non-narrative discourse, the exposition or argument type, Greek aorist and imperfect indicatives often appear as supportive or background material rather than as foreground. This seems to be due to their shared temporal value of past occurrence rather than their aspect meanings, since the two differ in that regard.[44] These statements about past actions and situations are subsidiary to the foreground argument generally carried by present, perfect, or future

42 Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 26–36, 93–98; Smith, "Aspectual Entities," 232–36; See also the simple types from Black and the more involved descriptions by Longacre mentioned earlier.

43 Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 12–15.

44 Hoe, "Apocalyptic Discourse in Second Peter," 328–31. He argues this in part from the use of aorists and imperfects in Jude 4, 5, 9, 11, 14, 15, 18 that function alike as background to the main argument of the book.

indicatives or by various non-indicative verbs (e.g., imperatives and some types of subjunctives).

Such genre distinctions will prove to be useful for analyzing discourse usage in the Apocalypse, since its visionary portions are essentially a form of narrative genre. But even with narration, other genres such as descriptions and reports or arguments are mixed in, and these must be analyzed clearly.[45] To this we now turn.

2 Applying These Principles to the Apocalypse

Based on these foundational principles about how the Greek tense-aspects work in discourse, I now want to examine some representative texts in the Apocalypse to illustrate and validate how these principles work. This will require a brief general description of John's style and modes of discourse in Revelation, and then a survey of uses in specific passages.

2.1 *John's Literary Strategy and the Genre of the Apocalypse*

On the issue of modes of discourse, Mathewson begins with an excellent proposal about the genre of the Apocalypse and how that might show up in the literary character of the book. Following Aune, he suggests that the bulk of Revelation is essentially an apocalyptic narrative with autobiographical features.[46] Mathewson says, "For purposes of analyzing verbal aspect in the Apocalypse, Revelation will be treated as an autobiographical narrative of a visionary experience."[47] This is exactly right, I think, but it should be a starting point, not the final word on the matter. As it stands, it is too broad and should not be imposed on every passage as an unbending rule. What is required next is a keen eye to see where narrative ends and other genres begin or where narrative is mixed with other genres to draw readers into John's experiences in a greater way. Resseguie, for example, has pointed out that John's narrative style is first-person rather than third-person. His visions gave him insight into this world from a heavenly point of view and he desired to draw others into his experience, so that they could vividly see this world's present and future reality in a different light. His literary style was intended to "enhance the vividness

45 See Smith, "Aspectual Entities," 224–25 for comments about how common it is to find a mixture of genres in a given passage.

46 Cf. Aune, "Apocalypse of John," 86–87.

47 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 46.

and immediacy" of what he had previously seen and now wanted others to see.[48]

With such an approach, it is to be expected that John would employ narration as well as non-narrative genres in order to utilize different points of view and portray what he had seen and its consequences in vivid ways. With the mixture of genres comes differing use of tenses within those genres. The larger problem of Mathewson's analysis is that he imposes a theoretical, top-down system to explain everything using the same template, without giving sufficient attention to details that appear from the bottom up in individual passages.

2.2 *Discourse Types and Discourse Mixing in the Apocalypse*

Mussies (1971) has suggested three levels of presentation in the visionary material of Revelation that prove very helpful in analyzing the use of Greek tense-aspects in the book.[49] These are displayed in Figure 13.2 as "Modes of Presentation in John's Apocalypse." (1) The first level or mode is John's recounting of the *reception* of the visions he records. Here we find his repeated use of the aorists of "seeing" and "hearing" to describe his prior visionary/auditory experiences.[50]

(2) The second mode is John's account of the *contents* of his visions, given in two forms. One common form (we could call it mode 2a) is to record the contents as a *narration* of the events he observed in his visionary experiences recounted as prior events. These events are portrayed as past because he saw them occur in his vision, though they often signify events and circumstances that must be understood as yet to come in the larger narrative of his book and also in the real world (e.g., the climactic defeat of the beast and his allies by the rider on the white horse, anticipated with aorist verbs in earlier chapters and portrayed with aorist verbs in Rev 19:19–21). This form of recounting the visionary contents (mode 2a) often blends together with his account of the reception of the vision (mode 1) as a connected story that operates like standard narrative genre in other NT books (like Smith's text example "A" in figure 13.1). Illustrations of this can be found in Rev 6 and 8 (mostly aorists, combining modes 1 and 2a).

48 Resseguie, *Revelation of John*, 47–48.

49 Mussies, *Morphology of Koine Greek*, 333–36, 340.

50 Mathewson has no problem with taking these aorists as past-referring (*Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 54).

Figure 13.2: Modes of Presentation in John's Apocalypse

1. Reception of the Visions (narrative): εἶδον, ἤκουσα
2. Recounting the Visionary Content
   a. Narration of contents (aorists, imperfects, historical presents)
   b. Description of contents (presents, nominal clauses)
3. Prophecies of Future Events (prediction)

The other way of recording the contents (mode 2b) involves a genre shift to non-narrative discourse. This takes the form of a portrayal of the contents as events currently taking place.[51] This draws the reader into the vision more directly to see the events along with John as he relives his prior experience of seeing and hearing the details of the vision. An example of this is Rev 13:11–18, which begins as a narrative but shifts in v. 12 to a non-temporally sequenced description (like Smith's example "B" in Figure 13.1) of various things he witnessed in his vision, portrayed vividly with mostly present verbs and several aorists that provide background for some of the items presented. These are not historical presents, because this is not a narrative; it is a description.

(3) The third mode shifts to the future to portray events yet to come. This use of the future is like mode 2b in constituting a non-narrative genre: a report or argument about what will occur (like Smith's example "C" in Figure 13.1). These futures however are closely related to the previous two modes.[52] The Apocalypse prominently informs us that the visions are given to show "what must happen soon" (1:1, 19; 4:1; 22:6), so statements about what will occur in the future are an expected feature. Future events can be seen as an extension from the past narrative of John's visionary experiences and what he saw portrayed in them (modes 1 and 2a), since such events give the heavenly perspective on what is yet to come in actual reality (e.g., Rev 20:4–8, aorists; with a shift in vv. 5c–8 to John's own predictive report or argument using present and future verbs; vv. 9–10 pick up the narrative again with aorists). Similar to this are reports or predictions on the lips of an angelic or heavenly voice (e.g., Rev 7:14b–17).

Mathewson's evaluation of these proposals by Mussies is rather brief and negative. His critique concerns (1) their "overdependence on a temporal

51 Mussies, *Morphology of Koine Greek*, 334, 340.

52 Ibid., 334–36, 340.

orientation toward the Greek tense forms" and (2) that the tenses shift back and forth within some of the accounts.[53] But this is to be expected as argued above.

Dougherty (1990) makes a number of valuable suggestions along this line as well. He suggests that tense changes in various passages "are due to shifting viewpoints or to mixed modes of writing" and he repeatedly cites three "modes" in various passages where tense shifting occurs: "narrative" using the past tenses, "description" using the present tense or non-verbal clauses, and "prediction" using the future.[54] Mathewson acknowledges the potential value of Dougherty's distinctions but points to specific examples that remain unexplained (as noted by Dougherty himself) and ultimately concludes that all would be solved if he could only "divest himself of a temporal conception for the Greek verbal system."[55] I believe a better solution is found in noticing the different modes of presentation that are evident in the Apocalypse and in similar literature. Parallels to the patterns Dougherty suggests can be found also in the Greek tense uses in vision accounts in LXX texts such as these: Gen 37:6–10; 40:9–13; 16–19; Dan 2:31–35, 36–45; 7:1–14, 15–18, 23–27 (vision narratives carried by aorists and imperfects with their interpretations phrased with future verbs [i.e., report or argument genre]). In Ezek 1:4–28 and Dan 7:19–22 the visions are phrased as descriptions with mostly imperfects and nominal clauses. On the other hand, Ezek 2:9—3:15 is a narrative carried by aorists with embedded dialogue. In Zech 1:8–17 we find aorist narration with embedded dialogue followed by report or argument using future tenses.

2.3 *Usage in Specific Passages*

To start with a specific text that is relatively straightforward, Rev 6:1–17 (the opening of the seals) gives a clear illustration of a text that is mostly narrative genre with a little non-narrative embedded in the story. It begins in vv. 1–8a with a series of 18 aorists relating the foreground or mainline of the narration. Some of these are mode 1 events shown in figure 13.2—uses of aorists of "seeing" (4x) or "hearing" (5x)—and others are mode 2a events, occurrences that John saw but are recounted here as part of the story that unfolds in the vision (9x; various actions of opening, going forth, and giving). Following this there is an imperfect (v. 8b), but this one does not have the expected background or customary imperfect usage; it fits on the mainline of events as a vivid specific description of Hades following along with Death when the fourth seal is

53 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 117–18 (quotation from 118).

54 Dougherty, "Syntax of the Apocalypse," 428–45 (quotation from 428).

55 Mathewson, *Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation*, 121–23 (quotation from 123).

broken. Then 4 aorists occur (vv. 8c–10a including one mode 1 event, "I saw" in v. 9b). Inserted within these is one imperfect giving background (v. 9c those slain "had" a sterling witness, their customary character). These lead up to a brief embedded speech (v. 10b), which is not narrative but an argument posing a rhetorical question within the narrative using two presents (how long will it be while the Lord "does not judge and avenge"?). This is followed by a series of eleven foreground aorists (vv. 11–15; only one is a mode 1 event, "I saw" in v. 12a), with one generic present used in an aside or parenthetical comment, a simile in v. 13b ("as a fig tree casts its late fruit"; a simile like this is a form of background expressing a broader, universal truth that informs the mainline event in v. 13a, "the stars fell").

The conclusion of the chapter is carried by a historical present (λέγουσιν of v. 16a; Hos 10:8 LXX future, ἐροῦσιν; MT *weqatal* form וְאָמְרוּ) used to introduce an embedded direct speech (vv. 16b–17). More about this historical present shortly. The embedded speech itself is non-narrative, expressing an argument or appeal with two requests (two aorist imperatives, "fall on us and hide us") grounded by a causal clause with a background aorist ("the great day of their wrath has come"), as normal in non-narrative and a generic present rhetorical question ("who is able to stand"). A broadly general or generic present like this is common in non-narrative like speeches or arguments.

The Greek historical present is commonly used in NT narrative texts, although more frequently in some books (Mark, John) than in others (not so frequent in Matthew; quite rare in Luke and Acts). It appears in Revelation somewhat commonly, but estimates of its frequency vary. Dougherty says sixteen times and that seems about right. Mussies says forty-two times, but that includes a number of examples in reports or descriptions.[56] Descriptions are non-narrative portions and thus present tense uses in descriptions are not historical presents.

I regard the historical present to be almost always anticipatory or cataphoric of what follows. It typically highlights not the event or speech it recounts but the event(s) that follows it. This is seen most clearly in its uses in Mark and John. I argue for this in detail in my 2011 essay (a change from the view I espoused in my 1990 monograph). I have been influenced towards this change by John Callow, Stephen Levinsohn, and Steven Runge.[57]

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56 Dougherty, "Syntax of the Apocalypse," 404; Mussies, *Morphology of Koine Greek*, 333.

57 Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 200–213 and Levinsohn, "Aspect and Prominence in the Synoptic Accounts," 170–72; (he cites Callow in both places); Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 137–42.

The less frequent possibility for the historical present is that it may highlight the event it recounts. This occurs in places where it constitutes the final event of the narrative unit within which it occurs. A few examples are Matt 19:8; 26:35; John 21:13.[58]

As for the historical present in Rev 6:16, I think this is best taken as anticipatory rather than as a final event. For John's purposes its force is to point forward to the series of judgments yet to come in the trumpets and bowls of chs. 7–16. The horrors portrayed in the seal judgments clearly embody the wrath of God and of the Lamb, but the end of wrath has not arrived yet. Verses 16–17 point forward to the trumpet and bowl judgments to come.[59] Other clearly anticipatory historical presents can be found in 5:5, 9; 7:10 (aorist textual variant); 10:9, 11; 12:2 (imperfect and aorist textual variants), 4; 15:3; 16:21; 17:15 (aorist textual variant).

Another passage with illustrative value and some controversy is Rev 5:1–14.[60] The text begins with two aorists of "seeing" (vv. 1–2) that recount John's visionary experience (mode 1) and also launch the narration of the content of the vision (mode 2) that follows.[61] This narration begins, however, with imperfect verbs in vv. 3–4a that function at the foreground level of sequenced events, describing in more detail the specific situation that came about in response to the angel's challenge of v. 2b ("who is worthy . . ."). The imperfect of v. 3 recounts that no one initially "was able" to take this challenge and it pays special attention to this. Likewise, the imperfect of v. 4a gives a vivid description of John's response of weeping in the face of this troubling news, which is reinforced in the ὅτι clause of v. 4b by another foreground aorist (no one "was found worthy") repeating the development already recounted in v. 3. Verse 5a contains a speech historical present (λέγει) that anticipates the dramatic appearance of the slain lamb to be recounted in v. 6. This speech verb introduces embedded direct discourse (v. 5b), which is non-narrative. The elder prohibits John's weeping with a reinforcing report in the aorist about the Davidic messiah's accomplished victory.

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58 See further discussion of this possibility in Robar, "Historical Present in NT Greek."

59 Another set of illustrative examples of foreground aorists and anticipatory historical presents appear in Rev 12:1–9.

60 See Mathewson, "Verbal Aspect in the Apocalypse," 58–77.

61 The perfect participles of v. 1 describing the scroll as "written" and "sealed" should not be taken as especially prominent descriptions. While the scroll itself will prove to be important based on the role it has in subsequent verses, these participles are part of the introductory description of them and so provide background information. See the discussion of perfect participles earlier in this essay.

Verse 6a moves along in the narrative foreground with another aorist of "seeing" that gives the next phase of John's vision (mode 1). The content of what he saw in v. 6b is startling and prominent on its own without the use of main verbs. This is due to the unexpected contrasts (expressed by the basic noun referents) between v. 5 announcing a victorious, regal lion and v. 6 telling about a lamb that was slain.[62] Verse 7 moves further along the mainline of the narrative with another aorist ("he went") and a quite unexpected perfect ("he took/has taken")—both mode 2a.

The use of the perfect as a narrative tense, as here, is a distinctive characteristic of the Apocalypse. The perfect almost never occurs in the narrative portions of the Gospels and Acts, although it appears more readily in non-narrative passages throughout the NT. The perfect occurs at least four times in the Apocalypse, however, as a narrative tense directly parallel to aorists (5:7; 7:14; 8:5; 19:3) and the sense of these is debated. It is possible to give these some kind of distinctly perfect sense (an action done with an existing effect).[63] I think it is more likely that these are examples of a diachronic linguistic change evidenced in extra-biblical Greek usage of the first century and later in which the perfect indicative comes more and more to have the sense of the aorist. This so-called aoristic perfect is clearly attested in late Hellenistic and Byzantine Greek,[64] and it seems likely that it appears also in the NT and these instances in Revelation are cardinal examples of it.[65]

Such a transition from a perfect sense to an aoristic (or preterite) sense represents a consistent typology of how the perfect forms in many languages evolve over time. See Figure 13.3, "Ancient Greek Perfect: Stages in Diachronic Change," for the consistent stages that form this process of development.[66] Languages and their grammatical categories evolve over time, sometimes rapidly, sometimes quite slowly. In the process, these stages of development overlap: "grammatical categories span points along a continuous path, trailing

62 Again the perfect and present participles of v. 6 are not prominent in themselves, even though several of them describe the Lamb whose subsequent actions show him to be most important in the further account. One measure of this is that the explanation of his seven eyes as "seven spirits of God *sent* into all the earth" also involves a perfect participle and yet these spirits in themselves have no importance in the further account.

63 Robertson, *Grammar*, 896–97; McKay, *New Syntax of the Verb*, 50; Aune, *Revelation*, 324, 354; and Smalley, *Revelation to John*, 133.

64 Some would say even late classical (Caragounis, "Tense System in Disarray," 154–60) or early Hellenistic Greek (Horrocks, *Greek: A History*, 102).

65 See Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 302–3 and writers cited there.

66 For detailed treatment of each of these stages, see the section on "Diachronics and Language Typology" in Fanning, "Response to Campbell's Imperfective View."

FIGURE 13.3 *Ancient Greek Perfect: Stages in Diachronic Change*

Stative-Resultative	**Quasi-Resultative**	**Anterior**	**Perfective-Preterite**
States Changes of state (telic verbs, mostly intrans. or passive; subject-focused) Clear state of subject	Lexical expansion: Non-telic actions Causative actions (more active voice) Target state, but not as clear	(English perfect: "current relevance") Experiential Indefinite past Recent past Persistent situation	("aoristic perfect") narrative tense = Greek aorist (late Koine + Byz. Greek)

some past traits and pushing forward into new uses."[67] This is certainly true of the ancient Greek perfect, and many scholars in different disciplines using varied approaches have observed consistent features of diachronic change in the Greek perfect. As change occurred, prior senses were largely retained alongside new nuances that were developing. While there is disagreement over particular details and the timing of some of these changes, there is widespread agreement about the broad pattern of this development in Greek. And it correlates nicely with changes in many languages cross-linguistically.[68]

Mathewson makes much of the perfect verb in Rev 5:7 (εἴληφεν) as a confirmation of the idea that the perfect constitutes the most prominent or frontground level of the narrative.[69] I agree that the action of taking the scroll in 5:7 is an important point in the vision of ch. 5. Everything previous builds toward this (at least to vv. 6–7) and everything subsequent flows from it. It is also reinforced by the aorist of v. 8a that repeats the reference to this action. But I question whether this prominence is due to the use of the perfect in v. 7 and whether discourse prominence is a consistent pattern for the perfect throughout NT Greek. Other features of the context in 5:7 reinforce the prominence of this action. It is much more difficult to argue for prominence regarding the other three occurrences in Revelation of the perfect in narration (7:14; 8:5; 19:3).

67 Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *Evolution of Grammar*, 302.

68 Haug, "Aristotle's Kinesis/Energeia-Test," 409–11; and Wackernagel, *Lectures on Syntax*, 215–20.

69 Mathewson, "Verbal Aspect in the Apocalypse," 71–74.

These are much more easily seen as narrative equivalents to the aorists that occur around them. And in the larger body of usage in the NT, there is slim evidence for the claim that perfects regularly constitute the most prominent elements in any discourse type.

The rest of ch. 5 reflects the pattern of narrative tenses already discussed. Verse 8 contains two aorists that continue the mainline of events in the story and a present tense as an interpretive interruption of the story to explain the significance of the incense ("which are the prayers of the saints"). The mainline of the story continues with the historical present of v. 9 that introduces a piece of embedded address important on its own but also points forward to the even wider circle of heavenly worship that John hears in vv. 11–12. Within the embedded address of vv. 10–11, typical non-narrative discourse usage occurs: a present to declare the Lamb's worthiness and three aorists that provide the background reasons for this worthiness ("you were slain and you purchased . . . and you appointed . . .") followed by a future verb that portrays the yet-to-occur reign of those he has so purchased and appointed.

Verse 11a has two aorists of "seeing" and "hearing" to continue the mainline of events (mode 1) with an imperfect (v. 11b) that is off-line as a background description of the many angels who joined the worship ("their number was myriads . . ."). Verse 12 gives their declaration of worship as an embedded non-narrative address with typical use of the present. Verse 13a has another mainline aorist of mode 1 ("I heard") with what he heard coming in v. 13b: a further worship declaration with no expressed verb. The chapter closes in v. 14 with three mainline verbs: first a descriptive imperfect vividly portraying how the four living creatures responded to all creation's worship just recorded ("they kept saying, 'Amen'") and then two aorists recording the elders' participation as well ("they fell down and worshipped").

3 Conclusion

In this essay I have tried to suggest the main patterns of discourse usage displayed by the Greek tense-aspects in John's Apocalypse. This must be based on (1) a proper understanding of the aspectual and temporal values of the Greek indicative tense forms and (2) a careful distinction between the genre types that are often intermingled in Revelation's intricate portrayal of John's visions and what they mean for the present and the future. I cannot claim to have solved all the individual problems of tense interpretation in the Apocalypse—it is a complicated book to interpret—but I think this approach sets the examination of individual texts on a sounder footing.

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PART 2

The Literature and Theology of the New Testament

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CHAPTER 14

The Gospel according to Malachi

Mark J. Boda

It is clear to all scholars of the New Testament that the John the Baptist tradition is closely linked with the book of Malachi and in particular the reference to the reappearance of Elijah in Malachi (MT3:23–24; ET4:5–6; OG3:22–23), as seen in Matt 11:14; 17:10–13; Mark 9:11–13; Luke 1:17.[1] Of these passages Luke 1 makes the most explicit reference to the passage in Malachi.

This article will focus on this particular use of Malachi in the Gospel of Luke, seeking to give attention to the broader literary environment of both the source and host texts. It will be shown that the Malachi reference is designed to draw the reader into the larger context of the book of Malachi and its placement within the Haggai–Malachi corpus of the Twelve, and that broader developments within the Haggai–Malachi corpus can be discerned in the form of the opening narratives of the Gospel of Luke.

1 Malachi 3:23–24 within Malachi and the Haggai–Malachi Corpus

Many have identified a role for Mal 3:22–24 [ET4:4–6; cf. OG3:22–24] within the shaping of the canon as a whole, identifying these final three verses of Malachi and the Book of the Twelve as a later addition alluding to two foundational sections of the Hebrew canon, the Torah (with the reference to the figure of Moses in 3:22 [ET4:4; cf. OG3:24]) and the Former Prophets (with reference to the figure of Elijah in 3:23–24 [ET4:5–6; cf. OG3:22–23]).[2] Whether this can be sustained, there is evidence that these final three verses of Malachi are connected to literary developments within the book of Malachi.[3] First, Moses' law in 3:22 [ET4:4; cf. OG3:24] is identified as חֻקִּים, the term used in Mal 3:7 in the description of the apostasy of the fathers. Second, in 3:23 [ET4:5; cf. OG3:22] Elijah is identified as one whom Yahweh will send (שֹׁלֵחַ הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי), a phrase strikingly

1 Notwithstanding testimony to John's own understanding according to John 1:21, 25; cf. Matt 16:14; Mark 6:15; 8:28; Luke 9:7–8.

2 See, e.g., Hill, *Malachi*, 363–66.

3 See Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 244–45; also note O'Brien, "Judah as Wife and Husband," 241–42, on the father-son theme throughout Malachi with Mal 3:24 as key to this topic.

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similar to the warning of Mal 3:1 where Yahweh will send (הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ) "my messenger" (מַלְאָכִי). Third, reference is made in 3:23 [ET4:5; cf. OG3:22] to the "coming of the day" (בּוֹא יוֹם) that parallels the "day of his coming" (יוֹם בּוֹאוֹ) in 3:2 (cf. 3:1) and "the day is coming" (הַיּוֹם בָּא) in 3:19 [ET4:1; cf. OG3:19]. Finally, reference is made to a renewal, employing the root שׁוּב, which refers to earlier and later generations with mention of fathers (3:7, 24 [ET4:6; cf. OG3:23]).

This evidence suggests that Mal 3:22–24 [ET4:4–6; cf. OG3:22–24] is not a literary development unrelated to the book of Malachi, but rather is one that takes into account key themes and vocabulary found elsewhere in the book, especially in the first section of Mal 3 (3:1–7). Malachi 3:1–7 develops at least three main themes. First, it signals the approach of what could be 1, 2, or 3 figures in 3:1: "my messenger," "the Lord whom you seek," and "the messenger of the covenant, in whom you delight." The impact of the arrival of one or more of these figures is described in 3:2–5. Malachi 3:5 clearly describes Yahweh's ("I") arrival to bring judgment against the wicked. Since 3:1 highlights the arrival of Yahweh ("me") and at least one of the figures in 3:1 is given the role of clearing the way for Yahweh ("my messenger"), it appears that the role of the messenger ("his," "he") is depicted in 3:2–4.[4] Second, "my messenger's" role in the "clearing" of the way (וּפִנָּה־דָרֶךְ) is related to purification of the Levitical priesthood (3:2–3) and sacrificial offerings of the community (Judah and Jerusalem; 3:4).[5] Third, Mal 3:6–7 concludes this section with a summary of "my messenger's" core message of repentance ("Return to me and I will return to you") with reference to the apostate generation identified as "your fathers."

These three elements: presentation of a messenger, purification of priests, and declaration of repentance with reference to ancestors are not, however, limited to the final chapter(s) of Malachi, but can be discerned elsewhere in the Book of the Twelve, in particular the literary units of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. There is growing evidence that these final three "books" within the Twelve comprised a collection prior to their inclusion into the book of the Twelve.[6] The superscriptions found throughout Haggai and Zech 1–8 (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:1, 10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1) and those found in Zech 9–14 and Malachi

4 See also Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 251, who treats Mal 3:1e–5 as a recapitulation of what was presented in Mal 3:1a–d. Thus in both 3:1a–d and 3:1e–5 a messenger figure ("my messenger"/"the messenger of the covenant") prepares the way for the appearance of Yahweh ("the Lord"/"I"). Miller, "Messenger," 11, has shown that the OG portrays the Lord as the actor of 3:2–5, but Luke does not appear to be relying on OG.

5 This is most certainly an allusion to Isa 40:3, which identifies the role of the prophetic voice in the wilderness: פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 252 emphasizes priestly and temple cleansing: "the restoration involves purification, especially of the temple, its priesthood and its cultus."

6 See further Boda, *Zechariah*, 29–31.

(Zech 9:1; 12:1; Mal 1:1) bind their respective sections of the corpus together (Hag 1—Zech 8; Zech 9—Mal 3[ET4]). This initial evidence does not deny distinct histories of development for Haggai, Zech 1–8, Zech 9–14 and Malachi as individual units, but the superscriptions are the first indication of a strategy to bring the originally separate units into a larger corpus.

A few pieces of evidence suggest a larger strategy to draw these two separate sections together (i.e., Hag 1—Zech 8 and Zech 9—Mal 3[ET4]). First of all, one can discern a regular concern over priestly figures and groups and this concern grows in intensity as one moves throughout the corpus, with a consistent emphasis on broader inclusion of priestly personnel and concern that priestly leadership understand their role in relation to the royal leadership represented by the Davidic line.[7] Addressed to priests, Hag 2:10–14 identifies the present unclean condition of the people, which will be rectified as they turn their efforts to rebuild the temple. What is shocking, however, is that the prophet Haggai considers "that which they offer there" (וַאֲשֶׁר יַקְרִיבוּ שָׁם, 2:14), that is, sacrifices on the altar, as unclean. This casts a dark shadow over the activity and supervision of the priests who are allowing such sacrifices. While in some ways the book is positive towards the priests since Joshua is defended by Yahweh and reclothed, allusions to Isa 3–4 (and absence of allusions to the Torah priestly legislation) along with the "warning" of the messenger of the Lord in Zech 3:6 (עוד^{Hiph}), suggest a more critical stance towards priesthood in Zech 3. In addition, the priests are reminded of their role as signaling the soon reinstatement of the royal line in both Zech 3:8 and 6:11–14. The priesthood is clearly upbraided by the prophet in Zech 7 (7:5–14). The first two chapters of Malachi declare deep concerns over the behavior of the priesthood (Mal 1:6—2:9). There is little question that the priesthood receives much negative attention throughout Haggai–Malachi.[8]

Second, one can discern a redactional strategy to bring all four sections into a Haggai–Malachi corpus in the appearance of the phrase: מַלְאַךְ יהוה ("messenger of YHWH") in each of the four sections (in Haggai, Hag 1:13; in Zech 1–8, Zech 1:11, 12; 3:1, 3, 5, 6; in Zech 9–14, Zech 12:8; in Malachi, Mal 2:7).[9] The references in Hag 1, Zech 12, and Mal 2 all identify this term מַלְאַךְ יהוה with a different socio-functionary figure: prophet (Hag 1:13), king (Zech 12:8), and priest (Mal 2:7). In Zech 1–8 all three of these types of figures are encountered

7 Boda, "Perspectives on Priests"; Boda, "Priestly Expansions."

8 Evidence for expression of priestly concern can also be culled from Zech 9–14, especially in the reference to the Shepherd's money being thrown to the temple treasury (11:13), the mourning of the house of Levi (12:13), and possibly the expansion of the holy precincts beyond the temple to Jerusalem and Judah (14:21).

9 Boda, "Messengers of Hope."

(prophet Zechariah: *passim*; priest Joshua: Zech 3, 6; royal Zerubbabel/Zemah: Zech 3, 4, 6), each of them interacting in varying ways with מַלְאָכִים, including: מַלְאַךְ־יְהוָה ("the messenger of the Lord," 1:11, 12; 3:1, 3, 5, 6), הַמַּלְאָךְ הַדֹּבֵר בִּי ("messenger who was speaking with me," 1:9, 13, 14; 2:2[1:19]; 2:7[3]; 4:1, 4, 5; 5:5, 10; 6:4, 5) and מַלְאָךְ אַחֵר ("another messenger," 2:7[3]). This close association between prophetic, priestly, and royal figures and figures associated with the heavenly realm blurs the distinction between the earthly and heavenly realms.[10]

Third, there is also a close relationship between material found in Zech 1–8 (in particular, 1:1–6) and that found in Malachi related to the topic of repentance. The initial message of Zechariah to the community in Zech 1:3 is repeated as the message of Malachi in Mal 3:7 with the only differences being the addition of the prophetic formula נְאֻם יהוה צְבָאוֹת in Zech 1:3 and the cohortative form of וְאָשׁוּבָה in Mal 3:7.

שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי נְאֻם יהוה צְבָאוֹת וְאָשׁוּב אֲלֵיכֶם אָמַר יהוה צְבָאוֹת
שׁוּבוּ אֵלָי וְאָשׁוּבָה אֲלֵיכֶם אָמַר יהוה צְבָאוֹת

Additionally, Mal 3:7 relates the message of repentance to "your fathers" (אֲבֹתֵיכֶם), an emphasis that dominates Zech 1:1–6 (1:2, 4, 5, 6; cf. Zech 7).

Thus, there are three key characteristics that unify the Haggai–Malachi corpus: emphasis on confrontation of priests and the need for renewal within this group, emphasis on heavenly messengers and their connection to the hoped for priestly, prophetic, and royal lines of Israel, and emphasis on repentance of the present generation in connection with earlier rebellious generations identified as fathers. All three of these trends can be discerned in the concluding section of the book of Malachi (Mal 3:1–24 [ET3:1—4:6]).

2 Malachi 3:23–24 within Luke 1–2

As noted at the outset, most scholars have noticed that Mal 3[ET3–4] plays a key role in the opening narratives of the Gospel of Luke. The third Gospel

10 On the possible contribution of Haggai–Malachi to the Jewish understanding of heavenly ideal figures, see Boda, "Messengers of Hope," 129–31. Blomberg, "Elijah, Election," 104, claims that "there is no clear reference to Messiah in Malachi," but this depends on one's understanding of the term "Messiah"; cf. Boda, "Figuring the Future." Koet notes a connection between the Elijah messenger figure of Mal 3 and the story of Elijah's ascension in 2 Kgs 2:2–18; see Koet, "Elijah as Reconciler," 178.

begins with a series of stories that creatively intertwine two closely related families from whom will come John the Baptist and Jesus.[11] The first two stories (1:5–25; 1:26–38) are intertwined by the appearance of the angelic figure Gabriel announcing the birth of a child. In both cases women without any natural possibility of bearing a child are told they would have a son who would play a significant role in redemptive history. Of course, there are distinctions between the stories with the first one set in the temple at the centre of Jewish life and power and the second set in an obscure village in the Galilee. Additionally, the one woman is beyond childbearing years, while the second is in the stage prior to childbearing. The child in the first story is to be the forerunner for the second. Finally, and most importantly, the figure to whom the angel appears in the first story (Zacharias) responds inappropriately to the angel's message and is disciplined,[12] while the figure in the second story (Mary) responds appropriately and is praised.

A key technique for intertwining the two stories is the introduction of a third character who appears in these two stories in their final stages (1:24–25; 1:36–37) and then emerges as the main character in the immediately following narrative (1:39–45).[13] This figure is Elizabeth, wife of Zacharias (1:24–25) and relative of Mary (1:36–37). At the outset of the narrative in 1:39–45, the three characters are mentioned in the same sentence ("Now at this time *Mary* arose and went in a hurry to the hill country, to a city of Judah, and entered the house of *Zacharias* and greeted *Elizabeth*," 1:39–40). Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Spirit, cries out a blessing to Mary, which ultimately focuses on Mary's belief in the angelic message (ἡ πιστεύσασα, 1:45), an implicit critique (at least on the narrative level) of her husband's failure to believe, which is noted by the angel Gabriel in 1:20 (οὐκ ἐπίστευσας).

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11 See the detailed analysis of Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:313–14; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts*, 1:15–26. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 62: "His conception, birth and youth are also portrayed by Luke to parallel closely the conception, birth and youth of Jesus."

12 Contra Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 27, who treats the muteness of Zacharias as simply "a narrative device which should not be regarded as a punishment for asking a question"; see Robbins, "Bodies and Politics", 53, who treats Zacharias's response to Gabriel as accusing Gabriel of being a false prophet, and what follows as "punishment," which renders Zacharias unable to function as a priest (unable to bless).

13 Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 314, treats the narrative in 1:39–45 as a "Complementary Episode" after the two angelic scenes. The use of a third character, a technique that I call triangulation, can also be discerned in other biblical narratives, such as the David–Saul narrative complex, where Jonathan and Michal play a similar role that links two contrasting characters. Possibly also Esther plays this role between Mordecai and Haman in the book of Esther.

What follows in Luke 1 are citations of the declarations of the initial two characters in reverse order (Mary in 1:46–55 and Zacharias in 1:67–79), separated by the account of the birth of John the Baptist, which leads to Zacharias receiving back his voice as he obeys the angelic command to name the child John (1:57–66).

This investigation could continue into the next chapter of Luke[14] with its depiction of the birth of Jesus (2:1–7, akin to that of John in 1:57–66), an angelic appearance to the shepherds (2:8–20, akin to those to Zacharias and Mary in ch. 1), the presentation of Jesus at the temple (2:21–25, akin to the naming of John in ch. 1) followed by the declarations of Simeon (2:26–35, akin to Zacharias in ch.1) and Anna (2:36–38, akin to that of Mary in ch. 1) and a concluding narrative about the growth of the child Jesus (2:39–40, akin to that of John in 1:80). But keeping our focus on the first phase of this narrative complex (ch. 1), these initial stories appear to place special emphasis on God's miraculous provision of a new generation (sons) to unlikely figures who are promised this provision through an angelic figure.

Of special interest for the present article is the role of Mal 3 (ET3–4) in Gabriel's announcement in Luke 1:16–17.

> 16. καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν. 17. καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἠλίου, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων, ἑτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον.
>
> 16. And he will turn many of the sons of Israel back to the Lord their God. 17. It is he who will go before Him in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers back to the children, and the disobedient to the attitude of the righteous, so as to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.[15]

14 See Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:313–14, who treats 1:5—2:52 as a complete literary unit entitled "The Infancy Narrative"; contra Ellis, *Luke*, 67, 84, who treats 1:5—2:40 ("The Dawn of the Messianic Age") as a unit separate from 2:41—4:30 ("The Inauguration of Messiah's Mission"). Fitzmyer notes that "the greatest parallels exist between the announcement episodes" (1:5–38) and parallels decrease as one moves later in the passage. See Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 26–27, who notes the connecting thread of the work of the Holy Spirit in Luke 1–2 (and parallels to the beginning of Acts).

15 Here using NASB with revisions.

The language at the core of v. 17 (to turn the hearts of the fathers back to the children; ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα) is undoubtedly influenced by the prophetic message of Mal 3:24[ET 4:6; OG 3:23].[16] Luke, however, does not use the dominant OG textual tradition (ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν) with his use of ἐπιστρέψαι instead of ἀποκαταστήσει, ἐπὶ instead of πρὸς, and τέκνα instead of υἱὸν.[17] While this may be drawing on some other early Greek textual tradition, it is most likely a translation from a Hebrew textual tradition, evidence for which can be seen in the Masoretic reading: וְהֵשִׁיב לֵב־אָבוֹת עַל־בָּנִים (he will restore the heart of the fathers to sons).[18]

There are, however, other connections to Mal 3 in Luke 1:16–17.[19] First, John is linked to Elijah, who is identified as the actor motivating the return of the heart(s) of father(s) to son(s) in Mal 3:23[ET 4:5; OG 3:22].[20] Second, John is described as one who goes before him (αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ), with the closest antecedent being "the Lord their God" (κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν).

16 See Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 62.

17 It is important to remember that both ἀποκαθίστημι/ἀποκαθιστάνω and ἐπιστρέφω are used to translate Hebrew שׁוּב in OG.

18 Bovon, *Luke 1:1—9:50*, 37, refers to this as "a free citation of Mal 4:6 (MT/LXX 3:24)*, which depends on neither the LXX nor the MT (cf. Mal 3:7*)", probably because of the differences in lexical stock with the LXX, but also because the plural "hearts" is used in Luke, while the MT has a singular. But it would not be odd to translate heart in the plural in OG, a more natural rendering in the Greek language. Marshall, *Luke*, 59, notes the similarity to Mal 4:5OG (ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς ὑιόν) and Sir 48:10b (ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς ὑιόν), but concludes that Luke 1 is "not a precise quotation of either passage," noting then three options: independent translation of MT (esp. in light of the plural forms of father and children), free rendering influenced by the Greek text of Sirach, or (strong probability) citation from "a non-LXX text." Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 31, concludes that it was "derived from the MT of Mal 3:24[ET 4:6] along a track independent of both LXX and Sir 48:10, since it adopts a different solution than those texts do to the problem posed by rendering appropriately the singulars and plurals of the MT." See Koet, "Elijah as Reconciler," 185, for connection to Sir 48:10. Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 32: "Perhaps Luke has used ideas in Malachi 3, possibly mediated through the account in Sirach 48 where, as in Luke, the idea is applied to the restoration of Jacob-Israel."

19 See the superb charts in Wink, *John the Baptist*, 75–76, who relies on Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc 1–11*, 56–60.

20 It has been suggested that the Gospel link between John and Elijah is at times drawn from Malachi and at others from Kings. Koet, "Elijah as Reconciler," 173–90, shows how Malachi itself is reliant on Kings, especially in portraying Elijah's role as exhorter of repentance related to generations (see 1 Kgs 16:34—17:1). Interestingly, in 1 Kgs 16–17 the father figures are problematic (Hiel and Ahab), while the mother figure is exemplary (widow of Zarephath), as we find in Luke 1. See Miller, "Messenger," who sees Luke associating Jesus with the Elijah of 1–2 Kings, and John with the Elijah of Mal 3.

Malachi 3 begins with the announcement that God would be sending his messenger before him (3:1).[21] While again the language is different in the dominant OG tradition, the connection is likely, especially in light of clear allusions in Luke 7:27 (cf. Mark 1:2; Matt 11:10).[22]

Also interesting is what Luke leaves out from the book of Malachi. In the dominant Hebrew tradition of Mal 3 the reference to Elijah turning the heart of fathers to sons is followed by a statement of reciprocal turning of the heart of sons to their fathers (וְלֵב בָּנִים עַל־אֲבוֹתָם). In the dominant OG tradition, however, the phrase that follows is different: "and the heart of a person to his neighbor" (καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ). Luke 1:17 charts a third way, continuing with "and the disobedient to the attitude of the righteous" (καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων).[23] However, the language of Luke 1:16 is strikingly close to the continuation found in the dominant Hebrew tradition, referring to turning (ἐπιστρέψει) "sons" (τῶν υἱῶν) to (ἐπὶ) someone.[24]

How do we explain Luke's use of earlier biblical traditions from the book of Malachi? Luke is creatively intertwining various aspects of Malachi 3 (ET 3–4) in his presentation of the purpose of John the Baptist. He envisions John as a second Elijah in line with Mal 3:23–24 [ET4:5–6] and links the figure of Elijah with "my messenger" in Mal 3:1 who will prepare the way before Yahweh. When this messenger comes, according to Mal 3:2–4, he will cleanse the temple and its personnel, after which Yahweh will come according to Mal 3:5 and judge the wicked. The message of repentance found in Mal 3:7 is understood as the message of "my messenger" (the same name associated with the prophetic

21 See Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:320; Bock, *Luke*, 1:87–88, 90; Beale and Carson, *New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 258; Miller, "Messenger," 12.

22 As Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 31, claims that Luke "echoes the thought but not the language of Mal 3:1." Also note the final phrase of Luke 1:17: "so as to make ready a people prepared for the Lord" (ἑτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον), which may be suggestive of Mal 3:1 as well (cf. Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 32, although he does not affirm this categorically). Also see Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 277; Marshall, *Luke*, 58–59. Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 32, also notes the similarity between Mal 3:2 (the appearing of Yahweh) and the appearance of the heavenly messenger Gabriel to Zacharias in Luke 1:22 (OG and Luke use ὀπτασία).

23 Possibly this continuation in Luke 1:17 has been influenced by Mal 3:18; cf. Beale and Carson, *New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 258. Note also the use of Mal 3:23–24 in Sir 48:10, which sees a role for Elijah to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, but leaves out the reverse, replacing that instead with "and to restore the tribes of Jacob" (drawn from Isa 49:6); cf. Koet, "Elijah as Reconciler," 183; Miller, "Messenger," 7–8.

24 Luke 1:16 also reflects influence from Mal 2:6, the description of the ideal priest; cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:316; Beale and Carson, *New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 258.

voice of the entire literary unit, Mal 1:1). In that message we hear about the themes of sins throughout generations with reference to "fathers," which lays the foundation for the exhortation: "return to me and I will return to you," a reciprocal turning as found in Mal 3:23–24 [ET 4:5–6]. The plural "you" of Mal 3:7 (אֲבֹתֵיכֶם סַרְתֶּם...שְׁמַרְתֶּם... אֲלֵיכֶם) are identified as "sons" and it is these "sons" who are called to return to Yahweh in Mal 3:7 just as the "sons of Israel" are called in Luke 1:16 to turn back to the Lord their God.[25] In Luke, unlike Mal 3:7, there is no mention of Yahweh turning to these sons. The message of repentance found in Mal 3:23–24 [ET 4:5–6] is also part of the ministry of the Elijah/my messenger figure. Luke's use of Mal 3:23–24 [ET 4:5–6] once again leaves out one party in the reciprocal relational return. While Luke 1:16 focused on the "son" component of the reciprocal relationship between Yahweh and his sons, Luke 1:17 focuses on the "father" component, noting that the hearts of the fathers will turn towards the sons.

Why has one component of the reciprocal relationship been excluded in each case? Luke 1:16 places the emphasis on the need for the present generation of Zacharias to repent and distances Yahweh from any responsibility for the present covenantal fissure. For those responsible for Malachi, Yahweh's judgment against Judah had ruptured the relationship, although it was based on the earlier refusal of Judah to heed Yahweh's warnings. But Luke 1:17 emphasizes the need for the older generation (fathers) to turn to the values and priorities associated with the younger generation (sons) and this makes sense in the context of the narratives found in Luke 1–2.[26] The Gospel writer focuses at the outset on the rise of two "sons" who will usher in a new era of redemptive history typified by the message of repentance so important to Mal 3 [ET3–4] as well as Haggai–Malachi as a whole (especially Zech 1:1–6).[27] The one figure

25 See Reeder, "Malachi 3:24," 703, who notes also the imagery of "father/son" in 3:17 for Yahweh's relationship with his people; cf. Assis, "Moses, Elijah," for the "fathers" in 3:23–24 as God.

26 See also Koet, "Elijah as Reconciler," 186: "It is worthwhile to mention that John the Baptist's task of inspiring fathers to listen is in a very special 'symbolic' way fulfilled in his own father." Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 31, drawing on Sahlin, notes broader evidence from Luke–Acts that may point to this as "a shared theological motif of pessimism about the adequacy of the response of the 'fathers' to God"; see Sahlin, *Der Messias und das Gottesvolk*.

27 This is lost on Bovon, *Luke 1:1—9:50*, 37–38, who seeks to interpret this as merely indicative of "family conflicts in the last days" (cf. Luke 21:16). Bock, *Luke*, 1:89, provides a via media by describing "John's reform in terms of basic horizontal and vertical relationships" that "will bring families together (horizontal) and bring righteousness before God back to the disobedient (vertical)."

who is confronted by Gabriel in these stories is none other than Zacharias who is the only "father" character who acts irresponsibly in these narratives. Furthermore, the mother figures, Elizabeth and Mary, embrace the new work of Yahweh through the "sons" generation. The same is true for those figures associated with the other son in these stories. Luke 2 depicts Jesus being brought to the temple as his parents fulfil their torah duty and there they meet two elderly figures (Simeon, Anna) who showcase the turning of the older generation to the younger generation (2:25–38). In a final story from his childhood in Luke 2:41–52, Jesus is depicted among the teachers of the law in the temple and the older generation is clearly drawing insight from Jesus and not the reverse.

The depiction of a priestly figure (Zacharias) as the father figure who does not embrace God's agenda initially but then does embrace the agenda as he calls his son John, is a powerful depiction not only of the repentance of the fathers, but also of the purification of the priestly line featured in Mal 3:2–4 and emphasized throughout the Haggai–Malachi corpus.[28] This priestly critique is not only evident in the angelic critique of the priestly Zacharias, but also in the emergence of his son John. Webb notes how John's baptism should be understood as moving people from uncleanness to cleanness ("a priestly duty"), which means that "John's baptism functioned as a protest against the perceived abuses by the temple establishment."[29] Robbins has recently echoed this by pointing to the juxtaposition of "the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas" in Luke 3:2 with the introduction of "John the son of Zacharias" with his "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins."[30]

Key to the priestly critique in Haggai–Malachi (and particularly Zech 1–8) is the careful reminder to the priesthood of their function as a sign of an approaching royal figure (Zech 3; 6:9–15).[31] This may explain the presentation of John the Baptist in Luke 1–2, since John the Baptist comes from priestly stock and functions as forerunner for the royal figure Jesus (1:27, 32–33; cf. 2:4, 11).[32] It is not surprising that a priestly figure would have a prophetic function in light of the fact that Zechariah the prophet arose from priestly stock (if not

28 Note also Robbins, "Priestly Discourse," for the importance of Luke 1–2 to the development of the priestly rhetorolect in Luke–Acts; cf. Robbins, "Bodies and Politics."

29 Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 216; cf. 194–96, 203–5, 214–16.

30 Robbins, "Priestly Discourse," 24.

31 Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones."

32 For the priestly dimension of John the Baptist (including the debate over the two Messiahs at Qumran, one of which was Aaronic), see Wink, *John the Baptist*, 72–79; Marshall, *Luke*, 58; Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 235–39; Rindoš, *He of Whom It Is Written*, 225; Robbins, "Priestly Discourse," 24.

also Haggai) and the reference to "my messenger" in Mal 3:1 follows the reference to priest as "the messenger of Yahweh" in Mal 2:7. Thus, it is possible that we have here in Luke 1–2 references to prophet and priest in the person of John the Baptist and to king in the person of Jesus, just as there was emphasis on prophet, priest, and king in the Haggai–Malachi corpus.

In Haggai–Malachi the prophetic, priestly, and royal figures are closely associated with the heavenly realm due to the common title "messenger of Yahweh," as well as their connection with heavenly messengers in the space between earth and heaven (Zech 5:9) that is depicted throughout the visions of Zech 1–6. It is interesting that the two children born in Luke 1–2 are identified with prophet, priest, and king and are clearly gifts from heaven. Possibly this is why John the Baptist's father declares near the end of his praise to Yahweh in 1:76–79 that his son will go before the Lord to prepare his ways (in keeping with Mal 3:1), but then refers to God's tender mercy exemplified in the visitation of ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους. While often translated as "the sunrise from on high,"[33] the word ἀνατολή is the Greek word used to translate Sprout (צֶמַח), the expected royal figure in Zech 3:8; 6:12 (cf. Jer 23:5).[34] That Zacharias is referring to the royal figure at this point is strengthened by the quotation from Isa 9 in the very next phrase (1:79b).[35] One cannot miss that this Sprout figure is identified in Luke 1:78 as a figure "from on high" (ἐξ ὕψους), a phrase that occurs again at the end of Luke's Gospel for the sending of the Spirit from God in heaven. Possibly this heavenly origin is linked to John as well in Luke 1:76, when he is identified as "the prophet of the Most High" (προφήτης ὑψίστου). The reference at least to a royal figure from heaven, is not difficult to embrace once oriented by the links between royal, priestly, prophetic figures and heavenly messengers in Haggai–Malachi. The miraculous sending of the two sons from a heavenly source in Luke 1–2 has them together fulfil the promised prophetic, priestly, and royal figures of Haggai–Malachi.

It is also important that Luke 1–2 is filled with stories that feature heavenly messengers, as Gabriel, who is identified initially as an angel of the Lord (ἄγγελος κυρίου) in 1:11, announces the conceptions and births of the two boys. In Luke 2 again an angel of the Lord (ἄγγελος κυρίου) appears to the shepherds (2:9, 10) and is soon joined by a multitude of the heavenly host (πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου, 2:13). It also should not be lost on the reader that

33 And treated as an allusion to Mal 3:20[4:2].

34 See Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel*, 39–40, for debate over the meaning of ἀνατολή as vegetation or light. For the view taken here, see Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:387.

35 Notice how Zacharias's praise begins by setting the role of his son in the context of the Davidic hope (1:69).

the character to whom the heavenly messenger (angel) appears is a priestly figure named Zechariah[36] who, by the end of Luke 1, is filled with the Holy Spirit and prophesying (1:67), noting the message of the earlier prophets (1:70) just like his prophetic namesake Zechariah son of Berechiah son of Iddo, who understood that Yahweh's spirit was the source of prophetic utterance (Zech 1:4, 5; 7:12).

3 Conclusion

This exploration of connectivity between Haggai–Malachi and the Gospel of Luke has sought after greater dialogue between the Old and New Testaments. It is increasingly clear that the Gospel writer had in view not only the final verses of Malachi but also the broader literary context of Mal 3 [ET3–4], including the prophetic collection of Haggai–Malachi, when producing the initial narratives of the story of Jesus. Such conversation between Old and New Testaments and scholarship related to each is essential to the theological academy, and one that has afforded me the opportunity to serve alongside my good colleague Stan Porter, whose careful work on the New Testament has always been and will continue to be an inspiration.

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36 A point made by Fischer, "The Lord Has Remembered."

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CHAPTER 15

Σημεῖα, *Signs*, as a Hyperlink between the Fourth Gospel and the Greek Pentateuch

Ronald D. Peters

1 Introduction

> He who would *read* the New Testament must know *Koine*; he who would *understand* the New Testament must know the Septuagint.[1]

Bible scholars have long recognized the fact that the New Testament writers relied heavily on the Septuagint;[2] the large number of exact or near exact verbal parallels between the LXX text and NT quotations overwhelmingly support this conclusion.[3] However, in comparison to analysis of direct quotations, identification of more subtle connections, where the NT writers deliberately draw upon, allude to, or consciously direct the reader to the LXX text apart from direct quotation, are more difficult to identify. In order to conduct such investigations, researchers often incorporate theories and principles employed in the fields of intertextuality and mimesis. In doing so, the researcher attempts to identify the role one text plays in the production of another, at an either conscious or unconscious level. In certain instances, this may be understood in terms of genre. Earlier texts associated with a particular genre establish patterns and expectations to which subsequent texts adhere. In other instances, writers deliberately construct their texts in such a way as to create a link between their own writing and another. The reader who is familiar with the earlier text should be able to recognize this connection and thus interpret the present text in terms of the earlier one. Familiar words or phrases act as hyperlinks between the current text and the previous text, with the result that the two function as hypertexts.

1 Jellicoe, "Septuagint Studies in the Current Century," 199.

2 While the designation "Septuagint" is often employed generically with regard to the entire Hebrew Bible, I recognize that the Septuagint proper is limited to the Pentateuch.

3 On the question of whether a NT writer may have independently translated the Hebrew text in the same way as the LXX translators, see McClay, *Use of the Septuagint*, 39–44.

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The objective of this essay is to demonstrate that the use of the term *signs* in the Fourth Gospel represents a deliberate act on the part of the writer to create a hyperlink between his Gospel and the Greek Pentateuch, the LXX proper. It will be argued that this is one element of a broader agenda on the part of the author, who presents Jesus as the prophet like Moses promised in Deut 18:15–22. By contrast, Jesus' opponents, and those who align themselves with them, are characterized as Pharaoh specifically and the Egyptians in general, as well as rebellious Israel. This serves the rhetorical function of directing the reader to identify his or her faithfulness to God in terms of faith in Jesus, just as Israel's faith in God was expressed by their allegiance to Moses. Rejection of Jesus, by contrast, is characterized as the rejection of Moses by Pharaoh and later by faithless Israel in the wilderness. Pharaoh's rejection of Moses, and thus rejection of God, resulted in God's judgment manifested in the plagues. Just as the plagues upon the Egyptians were signs for both the Israelites and Pharaoh, Jesus' miracles are signs for the Jews. God's power manifested in the wilderness wandering, such as the provision of water and of manna, also served as a sign to the Hebrews. The attentive reader, familiar with the LXX, will make this connection. However, whereas the signs performed by Moses frequently brought suffering and death to both the Egyptians and the Hebrews, Jesus' signs identify him as the source of life. The final sign for the Israelites and the Egyptians was the blood of the Passover lambs, which brought life to the Israelites and death to the firstborn of the Egyptians. Likewise, Jesus' blood is the final and ultimate sign that brings eternal life to those who believe and death to those who do not. In addition to the plagues, the provision of water and manna in the desert also function as signs, which is echoed in the themes of water and bread in the Fourth Gospel. Thus, it is my argument that John consciously employed a degree of mimesis in order to direct his audience to read and interpret his Gospel intertextually, or more specifically, *hypertextually*. His conscious and deliberate use of the designation σημεῖα, *signs*, was so that that this element would function as a hyperlink between the texts. John holds Jesus up as, on the one hand, the fulfillment of the "prophet like Moses" prophecy of Deut 18, while on the other hand as being greater than Moses. The eternal life Jesus brings is then understood as a kind of New Exodus.[4]

Methodologically, I will first lay the theoretical foundation of hypertextuality by summarizing the theory as proposed by Gérard Gennette. Next, I will survey the use of σημεῖα, *signs*, in the Greek Pentateuch. Last, I will survey the use of σημεῖα, *signs*, in the Fourth Gospel, employing the theoretical paradigm of hypertextuality as a hermeneutical guide. In this manner, I will be able to make the argument that the author of the Fourth Gospel deliberately employed this

4 For this term I am dependent upon Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*.

term to explicitly connect his work with the Exodus narrative, which functions as just such a hermeneutical guide.

2 Intertextuality and Hypertext

Among the various disciplines employed by Bible scholars to analyze and interpret the biblical text, the use of theories in the field of *intertextuality* is increasing in interest and popularity.[5] Stated simply (perhaps overly so), intertextuality is concerned with the organic relationship that exists between texts. Brian Paltridge writes: "All texts, whether spoken or written, make their meaning against the background of other texts and things that have been said on other occasions."[6] As a result:

> We thus "make sense of every word, every utterance, or act against the background of (some) other words, utterances, acts of similar kind" (Lemke 1995:23). All texts are, thus, in an intertextual relationship with other texts.[7]

Theories regarding the nature of intertextuality abound; as with most scholarly questions, even the definition is debated. It is imperative to recognize that intertextuality is more than a matter of citation or quotation. Rather, it refers to a relation between texts in which the character one text exerts influence over the production, reception, and/or interpretation of another.[8] When texts are related to one another intertextually, the exact nature of this

5 The use of the term *intertextuality* in this regard is not without its detractors. See Hatina, "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism." In his article, Hatina focuses on the "poststructuralist framework with which intertextuality arose and acquired its distinct meaning" and argues that "intertextuality, as it is commonly understood in the postructuralist context, is inimical to current historical-critical inquiry" (ibid., 29). Hatina may be engaging in an exercise somewhat akin to semantic obsolescence. While he is correct in his identification of the origins of intertextuality, the field has grown and expanded considerably over the decades since the term was first coined by Julia Kristeva in 1967. Graham Allen notes, "Since its appearance in postructuralist work of the late 1960's intertextuality has been adopted and explored by theorists of a more structuralist frame of mind." Allen, *Intertextuality*, 92. What follows is built upon the work of just such a theorist.

6 Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis,* 11.

7 Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis*, 11, citing Lemke, *Textual Politics*.

8 Stefan Alkier proposes three perspectives that may be employed when making inquires of texts: *production-oriented*, *reception-oriented*, and *experimental*. ("Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," 10.)

relationship will be one of a wide variety of possibilities. Among those Bible scholars and theologians for whom determining the meaning of the text is of primary importance, intertextual reading represents a promising resource for interpretation, one that certainly interests me. For the purpose of the following investigation, we will employ a theoretical model that operates in conversation with the work of Gérard Genette and the sub-domain of intertextuality he classifies as *hypertextuality*.

In the foreword to Genette's book *Palimpsests*, from which the theoretical model of the following investigation is primarily drawn, Gerald Prince writes:

> Gérard Genette puts it well: the object of poetics is not the (literary) text but its textual transcendence, its textual link with other texts. One basic aspect of that transcendence pertains to the palimpsestuous nature of texts . . . Any text is a hypertext, grafting itself onto a hypotext, an earlier text that it imitates or transforms; any writing is rewriting; and literature is always in the second degree. Now though all literary texts are hypertextual, some are more hypertextual than others, more massively and explicitly palimpsestuous.[9]

The question before us has to do with whether the Pentateuch is the "palimpsest" over which the Fourth Gospel was written. Is there a "palimpsestuous," to use Prince's term, that is, a hyptertextual relationship between the two, with the exodus narrative functioning as the *hypotext*, the text underneath the Fourth Gospel? If it is demonstrable that this indeed is the case, that this hypertextual relationship was consciously and deliberately at work in the production of the Fourth Gospel, then recognition of this relationship will provide insight into the meaning of the Fourth Gospel and the author's objective in publishing his text.

The title of his book, *Palimpsests*, is a metaphor for Genette's theory of hypertextuality. A palimpsest is piece of parchment whose original text has been erased and over which a new text has been written. Thus, Graham Allen observes, "Palimpsests suggest layers of writing and Genette's use of the term is to indicate literature's existence in 'the second degree,' its non-original rewriting of what has already been written."[10] For our purposes, the metaphor is equally useful. I will posit questions regarding how much the author of the Fourth Gospel has overwritten the exodus narrative and to what degree he

9 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, ix.

10 Allen, *Intertextuality*, 108.

intentionally allowed it to show through so as to direct and influence the interpretation of his Gospel.

Genette begins by providing the following definition: "By hypertextuality I mean any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the *hypotext*)."[11] Graham Allen notes that, "What Genette terms the *hyptertext* is termed by most other critics as the *inter-text*, that is a text which can be definitely located as a major source of signification for a text."[12] Genette goes on to explain the different potential relationships between such texts. In one instance, the relationship is such that text B "speaks" about text A. Bible commentaries would represent such a relationship. In another instance, text B does not speak of text A, but nevertheless could not exist without it, "from which it originates through a process I shall provisionally call *transformation*, and which it consequently evokes more or less perceptibly without necessarily speaking of it or citing it."[13] However, there are various sub-classes of this kind of relationship. Genette illustrates this by examining the hypotextual relationship of the *Odyssey* to the hypertexts the *Aeneid* and *Ulysses*. On the one hand, *Ulysses* "can be described as a *simple* or *direct* transformation, one which consists of transposing the action of the *Odyssey* to twentieth-century Dublin."[14] On the other hand, the hypertextual relationship between the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* is more complex:

> Virgil does not transpose the action of the *Odyssey* from Ogygia to Carthage and from Ithaca to Latium. Instead, he tells an entirely different story: the adventures of Aeneas … He does so by drawing inspiration from the generic … model establish by Homer in the *Odyssey*.[15]

Based on the differences evident in these relationships, Genette writes:

> What I call hypertext, then, is any text derived from a previous text either through simple transformation, which I shall call from now on, *transformation*, or through indirect transformation, which I shall label *imitation*.[16]

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11 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 5.

12 Allen, *Intertextuality*, 108.

13 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 5.

14 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 5–6.

15 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 6.

16 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 7.

With regard to the Fourth Gospel, the hypertextual relationship between it and the exodus narrative has more in common with the relationship between the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* as described by Gennette. One the one hand, the author has not merely transposed the action from Egypt to Judea, from Moses to Jesus. Rather, he tells a different story. On the other hand, neither of Genette's examples is precisely analogous to the relationship between the exodus narrative and the Fourth Gospel. As Gennette rightly observes, "there is no literary work that does not evoke (to some extent and according to how its read) some other literary work, and in that sense all works are hypertextual. But like George Orwell's 'equals,' some are more so than others."[17] The challenge becomes, once a hypertextual relationship has been identified between two texts (at least theoretically), to determine the exact nature of that relationship, the degree to which the two texts are hypertextual. Having done so, we may then explore how this relationship may inform our understanding of the hypertext.[18]

In addition, Genette asserts that, "in order to imitate a text, it is inevitably necessary to acquire at least a partial mastery of it, a mastery of that specific quality which one has chosen to imitate."[19] Our objective is to identify the specific qualities of the Pentateuch, particularly the exodus narrative, that John has mastered and chosen to imitate. To accomplish this, it is necessary to identify and examine not only the literary hypotext employed by the author of the Fourth Gospel (i.e., the Pentateuch), but also the specific version, since at the time of writing it existed in both Hebrew and Greek forms. Based on lexical evidence, the following presentation will operate from the position that the text mastered and imitated by the author was the LXX (Greek) rather than Hebrew version. We will also argue that the author assumed a level of mastery of the LXX on the part of his audience with the expectation that they would intuitively make the proper inferences.

Building on Genette's theory of hypertextuality, I would like to add an element commonly found in modern internet technology: the *hyperlink*. *Hyperlinks* are individual words or phrases in an electronic document that, when selected, open up another related document for the user. Thus, these hyperlinks serve as connections between the two documents. Unlike Gennette's hypertexts, hyperlinked documents do not necessarily reflect a relationship of

17 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 9.

18 This final stage is one that Gennette himself eschewed: "Having long been at odds with textual hermeneutics—and happily so—I do not intend at this late stage to embrace hypertextual hermeneutics." Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 9. Obviously, I do not share Gennette's position.

19 Gennette, *Palimpsests*, 6.

dependency. Obviously, ancient media technology did not employ hyperlinks in this way. However, it is reasonable to theorize that authors who deliberately employed hypotexts in the production of their literary works may have incorporated certain specific words or phrases to serve as mnemonic, cognitive hyperlinks. The attentive audience, familiar with the hypotext employed by the writer, when encountering such words or phrases, would intuitively make the connection. Recognition of the connection would then shape the reader's understanding of the hypertext. The hypotext and the hypertext would be read in terms of a palimpsestuous relationship; they are read simultaneously, the former informing the later. In this way, the writer of the hypertext provides important hermeneutical guidance and influence for the audience.

Genette's theory of hypertextuality and the notion of a cognitive, literary hyperlink provide a useful theoretical framework and set of terminology for investigating the compositional relationship between the exodus narrative and the Fourth Gospel. Next, we will explore specifically the use of σημεῖα, *signs*, as such a hyperlink.

3 Σημεῖα, *Signs*, in the LXX

We will begin with an examination of the use of σημεῖα, *signs*, in the Pentateuch, primarily with regard to the ministry of Moses. The item occurs 44 times: 6 in Genesis, 19 in Exodus, 7 in Numbers, 12 in Deuteronomy.[20] In the book of Genesis, there are several different kinds of signs. In Gen 1:14, *signs* refer to the sun, moon, and stars and their functional role to mark out times, days, and seasons. In Gen 4:15, Cain receives a *sign* so that no one who finds him will kill him. After the flood, God places a rainbow in the sky which will be σημεῖον διαθήκης ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, *the sign of the covenant between me and the earth* (9:12, 13) as well as τὸ σημεῖον τῆς διαθήκης, ἧς διεθέμην ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον πάσης σαρκός, ἥ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, *a sign of the covenant, which I established between me and between all flesh, which is on the earth* (9:17). The final occurrence in Genesis is found in 17:11, where God declares to Abraham that circumcision will be σημείῳ διαθήκης ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν, *a sign of the covenant between me and you*. From the beginning, signs play a central role in God's interaction with humanity, particularly in covenantal relationships.

The remaining occurrences of *signs* in the Pentateuch refer specifically to the works of God in relation to the exodus narrative. From the moment Moses

20 These figures were generated by means of a lemma search of σημεῖον in the morphologically tagged edition of the Septuagint version of the books of the Law using Logos Bible Software 5.

is commissioned by God, it is clear signs will play a central role. In Exod 3:12 God says to Moses:

> Ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ τοῦτό σοι **τὸ σημεῖον** ὅτι ἐγώ σε ἐξαποστέλλω,[21] ἐν τῷ ἐξαγαγεῖν σε τὸν λαόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ λατρεύσετε τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ.
>
> I will be with you, and this is *the sign* that I am sending you, when you lead my people out of Egypt, you will also worship God in this mountain.

In Exod 4:1, Moses expresses concern that no one will believe him or obey is voice:

> ἀπεκρίθη δὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ εἶπεν Ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πιστεύσωσίν μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσιν τῆς φωνῆς μου, ἐροῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι Οὐκ ὤπταί σοι ὁ θεός, τί ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς;
>
> But Moses answered and said, "What if they do not believe me or obey my voice, for they will say that 'God has not been seen by you,' what will I say to them?"

In response God instructs Moses to cast his staff onto the ground, which then becomes a serpent, and then place his hand into his robe, which, upon removing it, becomes white. God then says in 4:8–9:

> ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πιστεύσωσίν σοι μηδὲ αἰσακούσωσιν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ σημείου τοῦ πρώτου, πιστεύσωσίν σοι τῆς φωνῆς **τοῦ σημείου** τοῦ ἐσχάτου. Καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωσίν σοι **τοῖς δυσὶ σημείοις** τούτοις μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσιν τῆς φωνῆς σου . . .
>
> If they do not believe you or obey the voice of *the first sign*, they will believe you from the voice of **the last sign**. And it will be if they do not believe you by these *two signs* or do they obey your voice . . .

Both of these acts will serve as signs to the Hebrews, by which they will know that God has sent Moses. He then instructs Moses with regard to turning water into blood. It is interesting to note the use of τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ σημείου,

21 Note also that the sign confirms that God is the one *sending*, ἐξαποστέλλω, Moses. In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus repeatedly emphasizes the fact that he was sent by God, employing both ἀποστέλλω and πέμπω.

the voice of the sign. It would appear that *the voice of the sign* is synonymous with Moses' own voice, which is synonymous with God's (Exod 4:12). Thus, to heed the voice of the signs is to heed the voice of God himself. When Aaron arrives, Moses instructs him regarding God's words and the signs they have been commanded to perform (4:28). Moses and Aaron then gather the elders of Israel, speak God's words to them *and perform the signs before the people*, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὰ σημεῖα ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ (4:30). In response, *the people believed and rejoiced*, ἐπίστευσεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐχάρη (4:31). Thus we see that there is a functional relationship between signs and faith. When God provides signs, the only proper and acceptable response is to believe the one sent by God who performs the signs.

In many places, the phrase *signs and wonders* is employed, particularly with reference to the plagues God inflicts upon the Egyptians. Note the next time signs are mentioned in Exod 7:3:

> ἐγὼ δὲ σκληρυνῶ τὴν καρδίαν Φαραω καὶ πληθυνῶ **τὰ σημεῖά μου καὶ τὰ τέρατα** ἐν γῇ Αἰγυπτον.
>
> But I will harden Pharaoh's heart and increase *my signs and wonders* in the land of Egypt.

It is God's intention from the beginning to work signs and wonders among the Egyptians. In 7:9, God warns Moses and Aaron in advance that Pharaoh will demand that Moses provide such signs and wonders:

> Καὶ ἐὰν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς Φαραω λέγων Δότε ἡμῖν **σημεῖον ἢ τέρας**,
>
> And if Pharaoh speaks to you saying, "Give us a *sign or wonder*. . ."

This designation of *signs and wonders* is also seen in 11:9–10.

The plagues continue to be designated *signs* in 8:19 and 10:1–2. In the later instance, God instructs Moses, as well as all Israel, to pass these stories on to their children and their children's children. By doing so, they will understand the function of the signs:

> Καὶ **τὰ σημεῖά μου**, ἃ ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος.
>
> And *my signs*, which I did among them, you will also know that I am the LORD.[22]

22 Hebrew יהוה. See also below Exod 31:13, et al.

As God makes clear, it is by the signs that Moses performs that they will know his identity and name. The same can be said for Pharaoh and the Egyptians. By these signs they, too, will know who is truly God.

In Exod 12:13, a new sign, related to the plagues yet distinct from them, is introduced into the narrative: the blood of the Passover lamb that is placed on the doorframes of the homes of the Hebrews:

> Καὶ ἔσται τὸ αἷμα ὑμῖν ἐν **σημείῳ** ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκῶν, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὄψομαι τὸ αἷμα καὶ σκεπάσω ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν πληγὴ τοῦ ἐκτριβῆναι, ὅταν παίω ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ.
>
> And the blood will be *a sign* on the home, where you will be, and I will see the blood and I will cover you, and the plague will not destroy you, whenever I may strike in the land of Egypt.

This is extended to Sabbath observance, particularly with regard to the eating of unleavened bread exclusively on the Sabbath. This observance will be σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου, *a sign on your hand.* It is repeated in 13:16. This ordinance regarding Sabbath observance is found once more in Exod 31:12–17. In 31:13, God explains why guarding the Sabbath is of utmost importance:

> **Σημεῖόν** ἐστιν παὰ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν, ἵνα γνῶτε ὅτι ἐγὼ κὺριος ὁ ἁγιάζων ὑμᾶς.
>
> It is *a sign* from me and among you into your descendants, in order that you may know that I the Lord am the one who makes you holy.

He concludes by declaring that it is σημεῖόν αἰώνιον, *an eternal sign.*

The relationship between faith and signs is a theme that continues into the book of Numbers. In Num 14:11, God expresses his frustration at Israel's lack of faith despite the signs he has provided for them:

> Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Ἕως τίνος παροξύνει με ὁ λαὸς οὗτος καὶ ἕως τίνος οὐ πιστεύουσίν μοι ἐν πᾶσιν **τοῖς σημείοις**, οἷς ἐποίσα ἐν αὐτοῖς;
>
> And the Lord said to Moses, "How long will this people provoke me to anger? And how long will they not believe me despite all *the signs* that I did among them?"

Later in the same chapter, God makes it clear that these signs include, but are not limited to, the plagues brought upon the Egyptians. They also include the demonstrations of God's power during their wilderness sojourn. Thus we read in Num 14:22–33, where God announces his judgment that the Israelites of that generation will not enter the Promised Land:

> Πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ὁρῶντες τὴν δόξαν μου καὶ **τὰ σημεῖα**, ἃ ἐποίησα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπείρασάν με τοῦτο δέκατον καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσάν μου τῆς φωνῆς, ἦ μὴν οὐκ ὄψονται τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὤμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν,
>
> All these men who saw my glory and *the signs*, which I did in Egypt and in this desert, and tested me this ten days and did not obey my voice will truly not see the land that I swore to their fathers.

In both passages, faith and obedience were the expected result of seeing the signs provided by God. By not believing and obeying, the people incurred God's wrath, which resulted in their not experiencing God's promise. Additionally, in 14:22, God's glory is associated with the signs he worked among the Israelites; glory that they clearly saw yet nevertheless did not produce faith or obedience.

Other items serve as signs during the wilderness period. The bronze from the censers used by the Korah and his fellow rebels is hammered into a cover for the altar, which will serve as a sign to the Israelites (LXX Num 17:3, English Num 16:38). This sign is referenced again in Num 26:10. Aaron's rod that budded also is a sign as recorded in LXX Num 17:25 (English 17:10):

> Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Ἀπόθες τὴν ῥάβδον Ααρων ἐνώπιον τῶν μαρτυρίων εἰς διατήρησιν σημεῖον τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνηκόων, καὶ παυσάσθω ὁ γογγυσμὸς αὐτῶν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωσιν.
>
> And the LORD said to Moses, "Place Aaron's rod before the testimony as a preserved **sign** to the sons of the disobedient, and let their grumbling cease, and they will certainly not die."

The rod that budded was to be persevered as a sign to those who were disobedient, who were "grumbling" against Moses' and Aaron's leadership. Those who recognized the significance of the sign should respond by ceasing their grumbling. As a result, they will certainly not die.

Numbers 21 records the incident involving Israel's complaint due to lack of food and water in the wilderness. Once again, the Israelites spoke against Moses. In response, God sent venomous serpents to afflict them. When the people repented and cried out to God, he provided them with a sign by which they might be saved from death due to the serpent bites, as recorded in 21:8–9:

> Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Ποίησον σεαυτῷ ὄφιν καὶ θὲς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ **σημείου**, καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν δάκῃ ὄφις ἄνθρωπον, πᾶς ὁ δεδηγμένος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται. Καὶ ἐποίησεν Μωυσῆς ὄφιν χαλκοῦν καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ **σημείου**, καὶ ἐγένετο ὅταν ἔδακνεν ὄφις ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν χαλκοῦν καὶ ἔζη.
>
> And the Lord said to Moses, "Make for yourself a serpent and place it as[23] *a sign*. And it will be that, if a serpent bites a man, each one who is bitten that looks at it will live." And Moses made a bronze serpent and placed it as *a sign*. And it came to pass that whenever a serpent bit a man and he looked upon the bronze serpent, he lived.

Once again, the function of the sign is to save those who look upon it from death.

In the book of Deuteronomy, God's powerful and miraculous works in delivering Israel out of Egypt are routinely identified as signs, often in conjunction with wonders. Thus they are *signs and wonders*, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα in Deut 4:34 and *mighty signs and wonders*, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα μεγάλα in 6:22. Likewise, in 7:79 the people are to remember what God did to Pharaoh and all Egypt, *the mighty signs and wonders*, τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα τὰ μεγάλα, which their own eyes saw. This identification is repeated in 11:3, 26:8, and 29:2.

When God delivers the *shema* in Deut 6:4, he gives the people specific instructions regarding the preservation of his words:

> Καὶ ἀφάψεις αὐτὰ εἰς **σημεῖον** ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου, καὶ ἔσται ἀσάλευτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου,
>
> Bind them as *a sign* on your hand, and they will be immovable before your eyes.

23 While the most natural reading of the preposition ἐπί when followed by a genitive is *on, upon*, in this context, the preposition would seem to perform a referential function. See Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, 801, 90.23 "ἐπί (with the genitive): [marker] of content as a means of specifying a particular referent—m 'concerning, with respect to, with reference to, about, in.'"

In this instance, God's word serves as a sign to the people. Their obedience is to be a matter of the heart, the product of their love for their God. This instruction is repeated in 11:18.

In Deut 13, God warns the people that prophets will appear among them who will entice them to follow other gods. Such a prophet will appear to be genuine, as described in 13:2–3, even providing signs and wonders:

> δῷ σοι **σημεῖον ἢ τέρας**, καὶ ἔλθῃ **τὸ σημεῖον ἢ τὸ τέρας**, ὃ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς σὲ λέγων Πορευθῶμεν καὶ λατρεύσωμεν θεοῖς ἑτέροις, οὓς οὐκ οἴδατε,
>
> He will give you a *sign or wonder*, and *the sign or wonder* may come, which he spoke to you saying, "Let us go and serve other gods whom you do not know."

The people are specifically instructed to give no heed to such a prophet. Interestingly, God declares that such prophets are used by him to test the people, to determine if they truly "love the LORD your God from your whole heart and your whole soul." If this kind of prophet arises, he is to be put to death.

God provides the people with a lengthy list of the blessings they will enjoy for remaining faithful to the covenant, as well as curses for infidelity, which are recording in Deut 28. Regarding the curses, God declares in 28:46:

> ἔσται ἐν σοὶ **σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα** καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.
>
> They will be *signs and wonders* among you and your seed for eternity.

The Israelites should not think that the Egyptians were the only ones to experience suffering and death as a sign from God. If Israel does not heed God's word, like Pharaoh and the Egyptians they will also suffer. After the Babylonian exile, Israel clearly heeded these signs. From that point they remained faithful to God and the covenant.

The Pentateuch ends with an obituary for Moses. The final words of the epilogue are worth quoting in full as they are recorded in 34:10–12:

> Οὐκ ἀνέστη ἔτι προφήτης ἐν Ισραηλ ὡς Μωυσῆς, ὃν ἔγνω κύριος αὐτὸν πρόσωπον κατὰ πρόσωπον, ἐν **πᾶσι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν**, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ποιῆσαι αὐτὰ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Φαραω καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ, τὰ θαυμάσια τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν κραταιάν, ἃ ἐποίησεν Μωυσῆς ἔναντι παντὸς Ισραηλ.

> No prophet has yet arisen in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face, by *all the signs and wonders* that the LORD sent him to do in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh and his magicians and all his land, the great marvelous acts and the powerful hand that Moses did before all Israel.

Moses is characterized as having had a unique relationship with God: apart from him no prophet has even known the LORD "face to face." As evidenced in the Pentateuch, Moses routinely met with God in this manner, which distinguishes him from all other prophets. These face-to-face meetings were singularly unique and speak to Moses' status as a man honored by God like no other and who served as God's unique representative, spokesman, ambassador, and mediator. In addition, he was a man who was chosen and sent by God to serve in this capacity, which was attested to by the many and great signs and wonders performed by his hands.

Despite Moses' unique status, he was not to be the last to serve in this capacity. Deuteronomy 18:15–22 records the LORD's clear directive for Israel to anticipate and keep watch for another prophet like Moses, whom God would raise up. This prophet will not speak of his own accord:

> Δώσω τὸ ῥῆμά μου ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαλήσει αὐτοῖς καθότι ἂν ἐντείλωμαι αὐτῷ

> I will give my word in his mouth, and he will speak to them just as I command him.

The consequences for disobeying the words of this prophet will be dire:

> Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ ὅσα ἐὰν λαλήσῃ ὁ προφήτης ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου, ἐγὼ ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

> And the man who does not obey all that the prophet speaks in my name, I will extract vengeance from him.

Such a prophet will be recognized by two qualifiers. First, if he speaks in the name of other gods, he clearly has not been sent by the LORD. Second, if the things he speaks do not take place, then the words did not come from the LORD. Such a prophet must be put to death.

In conclusion, the LXX reveals a regular use of the term σημεῖα, *signs*, particularly with regard to the work of Moses, both in terms of the plagues upon the Egyptians and the demonstrations of God's power and provision in the

wilderness. There is a strong correlation between signs and faith, demonstrating that they are functionally related. The proper response to signs is faith, that is, those who see these signs must believe the one who performs them because he has been sent by God and speaks God's word. The signs that God worked among the Egyptians facilitated the exodus, with the sign of the lamb's blood and the Passover being the final sign that brought about Israel's deliverance from captivity.

4 Σημεῖα, *Signs,* in the Fourth Gospel

Having examined the role of signs in the LXX, we will now turn our attention to the Fourth Gospel, which will be read intertextually with the Pentateuch. This reading will proceed based on the working theory that a hypertextual relationship exists between the LXX and the Fourth Gospel, with the LXX serving as the hypotext and the lexical item σημεῖον, *sign*, serving as a hyperlink between the two texts. The following investigation is not necessarily new or novel; others have detected exodus motifs in John's Gospel.[24] However, these are frequently underdeveloped.[25] It is my goal to provide a systematic and comprehensive exegetical examination of the deliberate hypertextual relationship between the texts.

Connections with the Pentateuch in general and Moses specifically are discernable from the beginning of John's Gospel. The opening words ἐν ἀρχή, *in the beginning*, evoke the opening of the LXX. The emphasis on the Word's participation in creation evokes the creation narrative in Gen 1. Additionally, the astute reader will discern the parallel between the Word coming to his own, who do not receive him, and the experience of Moses, who was routinely rejected by his own people. However, the Word and Moses stand in contrast in John 1:17–18. Whereas "the law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ." Even though Deut 34:10 records that the LORD knew Moses "face-to-face," only the son has ever actually seen God, and he has

24 See, for example Enz, "Book of Exodus"; Smith, "Exodus Typology."

25 Brunson makes a similar observation and explores the New Exodus theme in John's Gospel more thoroughly, (*Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 153–79). It is true that authors and commentators, at times, note the possibility that elements of the exodus narrative, including *signs*, may have influenced the production of the Fourth Gospel. However, to my knowledge, none have pursued the kind of comprehensive hypertextual relationship reading that I suggest. I am not aware of a study that considers John's use of *signs*, among other terms, as part of a broad, comprehensive program of literary and theological production.

made God known. This introduction should "prime the pump," so to speak, for the attentive reader. With this in mind, the various references to *signs* that follow should be interpreted in conversation with the LXX, paralleling Jesus with Moses yet also demonstrating Jesus' uniqueness and superiority. Jesus is the prophet like Moses foretold in Deut 18, yet more.

John's first reference to a sign is found in the account of the wedding in Cana recorded in 2:1–11. He specifically identifies the miracle of turning water into wine as the first of Jesus' signs. For the reader who is already thinking about Moses and the signs performed on the Egyptians, water turned to wine will naturally evoke the image of the Nile river turned to blood, the first of the plagues brought by God upon the Egyptians.[26] Even the detail of the stone jars mentioned in the Cana story could conceivably evoke Exod 7:19, which explicitly records that even the water stored in stone vessels was turned to blood. However, whereas the plague upon the Egyptians brought suffering, Jesus' miracle brings life, as wine was a dietary staple in first-century Judea and Galilee. Thus, while there is on the one hand a superficial parallel between the first plague and the Cana miracle, on the other hand the sign provided by Jesus testifies to his role as the author and giver of that which is necessary for life, which is consistent with the signs of water and manna in the wilderness. Note John's comment in v. 11 that this sign "revealed his glory." His words bring to mind the connection between God's glory and his signs recorded in Num 14:22: "None of the people who have seen my glory and the signs that I did in Egypt and the wilderness . . ."

The next mention of a sign is found in John 2:13–22. John primes the audience by noting that "the Passover of the Jews was near." This reference places the audience in a mind frame to think about the events about to be narrated in the context of the original Passover and by extension the exodus narrative. After Jesus drives the merchants and moneychangers out of the temple, the Jews demand that he give them a σημεῖον, *sign*, in order to validate his authority to perform such an act. In the exodus narrative, it is Pharaoh who demands that Moses provide *a sign or wonder* to back up his demands (Exod 7:9). If the

26 A survey of commentaries reveals no indication that a connection between the Cana miracle and the first plague is entertained or examined. Most often, commentators note the mythical connection between wine and the god Dionysius and debate whether Jesus' miracle should be understood over against such contemporary notions (Morris, *Gospel according to John*, 175–76; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 35; Bruce, *Gospels and Letters of John*, 72; Carson, *Gospel according to John*, 167; Keener, *Gospel of John*, 484–95). (It is generally rejected.) Possible connections to Melchizedek or to Jewish purification are also explored. Raymond Brown floats the idea of a connection with the first plague but quickly rejects the idea as "farfetched" (*Gospel according to John*, 100).

theory of a hypertextual relationship is valid and the word *sign* functions as a hyperlink, then the perceptive reader will hear the voice of Pharaoh from the lips of the Jews making this demand. Jesus agrees to their request: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it." The Jews respond with scorn, citing the length of time it has taken to construct the temple as evidence of the ridiculous nature of Jesus' response. However, John notes that Jesus was referring to "the temple of his body." In Deut 18 the LORD told the people that if the words of a prophet do not come to pass, it is evidence that the prophet was not sent by him. Certainly, the Jews believed that such a sign as Jesus offered could never be fulfilled and so believed they were justified in rejecting his offer. Yet those familiar with the resurrection know that Jesus did indeed fulfill the sign, thus confirming that he was sent by God and that his words came from God.

John 2:23 records the third instance of a sign. In this instance, John writes:

> Πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ θεωροῦντες αὐτοῦ **τὰ σημεῖα** ἃ ἐποίει
>
> Many believed in his name, seeing his *signs* that he did.

In this one hears echoes of Deut 4:30–31. Moses and Aaron gathered the elders of Israel, spoke God's words to them *and performed the signs before the people*, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὰ σημεῖα ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ. In response, *the people believed and rejoiced*, ἐπίστευσεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐχάρη. However, in John the sentiment is not reciprocated. Though the people believed the signs, Jesus did not entrust himself to them, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐπίστευεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς. Believing the signs may have been sufficient for the Hebrews and Moses, but Jesus is greater than Moses. As John will make clear, many believe the signs but do not believe Jesus or his words. John makes a similar observation later in 10:41–42. The crowds observe that, in contrast to Jesus, John the Baptist, whom they thought might be the prophet like Moses, performed no sign:

> Ἰωάννης μὲν **σημεῖον** ἐποίησεν οὐδέν, πάντα δὲ ὅσα εἶπεν Ἰωάννης περὶ τούτου ἀληθῆ ἦν. Καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ.
>
> "John performed no *sign*, but everything John said about this man was true." And many believed in him there.

Once again, the people respond by believing, just as the Hebrews initially believed in Moses in Exodus. Near the end of Jesus' ministry, the faith of the people becomes the chief concern of the Jewish leadership. In 11:47–48 John records their dilemma:

> Συνήγαγον οὖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συνέδριον καὶ ἔλεγον· τί ποιοῦμεν ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ ποιεῖ **σημεῖα**; ἐὰν ἀφῶμεν αὐτὸν οὕτως, πάντες πιστεύσουσιν εἰς αὐτόν,
>
> Therefore the chief priests and Pharisees gathered in council and were saying, "What can we do since this man is performing many *signs*? If we allow him to do this, all will believe in him."

Their fear is that, if this happens, the Romans will come and take away their temple and nation. For John, this concern with the land and temple is symptomatic of the root problem that prevents the Jews from understanding Jesus' teaching. They are concerned exclusively with earthly things, revealing them as "from below." Their paradigm of God's kingdom is rooted in the Old Exodus. Only by altering the paradigm by thinking "from above" can one understand the New Exodus.

The problem of recognizing signs apart from understanding Jesus' words is illustrated in Jesus' encounter with Nicodemus. At the beginning of their conversation, Nicodemus assesses Jesus' miraculous power and draws the right conclusion, οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται **ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα** ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ ὁ θεὸς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, *no one is able to do* ***these signs*** *that you do unless God is with him.* Nicodemus is quite correct. However, when Jesus begins to instruct him, Nicodemus cannot understand his words. Once again, like Moses, Jesus performs signs. Yet unlike Moses, Jesus expects more. His words must be the object of faith. However, we must not think that this is too sharp a distinction. John places greater emphasis on the insufficiency of faith based on signs. Likewise, the failure of both Pharaoh and the Israelites in the wilderness was failure to heed God's word as spoken by Moses.

The next instance of John's focus on signs is found in the account of the ruler who came to Jesus asking him to heal his son, recorded in John 4:46–54. When the ruler makes his request, Jesus responds with what, on the surface, comes across as a somewhat terse, even callous, reply:

> ἐὰν μὴ **σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα** ἴδητε, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε.
>
> If you do not see *signs and wonders*, you will not believe.

The second person plural verbs indicate that Jesus' remark is not directed at the ruler seeking his aid, but more broadly. For John, Jesus' words are an indictment against those who require signs for faith. For the attentive reader or listener, the words σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, *signs and wonders*, will once again prompt the memory of God's words in Exodus when he told Moses that Pharaoh would

make such a demand. In this manner, Jesus' words serve the rhetorical function of placing those who expect or demand such a sign, or whose faith is based solely upon signs, in the same category as Pharaoh. This group stands in contrast to the ruler. Upon hearing Jesus' declaration that his son will live:

> ἐπίστευσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ λόγῳ ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
>
> The man believed the word that Jesus spoke to him.

The ruler believes Jesus' words before the sign is performed. For John, this man is paradigmatic of those who are truly God's people. The ruler believed Jesus' words and so should the reader. Once again, this "second sign," as John designates it in 4:54, stands in contrast to the signs of Moses, in that it gives life. Whereas the signs of Moses attest to God's power and sovereignty, the signs performed by Jesus additionally attest to the purpose for which God sent him: to give life.

In the events surrounding the feeding of the five thousand in John 6, the issue of signs is highlighted and debated to a greater degree than in previous chapters. John notes at the beginning of the chapter in verse 2:

> ἠκολοῦθει δὲ αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς, ὅτι ἐθεώρουν **τὰ σημεῖα** ἃ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων.
>
> Many crowds were following him because they saw *the signs* that he performed upon the sick.

Once again, we are reminded that Jesus' signs are quite different in nature from those performed by Moses. As noted above, Jesus' signs bring life, not suffering or death like those leveled against the Egyptians. These signs draw large crowds of followers, who will later receive Jesus' sharp criticism for this motive. It is also noteworthy that John engages in a bit of foreshadowing by noting in v. 4 that the Passover was near, which will culminate in Jesus' final sign.

After Jesus feeds the five thousand, the people discuss the significance of this miraculous work and what it means, as recorded in 6:14:

> Οἱ οὖν ἄνθρωποι ἰδόντες ὃ ἐποίησεν **σημεῖον** ἔλεγον ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον.
>
> Therefore, the people, seeing *the sign* that he did, were saying, "Truly this is the prophet who is coming into the world."

This passage has two hypertextual connections to the Pentateuch. First, the people interpret the provision of food as a sign. However, this sign is not connected to the plagues brought upon the Egyptians. As we observed above, Num 14:22–23 includes the miracles performed in the wilderness along with the plagues upon the Egyptians under the heading *signs*. The Jews clearly make this connection as well, as Jesus' provision of food brings to their mind Moses' provision of manna. This brings up the second hypertextual connection with the Pentateuch: the prophet like Moses promised in Deut 18. The people clearly make this connection; John wants his audience to do the same.

However, though John clearly believes Jesus fulfills the "second Moses" expectation, he is not Moses, nor was he sent to do the same work Moses did. Whereas Israel's exodus was earthly, "from below" as John might say, the exodus Jesus and John have in mind is heavenly, spiritual, "from above." For this reason, Jesus is critical in his response to the people regarding their interpretation of the sign and their motives for following him, as we read in 6:26:

> Ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτέ με οὐχ ὅτι εἴδετε **σημεῖα**, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἐφάγετε ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων καὶ ἐχορτάσθητε.
>
> Jesus answered and said to them, "Truly, truly I say to you, you are seeking me, not because you saw *signs*, but because you ate the bread and were filled."

While the people did indeed see the signs, they did not interpret them correctly. Their interpretation was self-serving. They wanted more of the same. Like the religious leaders who were only concerned about the land and temple, as noted above, these people are only thinking in earthly terms, "from below." By contrast, they should have interpreted the sign as pointing to another, greater truth, just as Jesus is different and greater than Moses. The people first wanted material food to fill their bellies. Beyond that, they wanted a classic Moses figure and a classic exodus, in the form of deliverance from material bondage, this time to Rome. This is revealed in 6:30–31, when they make a fresh demand of Jesus:

> Εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ· τί οὖν ποιεῖς σὺ **σημεῖον**, ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμέν σοι; Τί ἐργάζῃ; οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τὸ μάννα ἔφαγον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καθώς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον· ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.
>
> Therefore they said to him, "What *sign* will you do, so that we may see and believe you? What will you perform? Our fathers ate manna in the wilderness, even as it is written: 'He gave them bread from heaven to eat.'"

Their demand from a sign is ironic in light of the hypotext to which they themselves appeal. In the exodus narrative, God provides signs that he himself determined to show and at his initiation. The only one who demanded a sign was Pharaoh, and not even he tried to prescribe what sign would be provided. Once again, the perceptive reader will associate the people more with rebellious Pharaoh than the people of God. In Exodus, when Moses and Aaron provided signs, the Hebrews believed (Exod 4:31). Now, their descendants see signs and, rather than believe, demand more.

John provides his audience with another hyperlink to the Pentateuch. Not only did the people see signs from Jesus just as their ancestors did with Moses, they respond in the same ungrateful manner. In 6:41, John records:

> Ἐγόγγυζον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι περὶ αὐτοῦ
>
> Therefore the Jews were murmuring about him

During their wilderness wanderings, the Hebrews routinely fell into murmuring and grumblings. In Exod 16:2, as a result of their longing for the food they had in Egypt, the whole congregation of the sons of Israel murmur against Moses and Aaron, διεγόγγυζεν πᾶσα συναγωγὴ υἱῶν Ισραηλ ἐπὶ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ααρων. In v. 8, Moses makes it known that their murmuring, γογγυσμός, is not against him and Aaron but against the LORD. Nevertheless, God hears their murmuring and provides manna. In the very next episode, found in Exod 17, when they camped at Rephidim and found no water, *the people grumbled/murmured to Moses*, καὶ ἐγόγγυζεν ἐκεῖ ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Μωυσῆν, (17:3). This occurs again in Num 11:1, where we read:

> Καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς γογγύζων πονηρὰ ἔναντι κυρίου, καὶ ἤκουσεν κύριος καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ,
>
> And the people were murmuring evil before the LORD, and the LORD heard and was exceedingly angry.

It is, in fact, because of their murmuring and grumbling that the generation that experienced God's deliverance from bondage in Egypt was not permitted to enter the promised land and rather died in the wilderness as recorded in Num 14:26–30. That their murmuring and complaining was the cause is stated explicitly in v. 27:

> ἃ αὐτοὶ γογγύζουσιν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, τὴν γόγγυσιν τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ, ἣν ἐγόγγυσαν περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀκήκοα.

> That which they are grumbling before me, the grumbling of the sons of Israel, which they grumble about you, I have heard.

Thus, their grumbling becomes a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. God declares that he will bring to pass all the things they grumbled about, ὅσοι ἐγόγγυσαν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί (14:29). Grumbling, γογγυσμός, against Moses and Aaron in Num 17 leads to the sign, σημεῖον, of Aaron's rod that buds later in 17:25 (English 17:10).

Returning to John 6, it seems clear that John is not attempting to record an account of an event in Jesus' life that reads like the others found in the Pentateuch in a slavishly mimetic manner. Rather, he chooses his wording to evoke the exodus stories and so guide his audience's interpretation of Jesus, the people, and the events. Jesus truly is the prophet like Moses, as the signs declare. However, the signs also declare that he is different and greater. The response of the people to Jesus' signs associates them with Pharaoh, and with rebellious Israel who died in the wilderness. Thus, the reader should strive to avoid the same mistake by not emulating these participants.

The colocation of signs and murmuring is picked up again in John 7:31–32:

> Ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου δὲ πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον· ὁ χριστὸς ὅταν ἔλθῃ μὴ πλείονα **σημεῖα** ποιήσει ὧν οὗτος ἐποίησεν; Ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τοῦ ὄχλου **γογγύζοντος** περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα.
>
> But many from the crowds believed in him and were saying, "Whenever the Christ comes will he do greater *signs* than this one did?" The Pharisees heard the crowd *murmuring* these things about him.

It is possible that John is providing another bit of foreshadowing, priming the audience for what is to follow. Just a few verses later, in 7:37–38, Jesus cries out, "If any is thirsty he must come to me and drink. Just as scripture said, the one who believes in me, 'rivers of living what will flow from his belly.'" Note that the bread/manna episode in John is followed immediately by Jesus' words regarding living water, just as the manna episode in Exod 16 is followed by the water episode in Exod 17. Based on the accumulation of evidence cited above, this would hardly seem a coincidence. Again, Jesus is both like and unlike Moses. Through both, God provides bread and water. However, it is very different bread and water for very different purposes. The new exodus is very different from the old.

The next time John makes reference to Jesus' signs is found in John 9 in the context of Jesus' healing of the blind man on the Sabbath. The Pharisees criticize Jesus for this work, because in doing so he does not keep the Sabbath. In v. 18 John records the response of the people:

> Πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος ἁμαρτωλὸς τοιαῦτα **σημεῖα** ποιεῖν; καὶ σχίσμα ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς.
>
> "How can a sinful man do these kinds of *signs*?" And there was division among them.

While we may interpret the healing itself as a sign, in light of the use of signs in the Pentateuch, it seems more likely that it is the combination of the healing and the fact that Jesus performed it upon the Sabbath that serves as a sign. As we observed above, in Exod 31:12–17, God declares that Sabbath observance serves as an eternal sign that he has made Israel holy. So serious is God's command that anyone who is found working on the Sabbath must be put to death. Earlier in John's Gospel, healing on the Sabbath becomes a flashpoint for the Jews. In 5:16, John records that the Jews were persecuting Jesus because he was doing such things on the Sabbath. Jesus responds in v. 17, "My father is working until the present time and I am working." Jesus is not only performing miracles on the Sabbath, which have significance in themselves, he is also interpreting what Sabbath observance looks like and even taking it so far as to supersede the commandment. Since God gave the command, Jesus claim to interpret or even supersede the commandment is a claim to divine authority. For John, this also is a sign.

The final and capstone sign John records in the so-called "book of signs" section is the raising of Lazarus. In this event, Jesus demonstrates his power over death and is revealed as the author and giver of life. It is not until 12:18 that this miracle is designated as a sign:

> Διὰ τοῦτο ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὄχλος, ὅτι ἤκουσαν τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι **τὸ σημεῖον**.
>
> For this reason, the crowds went to meet him, because they heard that he had performed this *sign*.

John's use of an aspectually stative verb produces prominence or indicates salience, suggesting that we have reached a peak in the discourse.[27] This is repeated in his final assessment of the people's response to the miracles performed by Jesus in 12:37:

27 On the relation between aspect and prominence, see Porter, *Idioms*, 22–24; Porter, "Prominence," 59–61.

> Τοσαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ **σημεῖα** πεποιηκότος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπίστευον αὐτόν.
>
> Though performing so many of his *signs* before them, they did not believe him.

Once again we do well to note the use of aspectual prominence grammaticalized by the perfect participle πεποιηκότος and the imperfect ἐπίστευον. This section comes at the end of the so-called "book of signs" section of John's Gospel. The author's assessment of the people stands in sharp contrast to the response of the Hebrews in Exod 4 when Moses and Aaron gathered the elders of Israel, spoke God's words to them *and performed the signs before the people*, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὰ σημεῖα ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ (Exod 4:30). In response, *the people believed and rejoiced*, ἐπίστευσεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐχάρη, (4:31). In John, though Jesus had *performed his signs before them*, αὐτοῦ σημεῖα πεποιηκότος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, the response of the people is disbelief, οὐκ ἐπίστευον αὐτόν. John then goes on to cite the prophet Isaiah in order to demonstrate that, rather than representing a failure on the part of Jesus or God's word, the disbelief of the people was anticipated from the beginning.

John's final reference to Jesus' signs is found in 20:30–31, which serves as both an obituary for Jesus and a purpose statement for the book:

> Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα **σημεῖα** ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν, ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.
>
> Jesus did many more *signs* before the disciples, which are not written in this book. But these have been written in order that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name.

This epilogue performs a number of functions. First, it echoes the obituary of Moses found at the end of Deuteronomy, in which the writer declares that no prophet has yet risen like Moses who did the kind of signs and wonders Moses did in the land of Egypt. This sentiment is repeated at the end of John 21. Thus, just as John's Gospel began with the same words as the LXX,[28] so too it ends on a similar note. Second, the epilogue collocates signs and faith. In contrast

28 By this I mean the Septuagint proper, that is the Pentateuch.

to Jesus' original audience, who, for the most part, did not respond to the signs with faith, the audience of John's Gospel is called to believe. By the end of the Gospel, they should recognize that by not believing they align themselves with Pharaoh and with faithless Israel, who perished in the wilderness, as well as their contemporaries in Jesus' own time who also did not believe. Third, it distinguishes Jesus from Moses. While Moses was commissioned and sent by God, only Jesus can claim to be God's son. Moses may have been God's agent of deliverance, but Jesus, God incarnate, has life in himself and grants life to those who believe.

One final observation may be made with regard to this final instance of the designation *sign*. It is noteworthy that it comes on the heels of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances. It is arguable that this was done deliberately so as to include these appearances in with the signs of Jesus' ministry. In 1:29, John the Baptist identifies Jesus as the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world. Which lamb exactly has been a point of scholarly debate. If sin is understood in this context as primarily a matter of disbelief, then the connection between Jesus and the Passover lamb makes sense. In the first Passover, God distinguished between the Hebrews and the Egyptians by passing over the houses marked with the *sign* of the lamb's blood on the lintels and doorposts (Exod 12:13). The original Passover is the final sign that prompts Pharaoh to release the Israelites and brings about the exodus. In the same manner, Jesus' death, his blood, is the final sign that brings about the New Exodus. However, it is not his death, his shed blood, only that serves as a sign. It is also his resurrection, which reveals him as the author and giver of eternal life. Just as Jesus is parallel to, yet greater than Moses, he is parallel to, yet greater than the Passover lamb. Both bring life to those who hear and obey. However, the Passover lamb brought earthly life and ushered in an earthly exodus. Jesus, by contrast, brings eternal life. His death and resurrection usher in a New Exodus.

5 Conclusion

Building on the work of Genette, I have argued that John's use of *signs* was a conscious and deliberate literary act for the purpose of creating a hyperlink (to employ a modern term) between two hypertexts: the LXX, which functions as the hypotext, and the Fourth Gospel, which is the hypertext. John's intention was that the observant reader would intuitively discern the hypertextual relationship, which would then influence his or her understanding of the hypertext. In this manner, the hypotext serves as a hermeneutical guide to the hypertext. On the one hand, Jesus and his work are to be understood as

paralleling and fulfilling the work of Moses and the exodus narrative. On the other hand, Jesus is distinct from and superior to Moses, just as his work is distinct from and superior to the exodus. Jesus is truly the New Moses, and his ministry can be understood as a New Exodus. Whereas the original exodus was worldly, "from below" so to speak, and a matter of earthly interests, the New Exodus is heavenly, "from above," and is thus concerned with heavenly interests. As Jesus declared to Pilate, his kingdom is not of the earth. He has come to lead those who believe his words into a New Promised Land. He has returned to that place and is preparing it for his people, who will follow him there, just as he declared to his disciples.

Historically, commentators have noted the numerous connections between John's Gospel and the LXX. However, to date this has not been explored in a comprehensive and systematic manner. Hopefully, the results of the investigation above illustrate the potential hermeneutical benefits of a comprehensive, systematic intertextual reading of John's Gospel.

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CHAPTER 16

The Authentication of John: Self-Disclosure, Testimony, and Verification in John 21:24

Charles E. Hill

More than perhaps any other book in the New Testament, the Gospel according to John is thought to betray the hands of multiple authors or editors,[1] writers usually associated together by reference to a "Johannine circle" or "Johannine school." The issues involved in coming to conclusions about the composition of this Gospel are many and complex, but one of the key factors has always been ch. 21. Because the ending of ch. 20 would seem a fitting ending for the entire book, many understand the final chapter as an addendum of some kind. This in itself is often taken as an indication of a plurality of authors, and probably a plurality of editions for the Gospel. But unless one is convinced that authors never added appendices (or prologues) to their own books, and that only later editors would do such things, the mere supplemental nature of ch. 21 does not settle the question.[2] Many, then, have sought and claimed to have found significant differences, stylistic or substantive, between the last chapter and the first 20. Stanley Porter has recently contributed to what may seem to be a growing chorus of scholars who believe the evidence for a disparity in authorship between ch. 21 and the bulk of the rest of the Gospel is, however, extremely weak.[3]

Yet there is one critical portion of ch. 21 that remains to be mentioned, the one that Raymond Brown thought stood as "the classic proof text for the [Johannine] School's existence."[4] It is v. 24: "This is the disciple who is bearing witness to these things, and who has written these things; and we know

1 Among a large number of scholars who have argued for a theory of multiple editions, a list of the most thorough and currently relevant proposals would include those of Fortna, *Gospel of Signs*; Brown, *John*; Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*; Brown, *Introduction*; Waetjen, *Gospel of the Beloved Disciple*; von Wahlde, *Gospel and Letters of John*.

2 E.g., Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 195 (in an essay finished in 1868): "though an after-thought, this chapter was certainly written by the author of the Gospel"; also Wilkens, "Evangelist und Tradition."

3 Porter, "Ending of John's Gospel." For other defenders of integrity, see Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 363n12, and more recently, Van Belle, "L'unité littéraire."

4 Brown, *Epistles of John*, 724. See the seminal work of Culpepper, *Johannine School*.

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that his testimony is true." Alan Culpepper once noted, "Virtually every part of John 21:24 is open to multiple interpretations except 'this disciple,' who must be the Beloved Disciple (cf. 21:20–23)."[5] Yet despite the existence of multiple options, even when Culpepper wrote these words nearly thirty years ago a strong consensus had already emerged in Johannine scholarship. This consensus affirmed what Culpepper then called a "three-person view" of the composition of the Gospel, in which the beloved disciple, the evangelist who wrote most of the first twenty chapters, and a final editor responsible for ch. 21 and other portions of the finished Gospel are three separate persons. In this construction, "John 21:24–25 comes from an editor who attributed the gospel to the Beloved Disciple, the community's founding father, when in reality the Beloved Disciple was merely the source of the evangelist's material."[6] The "we" of 21:24c, for Culpepper and many others, is the Johannine community who had heard the beloved disciple's witness "and they knew it was true."[7] This approach, while flexible enough to accommodate a large number of permutations (including the proposal that at least one more editor was involved), has become so prevalent, even among scholars who begin from quite different points across the literary and theological spectrums, that in 2009 Culpepper would label it "the conventional reading of John's last verses."[8]

In this same 2009 publication, however, Culpepper was responding to a challenge to that conventional reading, a challenge from two scholars in particular, Howard Jackson and Richard Bauckham.[9] Jackson's contribution in 1999, by itself, it must be said, hardly raised a ripple on the calm waters of the consensus.[10] But when it was joined by Bauckham's (achieving the required two witnesses for a legal claim?),[11] scholars began to take notice. Jackson and

5 Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 44–45.

6 Ibid. "They also honored him and explained the origin of his authority by describing the role they imagined for him at key points in the Gospel story." Culpepper, *John the Son of Zebedee*, 71–72.

7 Culpepper, *John the Son of Zebedee*, 71.

8 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 352, 360.

9 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions"; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*.

10 Nor, for that matter, did the contributions of a number of other dissenters, mostly in commentaries. Jackson's is one of the few article-length treatments to be published in a mainstream academic journal. It did draw a (negative) response from Attridge, "Restless Quest."

11 More likely it was because Bauckham had already made waves with a book he edited, *The Gospels for All Christians*, which challenged the idea that the Gospel writers wrote for specific Christian communities, and maintained rather that they wrote "*for any and every church* to which their Gospels might circulate" (ibid., 46).

Bauckham actually disagree among themselves on at least one important aspect of v. 24, the identity of the "we" who are said to know that the disciple's testimony is true. Jackson thinks they are the author and his loyal Christian readers; Bauckham thinks the "we" is the author himself, using a "plural of authoritative testimony." But it is apparently what the two scholars agree upon that comprises the real challenge to the conventional view. What Jackson and Bauckham agree on is the idea that John 21:24ab points directly to the Beloved Disciple as author of the book, an idea once thought to have all but flatlined. With Culpepper's response to these scholars, however, a healthy dialogue has recommenced. The purpose of this paper is to seek to further that dialogue by reviewing the state of play on the most salient issues and by presenting some new evidence drawn from a study of self-disclosures, testimonies, and verifications in the Johannine literature.

1 Third Person Self-Reference

John 21:24 speaks of the disciple whom Jesus loved in the third person singular: "This is the disciple who . . ." Most scholars, as Jackson observed, take it for granted "[t]hat the third person singular in John 21:24b is quite utterly inconceivable as a self-reference."[12] Jackson countered this assumption with a discussion of the authorial third person used in ancient narratives meant to be historical,[13] detailing its use in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Josephus. All of these authors typically use the third person when referring to themselves in their narratives, apparently in order to preserve the impression of objectivity.[14] Josephus, for instance, "allows himself . . . as narrator to obtrude into a narrative in which at the same time, for personal and conventional historiographic reasons, he hides himself behind the image of a third person."[15] Of special interest is Thucydides's "signature" at 4.104.4, "Thucydides the son of Oloros, who composed this history (ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψεν)." Says Jackson, "This is exactly, I suggest, what the author of the Gospel of John has done in

12 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 24.

13 Ibid., 24–29. Jackson states that using the first person, singular or plural, made a more personal connection with the reader and was mainly used for entertainment or fiction in writing.

14 Bauckham, "Fourth Gospel," 137, concurs with this: "it was standard historiographical practice for an author who takes part in his own narrative to refer to himself in the third person as one of the characters within the narrative and only to speak in the first person in prefatory or similar non-narrative matter" (citing for support Wheeldon, "True Stories," 45–47).

15 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 29.

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς . . . ὁ γράψας ταῦτα in 21:24." John, then, very much like these historians, refers to himself in the third person throughout the narrative until the very end, when, in what approximates a documentary subscription, "he continues the third-person self-reference ('It is this disciple . . .') but simultaneously uncovers himself ('. . . who testifies to what is reported here and who has written this report')."[16] Then in the very last sentence of the book (21:25), "he concludes with a more familiar offhanded aside to his addressees."[17]

Culpepper's recent article notes Jackson's treatment of the authorial third person used by historical writers but, surprisingly, leaves it stand with no critique.[18] I have to judge that the evidence Jackson presents is both relevant and compelling. It paints an entirely credible, larger literary context for the author responsible for the Fourth Gospel to write of himself objectively in the third person and finally to reveal himself near the end of his work, if indeed that is what he chose to do. Perhaps this is one reason why the ancients seem to have been so entirely oblivious to a problem that modern scholarship finds to be so insurmountable. Irenaeus, *Haer*. 3.1.1, effortlessly identifies the John who wrote the Gospel as "the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon his breast." Origen, when he comes in his commentary to John 13:23, the first mention of the disciple "whom Jesus loved," leaps confidently to the last mention of this disciple in the rumor about him (put in the third person) in 21:20–23, and states, "Now, that this disciple was John who wrote the Gospel is clear from the words which are added, which go as follows, 'This is the disciple who also testifies of these things, who wrote these things'" (*Comm. John* 32.261).[19]

Augustine cites the example of John writing of himself in the third person as a "given," an example everybody will instinctively agree with, in order to prove a more debatable case. In discussing the possibility of an authorial use of the third person in Matt 3:3, he says,

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16 Ibid., 30. Attridge, "Restless Quest," criticizes Jackson for assuming "that a non-literary form will have the same function when transferred to a literary environment"; the parallels, Attridge thinks, are too generic ("Restless Quest," 76).

17 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 30. Jackson sees v. 25 as "a shift from the documentary to an epistolary subgenre."

18 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 350. There seems to be more interest in exposing what is perceived to be "the net gain of Jackson's work," which is "that 'all obstacles in the way of taking John 21:2 at its word and holding the Beloved Disciple to be the author of the Gospel of John are removed' and therefore the ancient narrative has a 'high probability of historical accuracy'" (350–51, citing Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 33 and 34). Apparently, this exposé is enough to disqualify the evidence mustered by Jackson.

19 Translation from Heine, *Origen: Commentary*, 390–91.

> For that, indeed, is a mode of speech which the evangelists Matthew and John are in the habit of using in reference to themselves. Thus Matthew has adopted the phrase, "He found a man sitting at the receipt of custom," instead of "He found me." John, too, says, "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true," instead of "I am," etc., or, "My testimony is true." Yea, our Lord Himself very frequently uses the words, "The Son of man," or, "The Son of God," instead of saying, "I." So, again, He tells us that "it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day," instead of saying, "It behoved me to suffer.[20]

Again when refuting Faustus, Augustine exhibits what he considers to be either the ignorance of Faustus or his desire to mislead, when the Manichaean argues that Matthew could not have written the Gospel attributed to him because the evangelist says, "He saw him and said to him, 'Follow me'" instead of "He saw me and said to me, 'Follow me.'"

> Faustus can hardly be so ignorant as not to have read or heard that narrators, when speaking of themselves, often use a construction as if speaking of another . . . It is needless to resort to other writings to quote examples of this construction from profane authors for the information of our friends, and for the refutation of Faustus. [Then, after citing examples from both Moses and Matthew] And John does the same; for towards the end of his book he says: "Peter, turning, saw the disciple whom Jesus loved, who also lay on His breast at supper, and who said to the Lord, "Who is it that shall betray Thee?" Does he say, Peter, turning, saw me? Or will you argue from this that John did not write this Gospel? But he adds a little after: "This is the disciple that testifies of Jesus, and has written these things; and we know that his testimony is true." Does he say, I am the disciple who testify of Jesus, and who have written these things, and we know that my testimony is true? Evidently this style is common in writers of narratives. There are innumerable instances in which the Lord Himself uses it. "When the Son of man," He says, "cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" Not, When I come, shall I find? Again, "The Son of man came eating and drinking;" not, I came. Again, "The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and

20 Augustine, *Harmony of the Gospels* 2.12.25 (*NPNF*[1] 6:116).

> they that hear shall live;" not, My voice. And so in many other places. This may suffice to satisfy inquirers and to refute scoffers.[21]

We note here in passing that Augustine apparently understood John to be speaking of himself in both the third person references in 24ab and in the "we" of 24c. Augustine could not have anticipated there would come a time in which the majority of scholars would answer his *reductio ad absurdum*, "Or will you argue from this that John did not write this Gospel?" in the affirmative (apparently even Faustus was not that hardy). Nevertheless, particularly his calling attention to the self-referential practice of Jesus in all four of the church's Gospels and most especially in John, remains highly appropriate, as we shall see.

2 "The One Who Has Written These Things": Source Disclosure or Self-Disclosure?

After John 21:20–23 relates a story in which "the disciple Jesus loved" is an actor, spoken of repeatedly in the third person, v. 24ab then makes a "revelation" to the reader: "This is the disciple who is testifying (ὁ μαρτυρῶν) to these things and has written them (ὁ γράψας ταῦτα)." "The one who has written," of course, does not necessarily mean that this disciple is the one putting stylus to writing surface. But even if ὁ γράψας ταῦτα is given a causative reading, this does not affect the claim that this disciple is the author. Reference has frequently been made to John 19:19, "Pilate also wrote a title and put it on the cross; it read, 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews,'" where Pilate presumably did not write the title personally but caused it to be written, as if this somehow creates a disjunction between the disciple and the person who actually composed the Gospel. Bauckham has written a devastating review of the origin and history of this interpretation, concluding that "no one has yet produced any evidence that *graphein* can be used to refer to a relationship between 'author' and text more remote than that of the dictation of a text to a scribe. No one seems even to have looked for such evidence."[22] Unless new and convincing evidence is produced in support of this interpretation, Bauckham's review ought to signal its abandonment. Ὁ γράψας could refer to a scribe (Rom 16:22) or it could refer to the author at whose behest a scribe writes (Acts 23:25). John 21:24 is certainly not revealing that the beloved disciple acted as someone's scribe. Whoever it

21 Augustine, *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 17.4 (*NPNF*[1] 4:235–36).

22 Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 361, see 358–62.

was that "wrote" (or was responsible for writing) John 21:24 is claiming, whether in truth or in falsehood, that he, the writer, is that disciple.

What I wish to show now is that John 21:24 belongs to a group of passages in the Gospel that may be termed self-disclosure texts. In several of the discourses of the Gospel, at a climactic point in the discourse, Jesus reveals that he is a person or entity that, up to that point in the conversation, had been spoken of in the third person.[23] The Samaritan woman, for instance, after calling Jesus a prophet, refers to a third person, the Messiah who is to come. At the climax of their dialogue she states her belief that "When he comes, he will proclaim all things to us" (4:25). At this point Jesus discloses, "I who speak to you am he" (4:26). On analogy with 4:26, the author of 21:24a could have written, "I who write to you am this disciple."

Similar are a set of self-disclosures involving a metaphor, a parable, or the personification of an abstract idea. In Jesus' dialogue with the crowd at Capernaum, reference is first made to "the manna given to the fathers to eat in the wilderness," also called the "bread from heaven" (John 6:31, 32). Then, after introducing the startling notion that the true bread of God is a person, "he who comes down from heaven and gives life to the world" (6:33), Jesus utters the dramatic disclosures: "I am the bread of life" (6:35 and again in 48), and "I am the living bread that came down from heaven" (6:51). In John 11:25, after Martha confesses that she knows her brother will rise again in the resurrection on the last day, Jesus announces: "I am the resurrection and the life." In ch. 14 Jesus assures the disciples that they know the way to the place where he is going, and Thomas protests that they do not know where he is going and do not know the way there. At that point Jesus announces, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me" (14:6).

In John 10:1–7 Jesus uses what the writer calls a "parable" (παροιμία, 10:6) that involves a flock of sheep, the flock's true shepherd, and a false shepherd, then also a gate and a gatekeeper. Jesus' listeners, however, do not understand his discourse. So Jesus unlocks the mystery of his παροιμία by identifying two of its figures: "Very truly, I tell you, I am the gate for the sheep" (10:7, 9) and, "I am the

23 In one place, explicit self-disclosure is unnecessary because the unspoken claim to identification is rightly understood by Jesus' listeners. Note how Jesus speaks in the third person of the Son of Man in John 6:27, 29: "Do not work for the food that perishes, but for the food that endures for eternal life, which the Son of Man will give you. For it is on him that God the Father has set his seal . . . This is the work of God, that you believe in him whom he has sent." Yet in v. 30 the crowd *understands* instinctively that Jesus is talking about himself: "What sign are you going to give us then, so that we may see it and believe you? What work are you performing?".

good shepherd" (10:11, 14). Here in ch. 10, as in the previously named instances of self-disclosure (4:26; 6:35, 48, 51; 11:25; 14:6), Jesus uses the first person singular "I am" (ἐγώ εἰμι)[24] to identify himself as the figure or the entity in question.

The case of the figure called "the Son of Man" is most interesting and most relevant. Here is a character (one would have to call him that, literarily) who enters the dialogues of the Gospel some fourteen times. He is always referred to in the third person. Jesus, or the narrator, sometimes offers a fairly involved discourse about this figure. In John 3:13–21, the character of the "Son of Man" glides imperceptibly into the Son of God. Both of these, of course, are titles for Jesus, but this has to be inferred by the reader. Still inferential, but somewhat clearer, is the connection in 6:53. Here, after saying that his flesh is the bread that he will give for the life of the world (6:51), Jesus tells the confused crowd, "unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you" (6:53). He then proceeds to speak of himself in the first person, as the one whose flesh and blood impart eternal life (6:54–58). The alternation between the third person references to the Son of Man and Jesus' first person speeches easily allows the reader/hearer to put two and two together, but up to this point there is still no explicit identification. In a later episode in 8:28, after telling the people that what he declares to them is what he heard from the one who sent him, and after we learn that the listeners did not understand that Jesus was referring to the Father, Jesus responds, "'When you have lifted up the Son of Man, then you will realize that I am he (ἐγώ εἰμι), and that I do nothing on my own, but I speak these things as the Father instructed me" (John 8:28). Though still subtle, here then is another self-disclosure using "I am."

But then comes the climactic[25] Son of Man self-disclosure text in 9:37, and this one is even more like the self-disclosure in 21:24, for in it Jesus does not use "I" but maintains the use of the third person. Jesus asks the formerly blind man whether he believes in a figure called "the Son of Man." The man answers, "'And who is he, sir, that I may believe in him?'" Jesus replies, "You have seen

24 There are, of course, several other "I am" statements by Jesus in this Gospel, but in some of them Jesus' self-disclosure begins his discourse, rather than coming at a later point in the dialogue/monologue revealing Jesus to be a previously mentioned subject of conversation (8:12, the light of the world; 9:5 light of the world; 10:36 the Son of God; 15:1, 5, the true vine).

25 In the final opportunity for a climactic reference to the Son of Man in the Gospel, Jesus *refuses* the demand from the crowd to identify himself with this figure: "We have heard from the law that the Messiah remains forever. How can you say that the Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man?" (12:34). The reader, of course, knows the answer by now, but Jesus avoids the question and instead advises his hearers to walk in the light before the darkness overtakes them.

him, and it is he who speaks to you" (καὶ ἑώρακας αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ λαλῶν μετὰ σοῦ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, 9:36–37). In this self-disclosure, Jesus foreshadows more nearly what will happen in the climactic, authorial self-disclosure in 21:24. On analogy with Jesus' self-disclosure in 9:37, the author of 21:24a would have written, "you have been reading this disciple's writing, and it is he who is bearing witness of these things to you," which is very close to what he did write: "This is the disciple who is bearing witness to these things, and who has written these things."

This list of self-disclosures on the part of Jesus, and particularly the one in 9:37, forms the Johannine literary context for the self-disclosure in 21:24. In each of the preceding points of self-disclosure Jesus reveals himself to be a subject previously mentioned in the conversation, a subject spoken of in the third person. The example of the Son of Man is particularly instructive because it is a figure that, like the beloved disciple, is referred to not once or twice but several times previously in the Gospel, always in the third person. At the end of his Gospel, by narrating a story about a character spoken of in the third person, and then at a climactic point in the narrative identifying himself as that character, the author follows the same pattern of self-disclosure that has been exemplified multiple times by the figure of Jesus in his narrative.[26]

The obvious point is that 21:24ab is not a *source*-disclosure—the author disclosing that the principle source for the material in his book was the disciple who had reclined next to Jesus at the supper—but a *self*-disclosure, revealing that the author *is* that favored disciple. Just as there is no "distance," no third-party, standing between Jesus and the Son of Man in 9:37, there is no distance, no third-party, standing between "this one" and "the disciple who is testifying concerning these things and who wrote these things" in John 21:24ab. This is the most natural way to read the text grammatically, it is the way most suited to the Johannine literary tendencies, and it is the way early readers instinctively understood it. That some other party, an editor/redactor, could be thought to have slipped in between the beloved disciple and the author, at this point speaks only to the power of a pre-imposed theory about the composition of the Gospel.

26 There are other culminating disclosures of Jesus that are not "self-disclosures" in the Gospel, suggesting that we are seeing what is truly a stylistic habit on the part of the author. One thinks of the climactic John 1:14, where the previously introduced "Word" is revealed to have become flesh and dwelt among us; of 1:15 and 1:30, where John the Baptist identifies Jesus as the one whom he had previously announced anonymously.

3 The Beloved Disciple, Dead or Alive

Nevertheless, there is at least one, contextual reason often cited for holding that the real author has simply "attributed" his work to the beloved disciple in 21:24, a reason that, if it could be convincingly established, would indeed be a clincher. It is that the beloved disciple had already died long before these words were written. Why else would it be mentioned that a rumor had spread that this disciple would not die, except for the fact that he actually had died, and this fact had to be accounted for? Why else would a rumor that the disciple would not die need to be squelched, unless he had already died?

Despite the massive popularity of this view, however, Jackson seems justified in concluding that "[t]he dogmatic finality with which the inference of a deceased Beloved Disciple is regularly stated is not the product of anything solidly supportive of it in the text itself."[27] Often the disciple's prevenient death is presented as so self-evident that it requires no defense.[28] It is important to remember, however, that this interpretation is but an inference. Nothing in the text states that the disciple has died.

And of course, there is another entirely plausible way of reading vv. 20–23, one that satisfied interpreters for many centuries, who apparently found it to be quite an obvious reading. The rumor might have needed to be squelched because the disciple was still alive, and speculation about the Lord's return was being tied to this disciple's longevity and ostensibly approaching death. One could even argue that the rumor would only have had relevance while the beloved disciple was alive. If he had died, and the rumor had been allowed to circulate uncensored, then surely the focus would no longer be on the disciple and his death but on the Lord and his failure to return. This would seem especially so if, as many interpreters say, the disciple had been "long since dead."[29] For in this case the community obviously would have somehow found a way to function successfully for a "long" period of time, despite the non-return of the

27 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 2.

28 "It is more likely that 21:23 implies that the Beloved Disciple has died" (Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 45); "Given vv. 20–23, we are to suppose that he has died" (Hengel, *Johannine Question*, 84); cf. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 225; "The nature of the discussion about his death in 21.20–23 suggests that, at the time of writing, in all probability he has died and that the episode represents the attempt to come to terms with this" (Lincoln, "Beloved Disciple," 21); "John 21:18–19 and 22–23 indicate that both Peter and the Beloved Disciple are long since dead" (Moloney, "John 21 and the Johannine Story," 247); the author of v. 24, "explicitly distinguishes himself from the BD who by this time has died" (von Wahlde, *Gospel and Letters of John*, 2:897).

29 E.g., Moloney, "John 21 and the Johannine Story," 247.

Lord. And in that case, there surely would have been no need to reintroduce the potentially damaging rumor, and indeed there would have been an unnecessary risk in doing so. Verse 23 makes good sense, on the other hand, if the disciple was fully alive, and more especially so if he was quite old at the time when the book was released. For it was when he was no longer a young man, no longer middle-aged, but actually old and seemingly not far away from natural death, that such a rumor would be most capable of arousing the greatest interest. It may or may not be a coincidence that early tradition viewed the author as someone who lived a very long life.[30]

But even more important than these considerations, it seems to me, is simply the connection to the very next verse, 21:24. If the disciple who is the subject of 21:20–23 had written the present book, as 21:24 asserts, then clearly he had not died before he had written the book! If on the other hand he was dead, he could not have written the book. Even as pseudepigraphy, it was surely asking too much of the readers, *if* they knew that the disciple had already died, to believe that this disciple, being dead, was still writing. This is apparently why Harnack felt he needed to propose that the words ὁ καὶ γράψας ταῦτα in v. 24 were a later insertion into an otherwise integral book.[31] Yet everything falls into place if v. 23 means not that the disciple is dead but that people are speculating that he will not die before the Lord returns.[32] Then v. 24ab can be read as it is written, as a self-disclosure and identification of the author, indeed as one of the many self-disclosure passages in the Gospel, with no need for elaborate explanations. This is surely the literary import of 24ab.

4 The "Immodest" Disciple?

Considerably less weighty, it seems to me, is another objection to reading 21:24ab as a self-disclosure of the author, the difficulty in believing that any author would have chosen to give himself the title, "the disciple whom

30 Irenaeus, *Haer*. 2.22.5; 3.3.4; 5.30.3; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis. div*. 42.

31 Harnack, "Das 'Wir,'" 109, writes, "Aber es ergibt sich dann auch daß die Worte ὁ καὶ γράψας ταῦτα unmöglich ursprünglich sein können … denn es ist undenkbar, daß der Verfasser des v. 24 so kopflos gewesen ist, eine Geschichte zu erzählen, die den Tod des Lieblingsjüngers voraussetzt, und ihm dann selbst zum schriftstellerischen Erzähler dieser Geschichte zu machen"; cf. Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 21.

32 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 21–22.

Jesus loved."[33] Only this disciple's later followers and admirers, it is thought, would have been able to apply to him this title, for if it had come from the disciple himself it would be unthinkably self-promoting. Predictably, however, other modern interpreters (not to mention ancient ones), view "the disciple whom Jesus loved" as a not inappropriate form of self-designation. Jackson is right, in any case, that we are not dealing here with a true "title," because the expressions used in the Gospel for describing this disciple are neither simple nor consistently phrased (like "the Messiah," "the Son of Man," "the Teacher of Righteousness," or "the Beloved Disciple" of Johannine scholarship), but entail a number of variations.[34] And, in my view, it would seem at least as difficult to believe that an editor or a community who wanted to honor this disciple would have given him an honorific designation that did not distinguish him from Jesus' other disciples. Quite unabashedly, the Gospel indicates that Jesus loved Lazarus (11:3, 36, ὃν φιλεῖς, cf. 20:2) and his sisters (11:4, ἠγάπα), and indeed, that he loved all his disciples (13:1, ἀγαπήσας). Taken as a self-description, however, "the one whom Jesus loved" can be read as denoting the self-perception of one who had a deep sense of his having been the undeserving object of Jesus' favor, a personalized expression of the teaching of 1 John 4:10 and 19: "In this is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us (ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς)"; "We love because he first loved us (ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς)."

Seldom mentioned is the fact that the author, by using an evocative self-designation, would again be imitating the practice of Jesus, who gives himself several aliases: "the Son of Man" (1:51; 3:13, 14; 5:27; 6:27, 53, 62; 8:28; 9:35; 12:23; 13:31); "the Christ" (4:26); "the Son (of God)" (5:19–23); "the bread of life" (6:35, 48); "the bread that came down from heaven" (6:41); "the living bread that came down from heaven" (6:51); "the door of the sheep" (10:7); "the good shepherd" (10:14); and "the resurrection and the life" (11:25).

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33 E.g., Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 45 (objection number 4); Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 360–61.

34 Namely, the substitution of ἐφίλει for the usual ἠγάπα in 20:2, and the designation ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς in 20:3, 4, 8, according to Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 31. Jackson believed the description emphasized, for the author's anti-docetic concerns, his personal relationship with "the bodily Jesus" both "at the onset and then the culmination of his quite un-docetic suffering" (i.e., at the supper and at the cross, and finally with the retrospective reference back to the supper and the nearness to Jesus' breast) (31). I find it more difficult to believe that the readers/hearers would have made all these connections.

5 Who Are "We"? The Identity of the Verifiers in 21:24c

The natural meaning of v. 24ab by itself, and its natural meaning both in the larger context of ancient narratives, where authors customarily use the third person when referring to themselves as characters in the narrative, and in the narrower context of other Johannine self-disclosures, is that the author is here climactically revealing himself to be the disciple whom Jesus loved, who reclined next to Jesus at the supper. The book is his testimony. But now comes the mysterious affirmation, "And we know that his testimony is true," an eight-word testing ground for competing theories of the book's composition. "[I]t cannot be maintained," wrote Brown with confident nonchalance a half-century ago, that the beloved disciple "was the final redactor of the Gospel . . . because the 'we' of xxi 24 is distinct from the BD."[35] The irony, as we shall see, is that despite its acceptability to many interpreters,[36] Brown's statement can only be true on the basis of an interpretation of the "we" in 21:24c that he ultimately does not accept.

5.1 *Grammatical Alternatives for the "We"*

When the first person plural "we" or "us" is used, there are two broad grammatical possibilities for its meaning: it may be a real plural, or it may be a plural used for a singular, what I shall call an "authorial plural."[37] If it is a real plural, it may be either inclusive (or associative),[38] that is, meant to include

35 Brown, *John*, 1: xcix. He continued, "and because the BD was probably dead when ch. xxi was written (xxi 22–23)."

36 "The writer identifies himself with the 'we' over against 'this disciple'" (Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 45). "Obviously the claim [of v. 24b] cannot be literally true for the conclusion of the Gospel because the sentence continues 'and we know that his testimony is true'" (Culpepper, *John the Son of Zebedee*, 71). "At least in v. 24 the plural *oidamen* is no longer a statement by one author but is made by his pupils (or by one of these pupils) as a plurality of witnesses who guarantee the truth of the work attributed to the beloved disciple" (Hengel, *Johannine Question*, 84, cf. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 225).

37 I prefer not to call this an authoritative plural, or plural of majesty, or plural of "augmented empowerment" as Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," does, or even a plural of "authoritative testimony," as Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses* does, for such labels arguably assume too much about what is supposedly being implied by the person who uses it. In this sense, of course, the notion of "author" does not necessarily carry any connotations of "writer" but simply denotes the originator as the "author" and sole referent of the predication.

38 For the terminology "associative" and "dissociative," see Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 12, who is followed by Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*.

both the author and the reader; or it may be exclusive (or dissociative), meant to include the author and a group associated with the author but not including the reader. For the interpretation of this statement in John, we must add another possibility. The exclusive "we" could either include the author of the surrounding verses, or it could represent the *intrusion* of a new authorial voice, a group that does not include the main author. This makes a total of four possibilities.[39] For our purposes I shall label them *intrusive, exclusive, inclusive*, and *authorial* and shall briefly discuss them in that order. What I believe we shall see is that, contrary to the prevailing opinion, none of these options precludes what we have identified as the natural reading of 21:24ab, that the author of the book is disclosing that he is the beloved disciple.

First, "and we know that his testimony is true" could represent the *intrusion* of a group of people who are attesting to the truth of the beloved disciple's witness. In this case, John 21:24c marks the brief entrance and exit of another authorial voice apart from that of the author of the surrounding verses (and, as far as the implied reader is concerned, of the entire book). Many recent scholars have expressed themselves in ways that seem to assume this position, so much so that Bauckham in 2006 claimed that this view was "the most common view."[40] This is indeed the view that must be presupposed by Brown when he says that the beloved disciple could not have been "the final redactor of the Gospel . . . because the 'we' of xxi 24 is distinct from the BD."[41] The only way we could be assured that the "we" is distinct from the beloved disciple is if the author is himself no part of the "we," if the "we" represents a party that has intruded into the text, as if these eight words were a gloss, or perhaps a colophon, of a group that is adding its seal to the Gospel. Somewhat curiously, then, when Brown came to the part of his commentary where he treated 21:24 directly, he rejected "the concept that the 'we' represents an authoritative group that did not take part in the writing but is now adding a seal of

39 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 12, relying on but modifying Harnack, "Das 'Wir,'" identifies only three, not taking account of the intrusive idea. Jackson says that the consensus of critical opinion when he wrote was option 2b., "in the form of a Johannine community speaking as theological successor of the deceased Beloved disciple."

40 Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 369. Examples may be found in Lindars, *John*, 641: "The we . . . represents the *imprimatur* of the church in which it originated," and Keener, *John*, 2:1241: "At least the plural in 21:24, however, would seem to represent others, perhaps the Johannine circle of disciples, confirming the veracity of the beloved disciple's witness."

41 Brown, *John*, 1:xcix.

approval."[42] Rather, "According to our theory of Gospel composition . . . the 'we' represents the Johannine writer responsible for the addition of ch. xxi and his fellow Johannine disciples."[43] This is in fact the "exclusive" or dissociative view, which we shall consider next. In effect, though I am confident this was not Brown's intention, one view of the "we" was used to disqualify the beloved disciple's role as writer, then another view of the "we" was finally advocated, one that does not disqualify him (so I shall argue).[44]

Yet it is not even the case that the intrusive understanding of the "we" in 21:24c disqualifies the beloved disciple from being the book's author. If these eight words, or even the final verse and a half or two verses, are an addendum from a third party, this does not necessarily affect the first 20 chapters and 23 verses. It would not make that third party a prolific "final redactor" of the entire Gospel. (One might adduce the example of the person who added the long ending to Mark, who, judging from the textual history of the rest of Mark, did not rework that text in any significant way.) Lightfoot believed that v. 24, and Westcott believed that vv. 24 and 25, represented an endorsement added by others to an already finished book, a book written by the beloved disciple.[45]

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42 Brown, *John*, 2:1124. He states, "We know of no early attestation of the practice of adding such colophons in Christian writing, at least before the 5th century" (1124–25).

43 Ibid., 1125.

44 Brown is not the only supporter of the conventional view to do this. Von Wahlde, who believes ch. 21 was added in the third edition of the Gospel, states in the first volume of his commentary that in 21:24c "it is (as it was in the Prologue) the voice of the community that seems to be represented. It is not the author or the witness to the tradition himself since the verse testifies about the veracity of the BD" (*Gospel and Letters of John*, 1:297). This sounds as if 24c represents a scribal intrusion by another separate party, the "we," speaking on its own behalf. But in volume 2, von Wahlde writes, "The author of this verse is not distinct from the author of the remainder of the third edition" (2:897). This author, "explicitly distinguishes himself from the BD who by this time has died. Undoubtedly the 'we' is intended to refer to the witness of the community that now is directed to attesting the truth of the witness of the BD" (2:897). It is entirely unclear to me how this author "explicitly distinguishes himself from the BD."

45 Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 196, saw v. 24 as "a confirmation or attestation of the truth of the narrative" on the part of John's "friends and disciples, and it bears out the traditional account, given in the Muratorian Canon, of the origin of the Fourth Gospel"; cf., with more specificity, Lightfoot, *Essays on the Work*, 187, where he credits "certain older members of the Church, like Aristion and the Presbyter John, who, as eyewitnesses of Christ's earthly life, could guarantee the correctness of the narrative." Westcott, *John*, 306, thought the last two verses were "separate notes attached to the Gospel before its publication," probably by "the Ephesian elders." In the earlier history of interpretation, it is only v. 25 that was (along with 5:4) sometimes suspected of being an early addition. It appears that this idea

We come now to the second option for understanding the "we," the one that is actually supported by most who hold to the "conventional" view. "And we know that his testimony is true" could represent a group such as was just mentioned, but joined by the author himself. Thus, the person who wrote the surrounding words (and as far as the implied reader is concerned, the entire book) is still writing, but is including along with himself a group of co-authenticators. Or perhaps better, in this clause the editor briefly steps out of his role as narrator to act as penman for a group, a group of which he considers himself a member. This use of the "we" is not intrusive, as the author is still speaking, but could be called *exclusive* or *dissociative* because it represents a group of people "in the know" who are attesting to readers who are presumed not yet to know, that the disciple's testimony is true.

Again, it is usually assumed that the presence of the "we" in 24c somehow eliminates the beloved disciple as author, thereby supporting the assumption of one or more, later, editorial hands active throughout the Gospel, and authorizing the search for authorial layers.[46] But no matter how often it is repeated, this is simply not the case. Since, in this view, the author is still speaking, even if he is now joined by others, his third-person reference ("*his* testimony is true") here is no different from his third person references to himself as a character in the earlier parts of the Gospel. If indeed the author has been writing of himself in the third person previous to v. 24c, there is no reason why he would not continue the literary device in this clause, whether he is drawing others into his circle or not. The only way the beloved disciple could be *excluded* as author of the book (at least as the author of 1:1—21:23) would be to show that a narrator *cannot* speak of himself as a character in his narrative by using the third person. And this cannot be done—as is abundantly demonstrated by the examples of ancient historians cited by Jackson, by the examples of early readers' intuitive understanding of John, and indeed, by the abundant examples of Jesus in this very Gospel.

Third, "and we know that his testimony is true" could represent *inclusively* not only the author and any others associated with him, but the readers as well. One could understand the author as referring to what he assumes is common knowledge: "as is well known" (cf. 9:29), or view the plural as what Jackson calls "an associative collective, where the 'you' is subsumed under the 'we' as the author's loyal Christian audience addressed directly in 19:35

originated with Theodore of Mopseuestia. See Birdsall, "Source of Catena Comments," and now, Conti, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary*, 169.

46 As Burge says, speaking of the group in 24c, "These followers no doubt edited the Gospel to produce the text that we possess today" ("Situating John's Gospel," 45).

and 20:31."[47] In this view, 24c would be like saying, "and we *all* know that his testimony is true." Neither does this approach disqualify the beloved disciple. Since, as in the dissociative view, the author of 24c is writing as a member of the group represented by the "we," his reference to "his" in "we know that his testimony is true" is still a reference to himself.[48]

Fourth, "and we know that his testimony is true" could be an "authorial plural," meant to represent the author alone. As we have seen, this seems to be the way Augustine understood the statement in his refutation of Faustus. Chapman called this a plural of majesty, Bauckham a plural of "authoritative testimony."[49] The significance of 24c in this view is that it shows the author, at the end of his book, giving a "verification" of his own testimony in the book: "And I know that my testimony is true."[50] Now that his identity has been disclosed, he concludes his book by affirming again (cf. 20:30–31) the necessary selectivity of his record of Jesus' life,[51] and possibly hinting at the existence of other accounts. Obviously, this approach identifies the beloved disciple as both the author of the book and as the one who stands at the end to attest to its truth.

Thus, none of the four ways of understanding the "we" contradicts the natural reading of 21:24ab, which is that the author is there disclosing to his readers that he is "the disciple whom Jesus loved . . . the one who had reclined next to Jesus at the supper and had said, 'Lord, who is it that is going to betray you?'" (21:20).

5.2 *Evaluating Alternatives*

While none of the four approaches to 21:24c offers the interpreter any solid reason to disregard the author's self-disclosure in 21:24ab, is one approach

47 Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 23–24.

48 Ibid., 24.

49 Chapman, "'We Know," 384; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, many times.

50 Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 394, on what he calls the editorial plural: "The normal presupposition is that a given first person plural is not editorial. But when an author shifts unexpectedly from the singular to the plural, there is [*sic*] grounds for suspecting an epistolary plural. The *context* is the primary factor involved in determining whether or not *we* is editorial. There is, however, a morphological clue as well: *The epistolary plural normally occurs in the nominative case*." Both conditions Wallace names are present in John 21:24: there is an abrupt shift in number (also person), and, if a separate pronoun were used it would have been in the nominative case.

51 On this element occurring at the close of books, see especially Keener, *John*, 2:1241–42: "The concluding announcement that the writer has provided only a sample of the subject's works was common in hyperbolic praise of one's subject."

superior to the others? Probably the most serious problem[52] that has been noted for both the intrusive and the exclusive "we" ideas ("we, an intrusive third party" or "we, my associates and I") is that the members of this group are unidentified.[53] The innocent reader has no clear idea who they are, for they are nowhere either named or described in the text. Thus we find that exegetes have postulated many identities for them. We may perhaps divide these proposals into four categories: the author's peers (however understood);[54] "the author's pupil or pupils";[55] the community's leaders (again, however understood);[56] or the larger Johannine community itself.[57] Not infrequently, individual scholars express themselves differently in different publications, or in the same publication, as supporting more than one of these positions. If, as the conventional view insists, the readers are supposed to need a plurality of witnesses to vouch for the witness of the beloved disciple, how are

52 Other problems could be treated. Critics of the exclusive (dissociative) plural say that nowhere else in the Gospel can such a plural be certainly identified (Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 22, citing Harnack as well). I would agree with this, though it should be said that none of the views can claim a consensus on the meaning of the other narrative plurals in the Gospel. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 369, argues that vv. 24–25 are integral to the original author's literary design (see 364–69). I agree with this position as well, although not with all of Bauckham's arguments for it. In particular, his argument that the full contents of both the prologue (1:1–18) and epilogue (ch. 21) are original because "The prologue consists of 496 syllables" (agreeable to the fact that 496 is a triangular number, a perfect number, and is the numerical value of the word *monogenēs*) and "the Epilogue . . . has 496 *words*" (364, 365) begs the question of which text of John is the original. And if someone has found the original text with all the original words and syllables, what were readers to conclude who happened to possess only a slightly variant text?

53 Chapman, "'We Know," 381; Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 22, who notes that it was a key objection of Harnack's ("Das 'Wir'") as well; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 369.

54 Whether these are considered to be "the author's fellow Johannine disciples" (Brown, *John*, 2:1125), or the so-called "Johannine school" (Lincoln, "Beloved Disciple," 22, 24; Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 363, 364), or the author's fellow apostles or personal disciples of Jesus.

55 Hengel, *Johannine Question*, 84; cf. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 225. Hengel is correct that the plural could signify just one more person besides the author.

56 "[L]leaders of the Johannine community (sometimes called the Ephesian elders), the Johannine writers and preachers." Brown, *John*, 2:1124.

57 Ibid.; Lindars, *John*, 641; Culpepper, *John the Son of Zebedee*, 71, says, "There is no need, nor any evidence, to maintain that this group had some official standing, as a group of apostles or presbyters. To the contrary, the pronoun is adequately explained as a reference to a community of believers who had gathered around the Beloved Disciple."

they helped to that end if the witnesses have not identified themselves? And if modern scholars cannot establish who the "we" were, how would ancient readers have done so?

The inclusive (associative) view ("I and you, my loyal Christian readers") seems to escape the problem that the readers would not know the identity of the "we." They are the "we." This view only seems to make sense, however, on the supposition that the author expected his readership would be virtually limited to insider, Johannine Christians. First-time readers who were not insider members of the Johannine community could not have already "known" that the beloved disciple's witness was true,[58] nor would they have known those (the original "we") who allegedly did. Thus, it would seem that anywhere the Gospel might travel beyond this rather closed community, and even beyond this community's first generation, the affirmation could not have carried much weight, and at this point the associative view would have the same problem as the dissociative view. The significance of this problem is, of course, greatly lessened if one thinks that the Gospel was only ever intended for a very limited, insider audience (on which see below).

Ultimately, Culpepper seems to recognize the problem posed by fact that the group of witnesses is not identified in the text. The new generation of Johannine Christians, for whom Culpepper assumes that the last edition of the Gospel was prepared, "would not have known the Beloved Disciple and may have needed the kind of certification provided by the *sphragis*. On the other hand, would readers outside the Johannine community (or communities) have known the 'we' so that the editor would not have needed to identify the group for which he speaks?"[59] Therefore, Culpepper proposes restricting the circle of the "we" from the community as a whole to a subset of the community, namely, the "Johannine school." This group would then be attesting to the truth of the beloved disciple's testimony to a new generation of Johannine Christians who had not known that disciple but only knew those surviving members of the Johannine school who had been associated with him, "and would have respected their authority."[60]

This solution seems plausible enough, though it brings up a number of further points. First, it of course assumes the validity of a larger theory about the composition of the Gospel, the so-called conventional view. This theory has the last chapter and various other parts of the Gospel written not by the beloved disciple and any assistants he might have had, but by someone who

58 Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 369.

59 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 363.

60 Ibid.

had just substantially re-edited a pre-existing Gospel. We have already found that this is a most unlikely scenario for understanding the final verses of the Gospel because v. 24, in keeping with the pattern of Jesus' self-disclosures in the Gospel, is making known in a rather characteristically Johannine way that it is the beloved disciple who has written the book. There is nothing in the text itself that would dissuade a reader from this reading. This, then, effectively moves the above scenario back a step. The "we" in an exclusive or dissociative understanding would most naturally signify not those who knew a now-deceased beloved disciple, but rather, those who, along with the still-breathing beloved disciple, would have known Jesus. It would be the beloved disciple's fellow disciples of Jesus who could testify to the community around them (the insider community addressed in the Gospel) that this disciple's testimony was true. This, in turn, would presuppose that there was at least one more disciple of Jesus who, along with the beloved disciple, was still alive and living among the community.[61]

Second, this scenario, much like the one envisioned in the associative view taken by Jackson, seems to presume an almost exclusively "insider" purpose for the Gospel, one in which the editor and testators (or, accepting the point just made, the beloved disciple and his co-disciple[s] of Jesus) did not envision circulation of their Gospel, even its final version, outside the community. This would be a departure from what has been a prominent component of the "conventional view" as held by many of its proponents. Brown, for instance, believed the Gospel in its final version had a concern to address itself to a constituency among "The Christians of Apostolic Churches."[62] According to Brown, the author employs "the twelve" or the names of certain of Jesus' more "mainstream" disciples (Peter, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Judas-not-Iscariot, Nathanael) to represent a wider group of non-Johannine Christians, "the kinds of churches that venerate Peter and the Twelve."[63] Many interpreters have seen ch. 21 as constructed for the very purpose of consolidating these two factions. Even Culpepper seems to think the final verse of the Gospel, with its hint about other "books that would be written," is a tacit recognition of the existence of other Gospels or books about Jesus that are becoming known to the

61 This of course may find an analogue in the story told in the Muratorian Fragment, that has Andrew the apostle in the group surrounding and interacting with John both before and after the Gospel was written. A version of this story is preserved by Clement of Alexandria (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14) and by Victorinus (*Comm. Apoc.*) with varying details.

62 This is the title of a section in Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 81–88.

63 Ibid., 83.

community.[64] If so, then the expectation would surely be that the present Gospel would at least find its way back to the "communities" from which these other books had circulated, if not, indeed, to places and audiences more far flung.

Whereas I think a strong "insider" concern was certainly present in the mind of the author (related, in my view, to what was already happening in the churches involved in 1 and 2 John), the person or persons who put forth this Gospel clearly must have had the intention of a much wider distribution for the book, outside any community or communities who might have instinctively known the personal identities of any anonymous party interjected at the very end of the book. This intention comes through not only in the mere "public" tenor of the "publication statements" to the reader in 20:30–31 and 21:24–25,[65] but in the explicit and repeated proclamation that Jesus is Savior not just of Jews, but of "the world" (e.g., 3:16–17; 4:42; 6:33; 16:8), that he has authority over "all flesh" (17:2), that he has sheep of other folds (10:16), that he will gather the children of God not from the nation only but also from those scattered abroad (11:51–52), and that he "sent" his disciples on an ongoing mission "into the world" (17:18, 20–21; 20:21–22). Stan Porter even argues that the Gospel was not written exclusively for Christians at all but for a wider public; it is "a public proclamation of the Gospel, written for the wider world in which Jesus lived. It is written for the *whole* world, which it calls upon to hear his words and to respond in personal belief."[66] In any case, because many signs point to the final form of the Gospel being intended for a wide distribution, this makes both the associative and dissociative plural appear unlikely, for in each case the non-insider reader would not have been able to benefit from the "extra witness" of the unidentified group in 24c.

In my view, while the Gospel could not have been intended for a strictly "insider" readership, the anonymity of the unnamed group in 21:24 would not necessarily disqualify the exclusive or the inclusive understandings. If the author intended the "we" to be understood either as "I and you, my loyal readers" or "I and my peers/pupils/fellow leaders/fellow members of the Johannine community," he may have had confidence that outsiders who were not members of his community would have had insider connections. That is, he knew that the book would primarily travel known or readily anticipated paths to its audiences of outsiders. And after all, this is how most books, and particularly

64 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 363, writes, "even though by this time other Gospels, offering other interpretations of Jesus, may have made their way to the Johannine community."

65 I hope to say much more about this in a future publication.

66 Porter, *John, His Gospel, and Jesus*, 62 (see pp. 37–62).

Christian books, circulated in antiquity, through personal networks and, for Christians, through networks of churches. They were not copied on speculation by booksellers, distributed to bookshops across the empire, and sold to curious passersby. "Hence it is not surprising that such evidence as we have about how early Christian texts were produced and disseminated," writes Gamble, "points to private channels among Christian communities."[67] Even unbelievers and opponents of the Christian movement initially would have had to borrow (or accept as gifts) copies from churches or individual Christians, or hear them read in Christian gatherings.

We have still to consider, however, the authorial plural understanding of 21:24c, the major criticisms of which are two. Against it have been alleged *first* the grammatical difficulty of the shifting role of the writer: As Culpepper says, "It is unlikely that readers would understand that 'this disciple,' 'we,' and 'I' in the scope of these two verses all refer to the author."[68] This sounds serious at first. The conventional view is hardly simpler, however, since it *includes* the "we" narrator as well. For it requires that the narrator first identifies the author (though fictitiously or allegorically) as the beloved disciple, whom he mentions in the third person,[69] then that the narrator joins himself to the voice of an unidentified community by saying "we," then that he finishes with a first person singular statement in v. 25. This view, I would argue, is even more complex than the authorial plural view, for (a) it brings in another party that is unidentified by the text, and (b), instead of understanding "who has written these things" in a straightforward sense, it requires the first readers to have understood it to mean something like, "is the main source for these things and may therefore, in an honorific way, be said to have 'written' them, even though he died many years ago."

The shifts, from third person singular to first person plural and then to first person singular in the final verse, are issues for any view to explain. There are, however, two Johannine passages in particular that offer important comparisons, where not only are there shifts in a speaker's pronouns but where we arguably have real examples of Johannine, authorial plurals.

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67 Gamble, "Book Trade," 32.

68 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 360. His statement, "The history of interpretation itself shows how few readers have understood that there are not three persons or groups here but only one" is a bit puzzling.

69 On the same page Culpepper writes, "The *sphragis* (21:24–35) completes the construction of closure by identifying the Beloved Disciple as the author" (ibid.); "the Gospel of John was written by an eyewitness himself, and its veracity was attested by the community around him" (364).

John 3:11–15: In his solemn declaration in John 3:11, Jesus addresses Nicodemus in the first person singular ("Truly, truly, I say to you") but *continues his speech in the first person plural* ("we speak of what we know, and bear witness to what we have seen; but you do not receive our testimony"). Many scholars today, in keeping with their overall theories of the composition of the Fourth Gospel, regard these as real plurals signifying the voice of the community. "Here," says Lincoln, "Jesus is the mouthpiece for the narrator and his community."[70] It is important to point out that on this view it is not simply the community making Jesus say something about himself that is really something that they wish to say about themselves (this would be the usual allegorical approach of the so-called, two-level reading the Gospel). It would instead be the community (by means of a literary "slip") making Jesus speak in the *real plural of the later Johannine community*.[71] Apparently, the first readers are supposed to have understood Jesus as saying something like, "Truly, truly, I say to you . . . you do not receive the testimony of my later followers and me." If this somehow makes sense to interpreters today who hold to a particular theory of communal authorship, it makes no sense of the narrative as narrative.

When Jesus charges his listeners in John 3:11, "you do not receive our witness," it appears that he is simply speaking of himself alone. And this is confirmed not only by Jesus' return to the *singular* in the next words of the dialogue ("If I have told you earthly things and you do not believe, how can you believe if I tell you about heavenly things?") but also by John the Baptist's recap of Jesus' statement later in the passage, with reference to Jesus in the *singular*: "He bears witness to what he has seen and heard, yet no one receives his testimony" (3:32–33).[72] There is finally Jesus' own repeated claim in 8:38, "I declare (λαλῶ) what I have seen in the Father's presence."[73] Moreover, after Jesus' resumption in the first person singular in 3:12, he switches to another

70 Lincoln, "Beloved Disciple," 9. Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 361, gives John 3:11 as an example of first person plural references in the Gospel that "are more naturally taken at face value as references to the author and those with whom he is associated—in context the Johannine community." Von Wahlde, *Gospel and Letters of John* 1:295, treats the first person plural in 21:24, along with the several other first person plurals or second person plurals in the narrative or dialogues of the Gospel (1:51; 3:7, 11; 9:4), as real plurals representing the community—the author "slipping into" a dialogue between "the community and the former members of the community who are the opponents in 1 John."

71 If it is a real plural, it more likely refers to Jesus and his disciples than, as a literary "slip," to Jesus and the later Johannine community.

72 Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 378.

73 So also Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 17, citing Harnack, "Das 'Wir'" for support; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 377–79.

form of speech in 3:13–15, whereby he refers to himself elusively as the Son of Man and even uses the third person pronoun: "No one has ascended into heaven but he who descended from heaven, the Son of Man . . . that whoever believes in him [*sic*, not 'in me'] may have eternal life."

We have then this progression in Jesus' own speech *about himself* in 3:11–15: first person singular, first person plural, first person singular, and third person singular. The movements here are not unlike those in 21:24–25. The way Jesus speaks of himself in the third person singular as the Son of Man in 3:13–15 parallels the way the author speaks of himself in the third person as the disciple whom Jesus loved in 21:24ab; the way Jesus speaks in the first person singular in 3:11 parallels the way the author speaks in the first person singular in 21:25 (οἶμαι); and the way Jesus speaks declaratively by using the authorial plural in 3:11 ("we speak of what we know, and bear witness to what we have seen; but you do not receive our testimony") parallels the way the author, arguably, speaks declaratively using the first person plural in 21:24c ("and we know that his testimony is true"). We have no parallel here for the intrusion of another authorial party or for the association of Jesus with another person or persons, either in the narrative or from the later readership (the Johannine community). John 3:11, then, seems to be a firm instance of an authorial plural. What we can say about this use of the authorial plural is that it is used when the truth of Jesus' own testimony is in view: "we speak of what we know, and bear witness to what we have seen; but you do not receive our testimony."

3 John 9–10, 12: Another instructive example of the switching of grammatical number in a Johannine testimony passage occurs in 3 John 9–10, 12. Here the elder begins with the first person singular, "*I* have written (ἔγραψα) something to the church," but continues with the first person plural, "but Diotrephes, who likes to put himself first, does not acknowledge *us* (οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς)" (3 John 9).[74] He begins the next sentence by reverting to the first person singular and once again shifts to the first person plural at the end of the sentence, "So if *I* come, *I* will bring up what he is doing, prating against *us* (ἡμᾶς) with evil words" (3 John 10).

To conclude, as some do, that the plural "us" in v. 9 is an exclusive, real plural assumes that Gaius must know instinctively who it is that the elder is referring to, and this is anything but transparent, for no associates are mentioned.[75] The author refers to himself alone as sender in v. 1. Conceivably, the plural

74 This is a literal translation. The NRSV, like several other modern English versions, translates, "does not acknowledge our authority."

75 It is unlikely that he is referring in vv. 9–10 to himself plus the travelling "brothers," for they are mentioned in the third person in v. 10.

in v. 9 could comprehend the elder and Gaius together (Diotrephes does not acknowledge you and me), but this cannot account for the plural in v. 12, where the elder distinguishes himself from Gaius, "and we also testify, and you know that our testimony is true" (καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ οἶδας ὅτι ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν).[76] Here again, as in v. 9, it is most likely the elder's own personal witness that is in view,[77] for the identities of any others would have to have been understood implicitly by Gaius. Despite the level of scholarly consensus sometimes claimed by proponents of the conventional view, again we may ask further about the identity of the supposed corroborators: are they the other members of "the School of disciples related to the Beloved Disciple,"[78] whether these be understood as the elder's peers or his pupils, or some combination of the two, or are they the entire "community of Johannine Christians" who know and can vouch for Demetrius,[79] or are they perhaps simply the elder's fellow presbyters, the elected leadership of his local church? How is Gaius supposed to know the answer implicitly? But besides this, the testimony of the group surrounding the elder (however precisely understood) has *already* been mentioned in the first part of the verse: "Everyone has testified favorably about Demetrius." Thus, when the elder goes on to say, "We also testify for him," surely Gaius would have understood that his friend was adding his own personal testimony to the testimony of "everyone" else who knew Demetrius.[80]

Just as with Jesus in John 3:11 above, so here also with the elder in 3 John 9, 10, and 12, when attention turns directly to the elder's authority or to the truth of his own witness, he employs the plural, in my view, as if to deflect the attention from himself as an individual.[81]

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76 The RSV actually translates with the singular: "I testify to him too, and you know my testimony is true."

77 Brown, *John*, 2:1125, says that the elder is speaking "in a more representative capacity"; Brown, *Epistles of John*, refers to "the Presbyter speaking as a member of the Johannine School." See also Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John*, 362; Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 361–62.

78 Brown, *Epistles of John*, 724.

79 Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John*, 362.

80 On the significance of Gaius "knowing" that the elder's testimony is true, see below.

81 That is, I understand the significance of the authorial plural here to be different from the way Chapman (plural of majesty), Jackson (plural of augmented authority), or Bauckham (plural of authoritative witness) understand it. The Gospel author's reticence about using the first person singular, but instead shifting to the plural when his authority comes into view, is of a piece with his decision not to name himself explicitly in his Gospel. Compare Paul's "modest" uses of the epistolary plural in Rom 1:5, "we have received grace and apostleship"; 2 Cor 10:13, "we, however, will not boast beyond limits." To give one example of a similar use from outside the NT, note how Josephus switches from singular to plural

Here is the point to be taken from these two Johannine examples: it would seem that *if* a Johannine author wanted to add his own personal affirmation that he has told the truth in his own written testimony, he is likely to have written it not in the first person singular "I," but in the first person plural "we," just as we have it in 21:24c, "and we know that his testimony is true."

The other major objection to understanding the "we" in 21:24 as an authorial plural is based on the notion that the beloved disciple stands in need of another witness to complete or "legalize" his own. This is a staple for the conventional view and is usually seen by its supporters as a point of conclusive import. The community's voice in 21:24c "supplies the needed second witness."[82] If the beloved disciple is testifying to the truth of his own witness, then "the Gospel would rest on only a single witness and hence would be open to challenge."[83] This objection is well stated by Culpepper, who argues that the final editor had a problem.

> The challenge the final editor of the Fourth Gospel faced is that the Gospel before him was vulnerable to the charge that it rested solely on the testimony of a single eyewitness: the Beloved Disciple, the eyewitness of 19:35.[84] Regardless of how credible his testimony might be, without further corroboration his account would be suspect. The final editor solved this dilemma by adding the paratext in which he not only appeals to the Beloved Disciple's testimony but asserts that the community of believers who know that disciple knows that his testimony is true. The Gospel rests not on one witness but on the testimony of a whole community.[85]

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when speaking of his intention to author a new book on matters relating to mutual relations between Jews: "these I have reserved (ὑπερεθέμην) for that treatise on 'Customs and Causes,' which God helping, it is our (ἡμῖν) intention to compose after the present work" (*A. J.* 4.198). On the assumption of a real plural one might theorize that he is referring to colleagues (a "Josephan community of writers"?), or that perhaps he is speaking of the joint intention of himself and God. But more likely, the plural here is simply a substitution for the singular, perhaps because it sounded a bit less pretentious.

82 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 362.

83 Ibid.

84 Of course, we may be reminded that, in the conventional view, the single eyewitness on whom the Gospel's testimony solely rests has been dead for a long time and his "written" testimony is being mediated through the memory of the redactor and/or the community.

85 Culpepper, "Johannine Sphragis," 362–63. Even Jackson, who thinks that in John there is a consistent "appeal from a link in the Johannine chain of testimonial command to the authority of one higher for the purpose of evoking belief in one(s) lower," supposes

Despite the prominence of such an understanding of the v. 24, I believe it to be essentially misguided. This is because 21:24c is not an isolated and anomalous phrase in the Johannine corpus, but begs to be read alongside a series of passages that have to do with testimonies and their "verification."

6 Testimonies and Verifications in the Johannine Literature

If John 21:24ab, "this is the disciple who is testifying to these things and has written them," is the author's self-disclosure that he is the beloved disciple of the narrative, the words that follow in 24c pick up the language of testimony from 24a and function as a confessional verification or affirmation of that testimony. They conform to a pattern of testimonies and verifications in the Johannine corpus.[86]

TABLE 16.1 *Johannine Testimonies and Verifications* (*Read the Table line for line across the four columns*)

Passage	Testifier	Object of Testimony	Result of Testimony	Verification
John 3:11	We speak we testify	of what we know to what we have seen		
			yet you do not receive our testimony	
John 3:32–33	He testifies	to what he has seen and heard,	yet no one accepts his testimony. Whoever has accepted his testimony	has certified this, that God is true.

that "the author's testimony by itself is not valid to establish his veracity" ("Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 33).

86 Compare this phenomenon with Paul's "protestations" that he does not lie but tells the truth in Gal 1:20; 2 Cor 11:32; Rom 9:1; 1 Tim 1:12; 2:7.

Passage	Testifier	Object of Testimony	Result of Testimony	Verification
John 4:42			They said to the woman, "It is no longer because of what you said that we believe,	
	for we have heard for ourselves,			
				and we know that this is truly the Savior of the world."
John 5:31–32	If I testify	about myself		my testimony is not true.
	There is another who testifies	on my behalf,		and I know that his testimony to me is true.
John 8:14	Even if I testify,	on my own behalf		my testimony is valid [true] because I know where I have come from and where I am going, but you do not know where I come from or where I am going.
John 12:49–50	for I have not spoken on my own, but the Father who sent me has himself given me a commandment	about what to say and what to speak.		And I know that his commandment is eternal life.
	What I speak, therefore, I speak	just as the Father has told me.		
John 19:35	He who saw has testified	this[a]	so that you also may believe.	His testimony is true, and he knows that he tells the truth.

TABLE 16.1 *Johannine Testimonies and Verifications* . . . (cont.)

Passage	Testifier	Object of Testimony	Result of Testimony	Verification
John 21:24	This is the disciple who is bearing witness and who has written	to these things these things;		and we know that his testimony is true.
1 John 1:1–3	We declare to you	what was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have looked at and touched with our hands, concerning the word of life—this life was revealed,		
	and we have seen and testify and declare to you	it to it the eternal life that was with the Father and was revealed to us—		
	we declare to you	what we have seen and heard	so that you also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.	
1 John 4:14–15	And we have seen and do testify	that the Father has sent his Son as the Savior of the world.	God abides in those who confess that Jesus is the Son of God, and they abide in God.	

Passage	Testifier	Object of Testimony	Result of Testimony	Verification
3 John 9	I have written	something to the church;	but Diotrephes, who likes to put himself first, does not acknowledge our authority.	
3 John 12	Everyone has testified favorably and so has the truth itself. We also testify	about Demetrius, for him,		and you know that our testimony is true.

a There is no Greek word representing the demonstrative; it is simply inferred from ὁ ἑωρακώς.

Laying these testimonies and verifications out beside each other highlights a number of notable similarities. It is possible to identify four major elements that tend to recur in these statements, and an ideal, plenary pattern consisting of all four. The four elements are: the one who testifies; the content or object of the testimony; the result or consequence of the testimony; and a verification of the testimony. In one instance (John 3:32–33) all four elements occur, though all four may be implied also in John 19:35. But the occurrence of two, three, or all four elements, and the occurrence of similar vocabulary in each, indicates an important pattern in the Johannine writings.

1. The Testifier: All twelve examples include a testifier. Often a word for bearing witness (μαρτυρέω, μαρτυρία) is used, but sometimes this element is named in its expressive function, as speaking (λέγω), saying (λάλω), or writing (γράφω). Jesus speaks of himself as testifier in the first person singular (John 5:31; 12:50), and in the first person plural (John 3:11, on which see above).

2. The Object of the Testimony: The object of the testimony comes to the testifier's awareness from outside the self. The common vocabulary here involves most often the subject's seeing, but also hearing or knowing something, or having been with someone (as in John 12:17; 15:27). Typically, the object of the testimony is unspecified or is implied by the context; in any case

it is fairly vague: "what we know"; "what we have seen"; a testimony "about myself"; a commandment "about what to say and what to speak"; "just as the Father has told me"; "these things"; "something to the church"; "about Demetrius". On a few occasions, however, it is somewhat more specific: 1 John 1:1–3, "what we have seen with our eyes, what we have looked at and touched with our hands, concerning the word of life the eternal life that was with the Father"; and 1 John 4:14, "that the Father has sent his Son as the Savior of the world."[87]

3. The Result of the Testimony: There is often (seven out of twelve times) in these passages some reference either to the purpose of the testimony or to its results, in terms of others either believing or not believing the testimony, and sometimes to the consequences of that belief or unbelief.

4. The Verification: Here I distinguish between a testimony and a verification. As I will be using the terms here, a testimony is essentially a report or statement about someone or something, properly based on firsthand knowledge or experience, usually involving the senses of sight or hearing, sometimes touch. What I am calling a verification could be classified as a testimony as well, though the vocabulary of testimony is not used for verifications in John (it is in other places).[88] In Johannine idiom, it is *supplemental* to a testimony. It is in effect a personal affirmation of the *truth* of something, thus the choice

87 I would have to take issue with the statement of Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions," 14, that the author meant this as a creedal as opposed to a historical statement. It is both, but the author surely would not have agreed with Jackson that "No one, not even a group of apostolic eyewitnesses, could ever say that they 'have seen' with physical eyes 'and bear witness that the Father has sent the Son to be savior of the world.'" The bearing of witness is a result of what the witnesses have seen, even if the testimony itself includes theological interpretation that is not "visible" to the naked eye. Thus, his argument for the first person plural in 1 John 4:14 being associative, "I and you, my loyal addressees, together with me, and indeed *all* Christians, the dissenters included, if they saw things as they should" is unconvincing. In light of 1 John 1:1–4, it seems that this would be either dissociative or authorial.

88 Josephus recounts how he had received testimony to the accuracy of his books from the emperors themselves, to whom he had given presentation copies; how Titus wanted Josephus's volumes to be the authoritative account of the war (363); and how King Agrippa in particular "wrote sixty-two letters testifying to the truth of the record (τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν)" (364). He quotes two of these letters, and claims that Agrippa, "in common with all readers of my volumes, bore witness to their truth (τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμαρτύρει)" (367). Here the μαρτυρέω word group is used for verification. And here, the verification cannot have been based on first-hand, corroborative, experiential knowledge.

to label them "verifications," in keeping with the Latin root of that word, and most often in Johannine expressions that something is a testimony. Sometimes the verification is a *pronouncement* of truth, what we might call a "declarative verification"; sometimes the appeal is to what someone (either the speaker or someone else) *knows* is true, a form we (for lack of a better word) might label a "confessional verification." In eight of the above passages there is appended to the testimony a "confessional verification" proper from someone who professes to "know" that the witness in question is true, where some member of the ἀληθής word group (noun, adjective, adverb) is used. Seven of these eight cases of confessional verification also have a form of the word οἶδα. The exception is 3:33, which has ἐσφράγισεν, "he sets his seal."[89] Each of the seven confessional verifications using οἶδα, except the one in 8:14, which uses another form, then continues with ὅτι ("x knows *that*) introducing a predication about the witness. These predications always use the word ἐστιν, and in five of the six cases they assert that something is either ἀληθής or ἀληθινός (the sixth, "that his commandment is eternal life" in 12:50). What does it mean to "know" that something is true? In both form and substance, confessing that one knows the truth of something is very much like "setting one's seal" upon it; knowing that a testimony is true seems to be what the author of 1 John 5:10 means by having a testimony "in one's heart": "Those who believe in the Son of God have the testimony in their hearts."

Johannine confessional verifications occur in a variety of person/number combinations. Of the eight instances, three are first person singular (5:32; 8:14; 12:50); two are first plural (4:42; 21:24); one is second singular (3 John 12); two are third singular (3:33 with ἐσφράγισεν; 19:35).

Here I lay out a configuration of the eight Johannine "confessional verification statements" cited above (see Table 16.2 below).

These Johannine parallels, I believe, ought to be considered essential to the interpretation of John 21:24. Among these eight passages, John 19:35 is unique in that it contains a double verification, one declarative and one confessional: the narrator declares: "his testimony is true" and reports that "the one who saw" knows that he himself speaks truly. This is important for the interpretation of 21:24 in two ways. First, John 19:35 provides an indisputable instance of *the testifier himself* verifying his own testimony by confessing his knowledge of its truth. This instance may be supplemented by 8:14, where Jesus gives a declarative verification of his own testimony about himself, "Even if I testify about

89 Cf. 6:27, the only other use of σφραγίζω in John, where God the Father sets his seal on the Son of man.

TABLE 16.2 *Johannine Verifications*

Reference	Attestation	Predication
John 3:33	ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν	
	ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι	ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν
John 4:42	καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι	οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου[a]
John 5:32	καὶ οἶδα[b] ὅτι	ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία ἣν μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ
John 8:14		ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία μου,
	ὅτι οἶδα	πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἴδατε πόθεν ἔρχομαι ἢ ποῦ ὑπάγω
John 12:50	καὶ οἶδα ὅτι	ἡ ἐντολὴ αὐτοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιός ἐστιν
John 19:35		καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία,
	καὶ ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι	ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύ[σ]ητε
John 21:24	καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι	ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν
3 John 12	καὶ οἶδας ὅτι	ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν

a A C^3 D L Θ Ψ $f^{1.13}$ 33 𝔐 e f q $sy^{p.h}$ bo^{pt} add ο χριστος.
b The original hand of ℵ had οἴδαται, which N/A regards as itacism for οἴδατε, which would agree with D 124 a aur e q sy^{c}; 61 1424 *pc* have οἴδαμεν. All other witnesses have οἶδα. See Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: John*.

myself, my testimony is true," where the following "confession" ("I know") functions as the reason why his testimony is true, "because I know where I have come from and where I am going, but you do not know where I come from or where I am going." Though the form is a bit different, the verification is still based on what Jesus "knows." Thus 19:35 and 8:14 offer two examples of someone verifying his own testimony, and so offer precedents for the author doing the same thing in 21:24c, "and we know that his testimony is true."

Second, John 19:35, by means of another rhetorical technique, provides an indisputable example wherein the *author himself*—who is here narratologically[90] distinct from the one bearing witness—makes a claim of truth about a testimony he is recording in his book: "and his testimony is true." If, then, the author decided to include a personal, confessional verification of the entire

90 I agree with what seems to be the majority of interpreters who think this is the beloved disciple of 19:26.

book as constituting his witness, this too would not be unprecedented, nor should it be unexpected.[91]

From the aggregate of these passages, at least two conclusions ought to be drawn. The first is that the verification in 21:24c, "we know that his testimony is true," is utterly domestic in John; it is not an oddity requiring a complex compositional theory to explain its existence. This eliminates the need for supposing that we might have here an intrusion of an outside third party before the Gospel was finished, or a later interpolation. Confessional verifications are a feature of the Johannine literature and in no other instance is the confessional verification given by an otherwise unknown, third party. This, I believe, ought to enable us to rule out the intrusive "we" explanation for 21:24c once and for all.

Second, and contrary to what is commonly held to be an indubitable fact, no matter how we understand the "we" in 21:24c, the verification here does not arise from a necessity to find a plurality of witnesses to legitimize or legalize the witness of the beloved disciple, least of all does it arise from some "extreme need to support the trustworthiness of the Johannine tradition."[92] In two of the texts cited above (John 5:32; 12:50) it is Jesus who verifies that the Father's testimony is true, or that the Father's commandment[93] is eternal life. In John, the Father is hardly someone who suffers an "extreme need" for external verification.[94]

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91 Nor would this be the only example we have, even in the NT, of an author verifying, attesting to the truth of, his own writing. At the end of 1 Peter the author declares: "Through Silvanus, whom I consider a faithful brother, I have written this short letter to encourage you and to testify that this is the true grace of God (ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ). Stand fast in it" (5:12).

92 "Such words are exceptional; there must have been an extreme need to support the trustworthiness of the Johannine tradition." Charlesworth, *Beloved Disciple*, 47. Cf. Lindars, "The need to attest the Gospel in this way may well have been due to fear that it would not easily win wide acceptance" (*John*, 641). Needless to say, such statements show no awareness of the pattern of testimony and verification in the Johannine literature.

93 In 12:50 the commandment is considered in terms of what the Father has spoken, εἴρηκεν, to the Son.

94 Citing Jesus' words in 5:31 and the Pharisees' accusation in 8:13, Culpepper says, "The pattern in the Johannine writings is that multiple witnesses certify that Jesus' testimony is true" ("Johannine Sphragis," 361). It is not quite the case, however, that Jesus' self-testimony stands in need of a second witness. The last word Jesus gives about the validity of own self-testimony in 8:14 is that it needs no second or third witness. It is inherently true, because Jesus knows where he comes from and where he is going, and his accusers do not. Jesus goes on to cite the Father's witness to him, as fulfilling the law about the testimony of two people being true, as if simply to convict his hearers of not following

In 3 John 12 it is Gaius who knows that the elder's testimony is true. This too is surely not because the elder is conceding that his testimony by itself is insufficient and needs shoring up. In light of the unanimous concern of those who defend the conventional view of John 21:24, it should also be pointed out that in 3 John 12, to "know" that someone's testimony is true *cannot* mean to have *corroborative knowledge* about the contents of the testimony. For here the author is introducing and recommending Demetrius, whom Gaius clearly does not know. Knowing that someone's testimony is true in this instance must mean something like "knowing that whatever this person testifies to will be true, because this person is trustworthy."

Due to the fundamental importance for many scholars of the tenet of the legal necessity of another witness to support that of the beloved disciple,[95] this point needs to be emphasized. The Johannine pattern of testimony attended by a declarative or confessional verification shows that the significance of 21:24c is *not* that it meets a supposed need for corroborative witness to back up the beloved disciple's witness to Jesus. The multiple testimonies to Jesus have already been named in the Gospel: John the Baptist, the works that Jesus does, God the Father, the Scriptures, Jesus' personal disciples, even the crowd at Lazarus's resuscitation, and, not to be forgotten, Jesus himself. All of these testimonies to Jesus have now been collected and written into a book, a book that constitutes *yet one more* testimony, the testimony of one who presents himself as a close disciple of Jesus who was present at most of the events recorded in the book. This disciple reclined next to Jesus and was favored with privileged information at the supper. He was at the cross and was commissioned to receive Jesus' mother into his own house. He was present at the empty tomb with Peter, he was in the upper room with the risen Jesus and the remnants of the twelve, and he ate with Jesus and six other disciples by the Sea of Tiberias. With little doubt we are supposed to infer that he had been with Jesus from

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the dictates of their own professed law (to hoist them on their own petard, as in 5:39–40; 7:22–23; 10:34–37), not in order to remedy a deficiency in his own witness.

95 Bauckham contends that "for some of the most important elements in the Beloved Disciple's' testimony," as in 19:35 and 21:24, no one but that disciple can vouch for his own testimony, that "Other people cannot corroborate this; they can only believe it" (*Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 380). Culpepper's response to this is, "In that case the Gospel would rest on only a single witness and hence would be open to challenge" ("Johannine Sphragis," 362). If it is indeed the case that v. 25 alludes to the existence of another book or books about Jesus, it is possible that the author, far from being worried about a lack of corroboration for his own book, instead saw his book as corroborating and supplementing an existing, public witness.

the beginning of his ministry (15:27 cf. 1:35–42). The function of 21:24c is not to provide a "second" testimony to legitimize or legalize that of the beloved disciple but to assure readers of this disciple's *inner knowledge and conviction that he speaks the truth*, just as Jesus knows that the Father's testimony to him is true (5:32), and his statement to that effect gives further assurance to the reader, and just as the witness at the cross "knows that he is telling the truth," and the author's mention of that fact is explicitly reported for the purpose of engendering or confirming the readers' faith—"that you also may believe" (19:35). Even if one were to suppose that the author is including others along with himself in his confessional verification in 21:24c, this does not change the fact that he is also giving his own confession.

7 Conclusion

Before John 21:24 is used in the service of any theory of the composition of the Gospel, it should be read in the context of (a) other Johannine texts that disclose an identity and (b) other Johannine texts that verify some form of testimony. Following a pattern established by Jesus numerous times in the Gospel, and particularly at 9:37, the author in 24ab climactically discloses to his readers that he is someone already known to them from the narrative, the disciple Jesus loved, who reclined close to Jesus at the supper and said "Lord, who is it that is going to betray you?" Verse 24, then, following naturally upon 21:20–23, discloses that this very disciple, the subject of the last few verses, about whom a rumor had spread that he would not die before the Lord returned, is the one who has written the book. The author's use of the third person singular to refer to himself, both in the earlier narratives of the Gospel and here in 21:24 ("This is the disciple . . . his testimony is true"), was a common practice among ancient historical writers, it is a convention modeled by Jesus himself repeatedly in this Gospel, and it was easily recognized and understood as such by early readers of this Gospel.

In 21:24c the author then verifies the book's testimony by a personal confession of its truth, "and we know that his testimony is true." Here he verifies the entirety of his book, just as he had earlier verified (both as narrator and as a character in the story) a particular event, the flow of water and blood from Jesus' side (19:35). The final two verses of the book, then, function as an "authentication" of the whole, by revealing that the author, as a participant in the narrative, is abundantly qualified to give his witness, and then by solemnly confessing his knowledge that the witness is true.

The first person plural "we" in 24c does not signal the intrusion of another party extraneous to the narrative of the Gospel. Nor does the verification supply a needed "second witness" that legitimizes the otherwise unsupported, solo testimony of the beloved disciple. This study has shown that verifications of testimonies, that is, pronouncements or confessions that a testimony is "true," are a fairly common feature of the Johannine literature and therefore that the supposition of an intruding, outside party in 24c is without warrant. These Johannine verifications are not always "corroborative" and they sometimes refer to testimonies that stand in no "need" of external support. The profession that one "knows" a testimony to be true has more to do with an inner confidence, conviction, or certitude and does not necessarily depend upon the verifier having the same sensory experience as the one whose testimony he is verifying.

The plural "we" in 24c is best understood as authorial, a plural for a singular. That the author would avoid the first person singular "I" and instead use "we" at the point at which the truth of his own testimony comes into focus is fully in accord with Johannine style, following the example of Jesus in John 3:11, and being mirrored by the words of the elder in 3 John 9, 10, 12. Yet even if one should insist on reading the "we" as a real plural, either as an exclusive "I and my associates" or as an inclusive "I and you readers," neither option removes the beloved disciple from his place among the "verifiers." The beloved disciple, very much alive at the time of writing, is professing (with or without others) his knowledge and inner certainty that the testimony he has given in the book is true.

What this means is that those who seek support for the idea of a Johannine school of writers responsible for the writing of the Fourth Gospel ought to look for another "classic proof text for the School's existence." If there are any good reasons to posit an extensive redaction of this Gospel sometime after the death of the beloved disciple, they do not arise from John 21:24.

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CHAPTER 17

Getting Along: Politeness Theory and the Gospels

Jonathan M. Watt

1 Introduction

Politeness Theory, after more than half a century of growth and development, is coming of age but looking more like a divided clan than a nuclear family. Its academic ancestry traces back at least to Erving Goffman's "On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction" in 1955; the family tree expanded with the appearance of Searle's Speech-Act Theory in 1965;[1] and with the passing of another decade, the encompassing sociolinguistic interest in interaction dynamics was taking leaf. As Goffman paraphrased the signature Lazarsfeld Formula, "Talk is socially organized, not merely in terms of who speaks to whom in what language, but as a little system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face action, a social encounter,"[2] and anything that reflected relationships would necessarily imply social delicacy. Brown and Gilman's work on (in)formal pronominal addresses, which appeared in 1960, was another example of that delicacy, animating the field even further with their argument that "a man's consistent pronoun style gives away his class status and his political views" and their observation that one "may vary his pronoun style from time to time so as to express transient moods and attitudes."[3] They pointed as well to the potentially non-reciprocal power feature of verbal interaction: "Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior,"[4] hence each person is to address others in ways deemed socially appropriate to their relative status. Numerous theoretical progeny have been birthed in this emerging territory of address terms, though conflicting family values across the field seem to be leaving little more than a general agreement that speech not only conveys information, it also *codifies and creates* relationships.

1 Searle, "What Is Speech Act?"

2 Goffman, "Neglected Situation," 135.

3 Brown and Gilman, "Pronouns of Power," 254.

4 Ibid., 255.

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Located within the territory of address conventions is the civil entity known as politeness. In a 1960 publication, for example, Clifford Geertz said in connection with "linguistic etiquette" in Java that "Politeness is something one directs toward others; one surrounds the other with a wall of behavioral … formality which protects the stability of his inner life."[5] S. M. Ervin-Tripp would subsequently contribute the concept of "dispensation right,"[6] claiming that the more powerful speaker of a hierarchical chain owns the right to allow subordinates to address him/her in more informal speech styles. Others applied these concepts to studies of formal and informal pronouns, especially in Romance and Germanic languages, and more can be seen of related discussions in Suzanne Romaine's overview.[7] Through these studies, language was again and again being construed as far more than a mere exchange of information, for whether researchers framed their work under the rubric of sociolinguistics, sociology of language, or discourse analysis, they were identifying longstanding complexities of interpersonal discourse that were ripe for the investigator's picking, and the world's language terrain was their orchard. By the time Richard J. Watts would tabulate it, publications dealing with politeness terminology (even excluding non-linguistic respect methods such as body gestures and gifting) had exceeded 1200, and he was watching the numbers growing exponentially "week by week."[8]

Every culture provides ways for people to "just get along," as Rodney King once infamously put it, and politeness studies are as inevitable as the need for human civility that they aim to explain. These needs would have been present in ancient societies too, and Palestinian Jews of the first-century Mediterranean world surely would have been no exception. So after reviewing definitions and frameworks that have shaped politeness research in recent years, this study will examine selected New Testament Gospel narratives in which such strategies might be expected to appear, and will consider which of the prevailing paradigms is most useful for understanding them.

2 Defining Politeness: Is There a Macro-Theory?

Despite the necessity, even inevitability, of demonstrations of politeness in daily interaction, the field has been short on attempts at a culturally inclusive

5 Geertz, "Linguistic Etiquette," 173.

6 Ervin-Tripp, "Sociolinguistics," 93.

7 Romaine, *Language in Society*, 155–66.

8 Watts, *Politeness*, xi.

macro-theory that explains just what constitutes politeness, and consequently why people insist on addressing each other "politely." Case studies are easy to come by, in part, because people share keen instincts relating to what is (or isn't) polite, and cross-linguistic comparisons are appearing in greater frequency. One recent example is Andy Warren-Rothlin's comparison of strategies used in Biblical Hebrew and certain modern West African language communities: "Most languages have a wide variety of strategies for communicating politeness, however these are always highly culture specific and relate to broader cultural norms."[9] He tests the applicability of Gricean Maxims (which include quality, quantity, relevance, and manner) and Grice's application of the concept of implicature with its two broad categories of politeness expressions: "focus strategies" that appear with greetings, modal particles and participant reference techniques, along with "indirection strategies" that include use of indirect speech acts (e.g., rhetorical questions), and euphemisms. Significantly, Warren-Rothlin notes contrasting standards: he observes, for example, that in various Biblical Hebrew accounts, greetings often take the form of good wishes or blessings, while West African languages tend to use questions (and save blessings for departure time). Honorific status terms are well-known in the mouths of Biblical Hebrew speakers, whether they promote the addressee (e.g., "My master, the king"—2 Sam 19:27) or are self-deprecating (e.g., "[I am] your servant"—1 Sam 17:32; Ruth 2:13), and sometimes use kinship terminology (e.g., "My father"—1 Sam 24:12; "My son/daughter"—Josh 7:19; Ruth 2:8). Assessment of these things will inevitably get the researcher into "social or dimension scales (i.e., solidarity, status, formality, and function) that have been universally recognized as the fundamental social dimensions in sociolinguistic analysis."[10] Nevertheless, even comparative studies leave unaddressed the essence of the concept. Are there underlying universals in operation behind every act of politeness?

Two landmark monographs have taken up just this question. Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson's *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* appeared in 1978, arguing that politeness pertains to the methods people use to accomplish successful social interaction, and most specifically the use of self-protective linguistic strategies aimed at managing "face-threatening acts" (FTAs). Brown and Levinson stated that, given the "universality of face and rationality, it is intuitively the case that certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face

9 Warren-Rothlin, "Politeness Strategies," 55.

10 Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 121.

wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker."[11] FTAs occur, often concurrently, on verbal and non-verbal levels and, in the case of the former, may be semantic or supra-segmental in nature. FTAs threaten the hearer and maybe even the speaker, the former by implications of pressure (positive or negative) and the latter by implying that the speaker is succumbing to the power of the hearer, made evident when offering excuses or apologies.[12]

Politeness thus being bound to the mitigation of dangers inherent in FTAs, Brown and Levinson proposed that four main types of politeness strategies could be enacted to protect one's face. These include: bald on-record strategies (e.g., aimed to shock or embarrass the hearer); positive politeness (e.g., used to make the hearer feel good about himself and his interests; this is where statements of friendship, solidarity and compliments come in); negative politeness (emphasizing avoidance of imposition upon the hearer); and off-record or indirect strategies (aimed at making the speaker un-imposing and removed). Their goal was "to demonstrate in great detail the fine-grained parallelisms in the expression of politeness in three unrelated languages,"[13] being themselves influenced by multiple publications (between 1967 and 1975) of logician Paul Grice.[14] As with Grice, they believed that rational beings in any culture and linguistic community would choose the same strategies relating to politeness as others would under the same circumstances. As the book's sub-title made clear, they were attempting a cross-culturally applicable theory in which management of FTAs loom in priority, politeness being the primary means of dealing with them. Brown and Levinson's work was viewed by many as a major step forward in offering a macro-definition that would account for similarities between linguistic constructions, especially since they constructed it around three culturally and genetically unrelated language groups (South Indian Tamil, Mayan Tzeltal, and American and British English). Hundreds of works published in the ensuing decades would owe their inspiration to a piece now almost four decades standing.[15]

A major challenge to Brown and Levinson's politeness hegemony emerged in the person of Watts, whose naturally-titled 2003 monograph *Politeness* waged

11 Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 65.

12 Ibid., 185–88.

13 Ibid., 227.

14 Grice's most cited work seems to be his "Logic and Conversation." See also Lakoff's slightly earlier work "Logic of Politeness," and for another relatively early critique of the field to that point, Eelen, *Critique of Politeness Theories*.

15 Among relatively recent ones, Felix-Brasdeger, *Politeness in Mexico*; Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness*; and Hickey and Stewart, *Politeness in Europe*.

in admittedly *not*-so-polite language "mortal combat with a many-headed hydra," i.e., with the proliferating spawn of their theoretical framework.[16] Watts's hydra-taming propounded a "new approach to linguistic politeness [that] must involve a break with the dominant research paradigm in the field," i.e., with Brown and Levinson's emphasis on FTAs and their dependence on Grice's maxims. As Wardhaugh would go on to characterize Grice,[17] a *cooperative principle* is the lynchpin to conversation in general: one must behave in conversation consistent with the assumption that the conversation benefits all participants and advances mutual understanding. Following from that, four maxims become activated: conversational quantity, quality (including accuracy), relation (relevance), and manner (avoiding obscurity and ambiguity). Real conversations may fail to fulfill these expectations, implicating something different from what was said or intended, and that is the negative side of implicature. Grice assumed that speakers and listeners shared assumptions, and therefore common understandings, of what was transpiring. Whether or not cross-cultural communication fits into this is another matter, and of course sub-communities (and individuals with their idiolects) may violate these assumptions. This brings into question the degree of relevance of Gricean implicature for politeness, though Warren-Rothlin negotiated that by suggesting Gricean maxims hold true even as they get unique "application" to different language communities.

Watts characterized Brown and Levinson's approach as a complex, if not outright irrelevant, beast of a theory, insisting instead on a fundamental heuristic need for counter-posing with politeness the correlative alternative of *im*politeness in each society. He argued that, instead, the researcher must identify the culture-specific "ways in which (im)polite behaviour is evaluated and commented on by lay members and not with the ways in which social scientists lift the term '(im)politeness' out of the realm of everyday discourse and elevate it to the status of a theoretical concept in what is frequently called Politeness Theory."[18] Watts's simultaneous attention to (im)polite actions "makes no claim to be cross-culturally universal" whatsoever, yet appears to reduce every investigation to a central dichotomy involving that which is polite versus that

16 Watts, *Politeness*, xi.

17 Wardhaugh, *Introduction*, 287, 288.

18 Watts, *Politeness*, 9. Bousfeld, *Impoliteness in Interaction*, and also Bousfeld and Locher, *Impoliteness in Language*, evidence the emerging sense that the more important consideration is a culture-specific continuum between what is perceived as polite and what is perceived as impolite.

which is impolite.[19] Leveraging earlier critiques of Brown and Levinson that had appeared in the 1990s, Watts pronounced "a radical rejection of politeness as a concept which has been lifted out of the realm of lay conceptualisations of what constitutes polite and impolite behaviour and how that behaviour should be evaluated,"[20] arguing that since people are not born with any innate conceptions of the matter, politeness is something acquired and socially constructed and therefore uniquely construed and practiced within each culture; the researcher must begin at that "first-order" level, and define what a given culture perceives to be (im)polite. It is essential to pay attention to how people show rudeness or act badly in each culture, since the term itself is variously described as involving socially (in)correct and (in)appropriate behavior, consideration of others, self-effacement, and negative attributions (e.g., insincerity, or standoffishness), and therefore the researcher is required to construe a second-order theory only after sufficient exploration of the "lay notions" have been identified.

For Watts, then, politeness involves "forms of social behavior that members will classify as mutually shared consideration for others,"[21] and these in turn are best understood with a return to Goffman's previously described notion of face, even as one moves away from Brown and Levinson's notion of positive and negative face.[22] Watts describes (im)politeness studies as being subject to "an ongoing struggle over the differential values of appropriate social behaviour within a social-theoretical approach," and comes out with a more flexible product that aims to account for the way participants in social interaction construct, reproduce, and modify their perceptions of the matter.[23] Building on House and Kasper's typology of politeness expressions[24] (e.g., showing deference to the addressee, toning down and even understating a request, hedging, hesitators (e.g., *er, uhh, ah*), Watts advocated for "expressions of procedural meaning (EPMs)" which are "formulaic, ritualised utterances" that encode politeness into linguistic expressions such as *please, thank you, excuse me, sorry, it's a pleasure*, and so forth.[25] Any one set of such expressions in a particular society may not fit others, for Watts's Relevance Theory is a "model of (im)

19 Watts, *Politeness*, 201. Watts's angle is becoming evident in his earlier volume co-edited with Ide and Ehrlich, *Politeness in Language*.

20 Watts, *Politeness*, 11.

21 Ibid., 14.

22 Ibid., 25.

23 Ibid., 25.

24 House and Kasper, "Politeness Markers."

25 Watts, *Politeness*, described throughout 182–200.

politeness, rather than politeness, [and] makes no claim to be cross-culturally universally, even though we can expect other speech communities to apply roughly equivalent attributions in other languages or language varieties."[26]

3 Guidelines for Analysis and Politeness Mechanisms

So what kinds of linguistic politeness techniques (or rudeness) surface in the investigative literature, even if these markers do in fact differ cross-culturally? A number of writers, including Wardhaugh, have examined address terms (personal, titular, or pronominal) linked to solidarity and politeness, albeit accepting without critique the limits of the connection and assuming the applicability of Brown and Levinson's framework (as did Bell, whose recent survey makes no mention at all of Watts's seminal challenge)[27] with its positive and negative face-saving options oriented more toward the user rather than the addressee. Nevertheless, Wardhaugh discussed formal honorifics with particular attention given to Javanese,[28] even though Japanese *keigo* is a more notorious challenge for outsiders who attempt to abide by its prescriptive framework. Wardhaugh raised a helpful matter, namely, (a)symmetry of address processes: if you address me as "Mr. Jones" do I address you in return as "Mr. Smith" (symmetrical) or as "John" (asymmetrical)? The rules that drive such decisions are rooted in the values and customs of the culture, not in the language itself; if the culture is non-reciprocal, it will express that via its speech. Some attention needs to be given, then, to culture-shaping aspects of the biblical language situation, otherwise, standards not operative in that day risk being imposed inappropriately.

Certain unifying factors present in late second-century Palestinian Jewry may have influenced the ways in which (im)politeness was construed. One feature that must be acknowledged involves the codified values expressed in divine Law, including the Ten Commandments, with its bicameral attention to love for God and for others (e.g., Matt 22:34–40, quoting Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18, 34). Regard for superiors, including God and one's parents, was obligatory, as were boundaries regarding property, human relations, and even one's reputation and legal standing in the community. Conversely, divinely instituted parameters imply opposites, such as the experience of (objective) guilt and its perceptual and emotionally-rooted cousin, shame. To the degree that a

26 Ibid., 201 and subsequently discussed.

27 Bell, *Guidebook*, 272.

28 Wardhaugh, *Introduction*, 272–76.

verse like Ps 69:7 ("It is for your sake I have borne reproach, that dishonor has covered my face"—ESV) or like Jer 2:26 ("As a thief is shamed when caught, so the house of Israel shall be shamed"—ESV) may have animated early Palestinian self-awareness, the issue of face-saving could conceivably be codified in politeness techniques. While even transcendent Laws do not automatically encode specific linguistic forms of politeness, they do raise the question of whether something more transcendent than face-saving was at work in Jewish society. At least in theory, divine Law would imply that certain means of approach to others (including God, parents, and superiors) were simply "the right thing to do." Whereas FTAs entail subjective perceptions of danger, Law viewed positively carried objective force. Politeness could have been perceived as situation-appropriate norms that bore objective respect, as well as subjective shame.

Another potentially relevant factor in Palestinian Jewish society may be vulnerability entailed in inhabiting a land that historian Barbara Tuchman once described as possessing a "fatal geography." The southern Levant was never home to, but often the target of, empire builders, making for a venerable history of invasion and peripheralization of Jews, who tended not to be cross-cultural trend setters. Those who occupy the lower rungs on societal ladders may have little leverage on outsiders, but can always show deference to their fellows. Politeness, by whatever means, would accomplish that. Among the mechanisms available is the use of titles and positive ascriptions, as cognitive semanticist Anna Wierzbicka and many others have noted.[29] Though she praises Brown and Gilman's earlier work on power and solidarity, she "challenge(s) the assumption that forms of address in general, and pronouns in particular, involve . . . universal features . . . with a stable language-independent meaning."[30] Her take (like Watts's) is that societal perceptions of concepts such as "respect" and "deference" defy universal valuations, and that concepts like "want" and "think" are preferable universals ("hypothetical primitives") to "distance," "solidarity," or "intimacy."[31] Nevertheless, use of titles (especially given the absence of formal versus informal pronominal forms in Greek, as in Hebrew) is potentially a technique of politeness in biblical accounts.

Drawing from the aforementioned works and others, one may include focus strategies that appear in formulaic, respectful greetings, modal particles (such as "please"), participant reference techniques, and indirect speech acts (e.g., rhetorical questions and euphemisms). Techniques that magnify the addressee

29 Wierzbicka, *Semantics*, particularly her discussion 309–25.

30 Ibid., 320.

31 Ibid., 325.

or minimize the one making a request, and those which place a request in a subordinate clause (thereby minimizing its placement) are also worth considering, as one considers whether selected Gospel accounts use potential forms of politeness that affirm Brown and Levinson's FTA concept, or Watts's (im)politeness emphasis, or neither.

4 Politeness in the Gospels

Amidst the proliferation of politeness studies is a handful relating to the ancient world. Eleanor Dickey shows that use of the vocative κύριε in appeals is "practically nonexistent" until it appears in the Septuagint with reference particularly to God, and subsequently in the New Testament.[32] "As an address to God, this vocative is clearly borrowed from the Septuagint into the language of the New Testament, but it is less clear that the use of κύριε to humans (other than Jesus, who as son of God can receive religious addresses) was also so transferred. . . . In later Gospels ([e.g.,] Matthew, probably written c. AD 80–90 . . .) on the other hand, κύριε is used to humans in contexts which seem to have nothing to do with Old Testament devotional language, and its use to Jesus and to God is ubiquitous."[33] Inasmuch as it expresses respect, it prompts readers to be attuned to each culture's preferable means of expression.

In the interests of understanding the NT, this present study identifies some of the Gospels' brief depictions of suppliants who approached Jesus (e.g., Matt 8:1–2; 8:5–9; 9:18; 9:27; 15:22–28; 19:16) and who would be expected to employ some form of politeness in the hope of receiving what they requested. Unlike OT narratives, which often describe in lavish detail personal greetings, invocations of superiors (ranging from military victors and kings to God himself), and socially-implicative meals and even gifting, the Gospels are comparatively simple and sparse in their descriptions of social circumstances. Of those that are to be found, some describe gestures such as bowing (Mark 7:25), others involve gifts (Matt 2:11), including one that involved dispensing of a lavish quantity of perfume (John 12:3).

There are some linguistic aspects to politeness that appear in the Gospel of Matthew. This Gospel is usually considered to have been written by a Palestinian Jew, for fellow Jews, in contrast with the other three Gospels that may well have been intended for non-Palestinian audiences (e.g., Mark in Rome, and

32 Dickey, "Kyrie," 5.

33 Ibid., 6.

Luke and John for a diverse Greco-Roman readership). Bruce Malina[34] notes that a story writer adjusts the "historical field" in ways that reflect the culture and thereby "weaves a set of implicit meanings into an explicit story." In order to minimize the possibility of non-Levantine customs being woven into the implicit meanings of the text and influencing the ways an event was described, this study will draw only from the first Gospel and, to maximize the likelihood that a politeness strategy can be identified, it specifically includes descriptions of requests made to Jesus that are most likely to have warranted them. These include:

- Matt 8:2—A man with leprosy approaches Jesus, kneels in front of him, and says: "Lord, if you will, you can make me clean."[35]
- Matt 8:6–7—A centurion approaches Jesus at Capernaum and says, "Lord, my servant is lying paralyzed at home, suffering terribly." When Jesus offers to come to the man's home, he responds that "I am unworthy to have you come under my roof, but only say the word and my servant will be healed."
- Matt 8:21—An unidentified disciple says he wants to follow Jesus, but adds, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father."
- Matt 8:31—Demons being sent out from two disturbed men beg Jesus, "If you cast us out, send us away into the herd of pigs."
- Matt 9:18—A "ruler" approaches and kneels in front of Jesus, explaining that "My daughter has just died, but come and lay your hand on her, and she will live."
- Matt 9:27–28—Two blind men cry out, "Have mercy on us, Son of David," and when asked if they believe Jesus can heal them, answer "Yes, Lord."
- Matt 12:46—When family members remain "outside" and request to speak with Jesus while he is addressing others, the Gospel writer states "Behold [ἰδού] . . . [they were] asking to speak with him."
- Matt 15:21–28—A Canaanite woman living near Tyre and Sidon "came out and was crying, 'Have mercy on me, O Lord, Son of David; my daughter is severely oppressed by a demon.'" Her actions are introduced with ἰδού, and the subsequent conversation between the woman and Jesus includes a sequence of diminuted nouns.[36]
- Matt 17:15—A man approaches and kneels in front of Jesus, and says: "Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is an epileptic and suffers terribly."

34 Malina, *Gospel of John in Sociolinguistic Perspective*, 8.

35 All English quotations are taken from the ESV.

36 Watt, "Diminutive Suffixes," particularly 64, 65.

- Matt 19:13—Children are brought to Jesus "that he might lay his hands on them and pray."
- Matt 19:16—A man approaches Jesus and asks: "Teacher [Διδάσκαλε], what good deed must I do to have eternal life?"
- Matt 20:20–21—The wife of Zebedee approaches on her sons' behalf and kneels in front of Jesus; when asked what she wants, she responds "Say that these two sons of mine are to sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your kingdom."
- Matt 20:30–33—Two blind men near Jericho cry out, "Lord, have mercy on us, Son of David!" and repeat this address even louder when pressured by others to be quiet. After Jesus asks what they want, they respond, "Lord, let our eyes be opened."
- Matt 22:36—A "lawyer" poses a "test" by asking, "Teacher [Διδάσκαλε], which is the greatest commandment in the Law?"

Aside from these requests made directly to Jesus, two accounts (a paralyzed man in Matt 9:2, and a woman experiencing chronic illness in Matt 9:22 who merely touches the tassels on Jesus' cloak) record no words from the suppliants but do portray Jesus as responding to the implied request with the words "Take heart, my son/daughter" as he then heals them. The account of a mother's request made on behalf of her sons (Matt 20:20–21) involves circumlocution (itself a means of politeness in many societies) as she kneels to "ask for something" and elaborates only after Jesus has solicited more information from her. And in Matt 8:21, a would-be follower's command to Jesus, which to Western ears might appear abrupt ("Permit me . . .!"), has been prefaced and thus softened with a vocative of respect (Κύριε "Lord/Sir"). Perhaps the demons' commanding request in Matt 8:31 (ἀπόστειλον ἡμᾶς "send us!") is softened with the accompanying verb παρεκάλουν ("requesting/asking") and even further softened by the indirectness of the conjunction εἰ ("if").

The picture painted by Matthew's accounts shows Jesus' favorable disposition toward people in need (including personal actions such as touching the suppliant or expressing willingness to visit a home), and positive outcomes seem almost to be assured. It is noteworthy that, in the third Gospel (Luke 17:17), Jesus explicitly disapproved of the failure of nine out of ten healed lepers to return and express their thanks for being healed, implicitly suggesting he recognized the value of politeness (or whatever one wishes to label it) and linked politeness to verbal appreciation. Even the third (and non-compliant) servant in the Parable of the Talents (Matt 25:24) addresses his superior with the vocative "Master," whether that is to be construed as polite respect or routine formality.

So, aside from body gestures such as kneeling and bowing, what linguistic strategies recur in Matthew that also have been identified in the literature? They include, in this preliminary list:

- Respectful vocative address terms (e.g., Rabbi, Lord/Sir, Teacher) that formally identify the addressee and tend to magnify him
- Minimization of action (e.g., "Lay your hand on" implies desire for healing)
- Self-deprecation of the suppliant ("I am unworthy")
- Appeals evoking sympathy (e.g., "Have mercy on" a stricken household member).

In this connection, Werner Foerster notes that Matthew prefers κύριε for an address to Jesus over διδάσκαλε, which tends to be used in accounts involving Pharisees and others.[37] Ῥαββι, he notes, lies behind it, while in Mark it is the address of preference by Jewish speakers (and once in Mark, Κύριε is used by a Gentile woman), while the reduplicated κύριε, κύριε appears also in Matt 7:21 and 25:11. I concur with Foerster that this implies a Semitic substratum, and note as well that it is probably significant that the doublings are in parabolic/didactic sections (in contrast to narrative material in the working list provided above). Some of Matthew's accounts include just one linguistic form of politeness (e.g., title of address) or one action of politeness/respect (e.g., kneeling, being prostrate) while others combine them or bring in attendant specifics similar to the explanation in Matt 17:15, "Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is an epileptic and he suffers terribly. For often he falls into the fire, and often into the water."

However, three overlooked mechanisms of politeness should be added to the foregoing preliminary list. One is the use of ἰδού, with its familiar though unfortunate archaic translation, "Behold!" This interjection is widely considered to be calqued on Hebrew *hinneh*, which can be suffixed with *-na* when prefacing a request (e.g., Gen 12:11; 16:2; 1 Kgs 20:31; 22:13). It seems reasonable to conclude that when common words in the Greek have been calqued on Semitic ones, it is a marker of polite request. Ἰδού in Matt 9:18; 9:20; 12:46; 15:22 and 19:16, for example, seems unnecessary when it comes to formal equivalence, but if construed as a respectful flag of a forthcoming request, it carries positive social weight.

A second mechanism of politeness seems to involve certain usages of a conditional particle with the subjunctive mood, as in ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι ("if you will-AOR-SUBJ you-are-able me to cleanse," Matt 8:2), τὰς

37 Foerster, "Κύριος," 1093.

χεῖρας ἐπιθῇ αὐτοῖς ("[his] hands that-he-might-place-AOR-SUBJ on them," Matt 19:13), ἵνα σχῶ ("so that I might have," AOR-SUBJ, Matt 19:16) and εἰπὲ ἵνα καθίσωσιν "Command that they-may-sit-AOR-SUBJ, Matt 20:21). If use of a "potential action" mood is indeed a request-softening device, creating indirectness by its indefiniteness, it helps "manage" the surprising and uncharacteristic command issued to Jesus by the disciples in Matt 14:15 ("Send the crowds away to go into the villages") since it is followed by ἵνα… ἀγοράσωσιν ("that they might-buy-AOR-SUBJ") food for themselves. If, as J. S. Stewart once suggested, "religion resides in the prepositions," then politeness may be said to dwell with inflectional morphemes.

A third mechanism to be added to the above list should be the use of diminutive lexical forms, which have been shown to serve such purposes in many cultures; as I have argued elsewhere,[38] these soften requests by minimizing the burden and thereby show consideration for the addressee. In the account of Jesus and the Canaanite woman (Matt 15:21–28; also Mark 7:24–30), for example, this mother seeks out Jesus in the hopes that he will rescue her demon-possessed daughter, though he responds with an apparent rebuff to the effect that it would be wrong to give children's bread to the κυναρίοις (dogs-DAT-DIM < κύων). He is likely referring to a derogatory term his own society would have used for Canaanites and which was presumably known to her as well. She responds to that diminutive with two more of her own, arguing that even κυνάρια get to eat the children's ψιχίων (crumbs-GEN) as they fall to the floor. The outcome of this diminutive-inclusive interchange is that Jesus heals her child. As discussed in the literature on diminutives, personal relationships and familiar circumstances tend to allow expressions of trust and good will, including the making of requests that have thereby been played down through minimization. This form of minimization is a well-documented politeness strategy.

A case from outside of Matthew's Gospel is worth considering here as well. John 3:2 depicts the Pharisee Nicodemus addressing Jesus as "Rabbi" and following it with a compliment: "We know that you are a teacher come from God, for no one can do these signs that you do unless God is with him." Compliments do not seem to appear in the first Gospel. They are hardly surprising, however, in a culture known to greet people with blessings and magnifications. They evidence the non-reciprocal power semantic mentioned above: Jesus is addressed with vocatives of honor but responds, if he does so at all, with familial or endearment terms (e.g., "My son/daughter").

38 Watt, "Diminutive Suffixes."

5 Analysis and Conclusions

Could these techniques save someone's face in a threatening situation? Perhaps, but one could observe that Jesus' established record of kindness as portrayed in the Gospels has mollified the threats of those who appealed; rather than saving a face (theirs or his) the methods could just as easily be understood as reaching for the goal of gaining medical assistance. Politeness can carry utilitarian value: show respect, get something in return. This seems to be the case even without speech: Luke 5:17–26 records no words of the four friends who lower a paralyzed man through a hole they have made in a home's roof, such that Jesus "saw their faith." The outcome is that "they glorified God … saying, 'We have seen extraordinary things today'" (v. 26—ESV). Admittedly, minimization (of request or oneself) may reduce face-impact, but the attention of most pericopes in Matthew, at least, seems to be elsewhere, falling either upon the needs of the suppliant or the greatness of the provider. Brown and Levinson's FTA concept imposes too narrow a focus, for they were concerned "with those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker,"[39] and that simply does not seem to be at issue in these Gospel stories.

Rather, Watts's emphasis upon expressions of procedural meaning (EPMs), which are formulaic and ritualized, seems more fitting to the Gospel pericopes. And this brings us back to the essence of politeness: what is it, exactly? Even Dickey's careful discussion of Classical Greek and Roman politeness seems to imply that politeness stands at odds with egalitarianism, i.e., that it is connected with relative differences in power between speaker and addressees.[40] But equals, including those who mutually occupy low rungs on a social ladder, show recognition for each other—even sometimes via mutual "insults"—that conveys respect. These are the kinds of issues that the approaches of Watts, and cognitive semanticists, allow for; "politeness" is defined by each society with reference to itself. Wierzbicka argues: "[P]ragmatic meanings cannot be satisfactorily described in terms of abstract features such as 'solidarity,' 'familiarity,' 'respect,' 'deference,' and 'distance,' because features of this kind do not have any constant, language-independent value," even though many of them overlap cross-culturally.[41]

39 Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 65.

40 Dickey, "Greek Address System," 526.

41 Wierzbicka, *Semantics*, 325.

Any attempt at characterizing universals of politeness can proceed only after the values, perceptions, and means of encoding are identified, and by implication this essay is anything but universal and finds Watts's bicameral approach (with its [im]politeness polarity) to be more workable than Brown and Levinson's FTA theory. Use of respectful terms of address, as seen in suppliants in the first Gospel and elsewhere, strongly implies an alternative: no address being used at all. Titles or labels, on the other hand, appear throughout the world's languages; failure to use them implies lack of recognition. While this may threaten face in some instances, their usage could be construed as an acknowledgement of the obvious: someone has the power to help a fellow human being. Even though power can be misused, many societies embody in their social structure an obligation to bequeath on the part of the wealthy and powerful—and the agrarian poor in a hierarchical society would surely have seen things through this lens. The strategies demonstrated above were the right thing to use and, wielded appropriately, would be expected to result in the accrual of benefits to those in need, helping beneficiaries get along with someone who was advantageously positioned and whom they could assume would be inclined to help them.

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CHAPTER 18

The Structure and Content of Stephen's Speech compared to Old Testament Credos

Thomas H. Olbricht[1]

Todd Penner has written an impressive book in which he provides an excellent rhetorical analysis of Stephen's speech in Acts 7.[2] He has advanced detailed scholarly backgrounds, having perused the speech from many rhetorical perspectives. He has not, however, considered the structure of the speech from the standpoint of similarly organized Old Testament credos. Such credos may be found in Deut 6:20–25; 26:5–9; Josh 24:2–13; 1 Sam 12:6–15; Neh. 9; Pss 78, 105, 106, 135, and 136; Jer 32:16–25; and Ezek 20:5–26; in the Apocrypha, Sir 44–50, Bar 1:15—2:35; and in the New Testament, Acts 7 and Acts 13:16–41. These texts reflect a template for recounting the mighty acts of God that is distinctly within Hebrew rhetorical practice, especially regarding discourse structure. The template is flexible since items may vary from credo to credo, and the purposes for reciting the mighty acts differ from praising God to condemning his people for their failure to react when God has acted.[3]

In this paper I extend my analysis of Stephen's speech to see how this Hebraic "structural template" might shed light on the speech (sermon) in Acts 7, using this rhetorical approach. I initially assumed the speech drew creatively upon this Hebraic rhetorical credo background reflecting that tradition while

1 I first met Stanley Porter in Heidelberg in the summer of 1992 at the first of several conferences on rhetoric analysis of the Scriptures that we convened at Pepperdine University's international campuses, as well as at universities in South Africa and Sweden. Stan and I edited the first three volumes of the proceedings (Heidelberg, London, and Pretoria), which were published by the Sheffield Academic Press. I learned to appreciate Stan as a wonderful colleague and a prolific publishing scholar. It is a genuine privilege to present this essay in his honor. I am grateful to Carl R. Holladay for reading this essay and making a number of important suggestions and to Stanley N. Helton for editorial changes and additions.

2 Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*.

3 For a detailed look at the structure and content of Pss 105 and 106, but also comparing their rhetorical approach to that of several of the other credos, see Olbricht, "Rhetoric of Two Narrative Psalms."

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not being bound by it. In the ensuing discussion, I will note both similarities and differences.[4]

1 The Unique Hebraic Structural Form

I propose that Stephen's address rightly belongs to the perspective of a narrative structure unique to Hebrew rhetoric.[5] Classical rhetoricians on narrative assigned speeches to primarily three social locations: the court room (forensic), the political assembly (deliberative), and the market place (or before palaces, and temples) (epideictic), but most commonly the courtroom. These rhetoricians did not scrutinize the lengthy historical narratives of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, or Pliny. Nor were they interested in the narrative poetry of Homer and Virgil. In other words, these literary varieties were not within the purview of the social locations upon which the ancient rhetoricians focused. Although the ancient Greeks set out historical narratives in epideictic discourses regarding the founding of their city-states, they did not comment upon the manner in which Greek deities acted at various stages of their history. Rather, these authors extolled the merits of their ancestors' perspectives regarding democracy, patriotism, and leisure.[6]

The most obvious locations for the Old Testament credos were liturgical or apologetic settings. For example, Pss 105 and 106 were uttered or sung in the temple at Jerusalem. As Artur Weiser argues, Ps 105 "was originally used in the festival cult of the Yahweh community."[7] Similarly, Mitchell Dahood maintains that Ps 105 was "probably composed for one of the major Israelite festivals."[8] I conclude, supported by these scholarly assessments, that only limited insights

4 This procedure lies within the purview of the whole discussion of rewritten Scripture. See Zsengellér, *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years*.

5 For a lengthy bibliography on Jewish rhetoric, see Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 89n100. In my research in these bibliographies I have not found a discussion of the structural characteristics of the Old Testament credos as a rhetorical form. See the reflections of the classical rhetoricians on narrative in the essay presented in footnote 2 above. For additional bibliography, see Lightstone, *Rhetoric of the Babylonian Talmud*.

6 Examples are Pericles's Funeral Oration in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (2.35–46); Isocrates, *Evagoras*; and Hyperides, *The Lamian War*. For additional perspectives on classical rhetoric and rhetorical bibliography, see Olbricht, "Rhetoric of Biblical Commentary."

7 Weiser, *Psalms*, 673.

8 Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150*, 51. See also Taylor, *Psalms*, 557.

may be obtained from classical rhetoricians regarding the varieties of narrative discourse found in Scriptures.[9]

My proposal, in turn, is that the shape of these Psalms drew upon the somewhat standardized Old Testament credos.[10] The genre of "credo" is to be located among the various declarations in the Old Testament that Yahweh is to be praised for his mighty deeds, or, contrariwise, that the people of Israel are to be critiqued for failing to respond faithfully to God's gracious actions. Not surprisingly, Carl R. Holladay, in his commentary on Acts, notes the same Old Testament background for Stephen's speech.[11] Additionally, a major scholar of the Old Testament, Gerhard von Rad, also called attention to these Old Testament credos.[12] Despite the scholarly diminution of the contention that credos in Deut 6:5–9 and Josh 24:2–13 are the earliest in the Hebrew Bible, von Rad's highlighting of a credo *genre* nevertheless has merit.[13] Moreover, the characteristics of the credos embedded in the Old Testament are important to this essay, not his specific chronological claims.[14]

The common feature of these credos, and therefore why they may be considered a genre, is that they consistently set forth the mighty acts of God in a basic chronological order and often elicit theological reflections and critique at various junctures. Also, unfolding of the concepts in these pronouncements

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9 Contra Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 260, who declared that identifying the "classical" genre is essential for understanding the speech. For an analysis of the arrangement of Stephen's speech from the standpoint of classical rhetoric, see Dupont, "La structure oratoire du discours d'Étienne"; more recently, Black, *Rhetoric of the Gospel*.

10 See Boda, *Praying the Tradition*. He sees Neh 9 as an example of a *Gattung* that includes Ps 106.

11 Holladay, "Commentary on Acts." See also Holladay, *Acts: A Commentary*, in loc.

12 von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:121–29, 136–39 et al.

13 About von Rad's claim, Campbell writes, "Von Rad credited the shape and structure of the present Hexateuch (Genesis through Joshua) to remote origins in the short historical credo and the themes of Israel's early worship (cf. Deut 6:20–25; 26:5–9; Josh 24:2–13). Initially well received, this understanding was doomed to dissatisfaction once it was shown that the short credos came late in the process, more as summaries than the original core from which the process began." Campbell, "Form Criticism's Future," 24.

14 Cody, "Little Historical Creed," 1–4, insisted these affirmations should be labeled *anamnesis* rather than creed. The difference, as he perceives it, is that a creed, according to Michael Downey, ("Praying the Creed," 303) is "a concise, accepted, and approved statement of the central beliefs held by an individual or community." (See Cody, "Little Historical Creed," 4.) The anamnesis is rather, "making present an object or person from the past," that is, a reactualization (Senn, "Anamnesis," 46; Cody, "Little Historical Creed," 4). While I appreciate this difference, for the purposes of the form and structure of the genre, the two are the same, so I propose only one genre, the credo.

results in a narrative, and so a chronological, form. Most often, as stated previously, the enumeration of God's mighty acts is the ground for praising and obeying Yahweh or inversely for condemning ungrateful Israel. Certainly, the items listed in the credos vary, as do the attendant theological reflections. These credos function as a means of declaring Israel's identity as the nation in whose behalf Yahweh has acted mightily.[15] An examination of one of the fullest examples of this genre, Neh 9, illustrates this well.

2 The Structure of Nehemiah 9:6–37

The most complete credo in terms of historical topics addressed is found in Neh 9. The setting for this discourse or prayer of Ezra is the celebration of the festival of Booths after Nehemiah rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem in the 400s BCE. Ezra sets forth a list of God's mighty acts, accompanied by theological reflection.[16]

1. Yahweh alone made the heavens and earth, and gave life to all. The hosts of heaven worship him (9:6).

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15 The standard Christian credos were apparently created for a worship context, that is, for recitation in the Christian assemblies, including the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and the Apostolic Constitutions. These credos continue in the historical or narrative mode, but focus entirely upon the mighty acts of Jesus, though they begin with God as the maker of the heavens and the earth. Such an arrangement (τάξις; *taxis*) is found in the New Testament in what scholars identify as the kerygma. C. H. Dodd gave attention to such a template in his work on apostolic preaching. Dodd, *Apostolic Preaching*. For an updated perspective fifty years later, see Lemcio, "Unifying Kerygma." These creeds became the basis of the catechisms and continued in the tradition of the historical nature of the Old Testament credos, for example the *De catechizandis rudibus* of Augustine. Ferguson, "Irenaeus' Proof of the Apostolic Preaching," 3–4, has written, "The biblical or historical type of catechesis mentioned as a separate category by some authors refers to the use of the history of salvation according to the scriptures as the basis of instruction. This approach in catechesis has been mainly known from Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus*, where a narrative of biblical history serves as a preliminary instruction in essentials of faith to inquirers before their enrollment in the catechumenate." See bibliography in the rest of the essay and the one that follows, Ferguson, "Catechesis and Initiation." The form is also employed in the *Regula fidei*. See Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 115–16. Finally, the form may also be found in Hebrews 11 and early eulogies, for example, the funeral sermon of Gregory of Nazianzus honoring his friend Basil the Great, in sections 71–75.

16 See Boda, *Praying the Tradition*.

2. Yahweh chose Abraham, having brought him out of Ur, and made a covenant with him to give him the land. Yahweh found Abraham faithful. Yahweh fulfilled his promise (9:7–8).
3. Yahweh performed signs and wonders in Egypt. He made a name for himself. He divided the sea, thereby saving Israel but destroying the Egyptian pursuers (9:9–11).
4. Yahweh led the people in the wilderness by cloud and fire (9:12).
5. Yahweh spoke to Israel from Sinai and gave them ordinances, true laws, statutes, and commandments. He established his Holy Sabbath through his servant Moses. He provided Israel with manna and water. However, they responded presumptuously and did not obey (9:13–17).
6. Yahweh is a God ready to forgive, and did not forsake his people, even when they cast a golden image of a calf. He gave his good spirit to instruct Israel. He sustained them for forty years in the wilderness (9:18–21).
7. He gave them kingdoms and they took possession of the land. He multiplied their descendants and led them into a developed region. They delighted in Yahweh's goodness. Nevertheless, they were disobedient and killed the prophets and gave them into the hands of their enemies. Yahweh saved Israel, but they only engaged in evil again. Nevertheless, Yahweh did not forsake his people for he is a merciful and gracious God (9:21–31).
8. Yahweh treated the kings, officials, priests, prophets, ancestors, and all the people with mercy. He set kings over his people because of their sins (9:32–37).

All the topics from the other credos are illustrated in this discourse.[17] This structural form is most embedded in credos in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomistic historian, as well as in other materials influenced by them,[18] though the conclusions and theological observations vary from credo to credo.[19]

17 However, some of the topics are missing in each of the others.

18 Gertz, "Die Stellung des kleinen geschichtlichen *Credos*."

19 Holladay, "Acts and the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors," 31–32, discusses these similarities in Jewish Hellenistic documents when he writes, "Since Artapanus's summary of Israelite history organized around the lives of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses appears to be distinctive, its resonance with Stephen's speech is all the more striking. Differences in content, tone, and emphasis between Acts 7 and Artapanus are obvious. Stephen's heroic figures are not cultural benefactors of Egypt, nor are they presented as moral exemplars worthy of emulation. As [Gregory] Sterling has noted, however, both accounts reflect interest in Jewish life in the Diaspora."

3 Stephen's Speech: The Genre

Stephen's speech follows a historical accounting reflecting on God's mighty deeds and the various responses of individuals to them. Summarizing the past century of the interpretation of Acts 7, Penner observes that various scholars are deeply puzzled about why the speech proceeds as it does, and they question whether Stephen's speech is an appropriate response to the situation in which Stephen finds himself.[20] For them, Stephen's plight and his response in his speech appear as ships passing in the night. But if—as presented in Acts—Stephen followed a conventional template, then the form and structure, and the nature of his response, is as expected.

That Luke understood Stephen's speech as a form of conventional Jewish rhetoric finds support when one compares Paul's sermon in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:16–41) with his address on the Areopagus in Athens (Acts 17:22–31).[21] In the synagogue at Antioch, Paul commenced with Israel's stay in Egypt. He did not, as is more typical of the genre, mention Abraham (though he mentioned Abraham's descendants 13:26) or Moses (though he mentioned the law of Moses 13:39) in chronological order, but hurried on to bring up the judges, naming specifically Samuel. He next told of Israel's request for a king and of Saul's accession to the throne; and though Samuel anointed Saul, the new king was soon removed and replaced by David. Paul focused on David as the ground for his conclusion that Jesus is the savior, the promised Messiah. David, he declared, was a man after God's heart and from him God brought forth a savior to Israel. Previous to Jesus, John the Baptist declared him worthy of adoration. Paul consequently admonished the descendants of Abraham because they did not accept what their own prophets predicted, that is, prophecies fulfilled in Jesus. He added to the list of God's mighty acts of the past by declaring that "God raised him [Jesus] from the dead (13:30)," a fact he assumed was foretold in the Psalms and Isaiah. As a result, Abraham's descendants should pay attention to the forewarning of the prophets that scoffers in the future would refuse to believe.

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20 Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 85–94. The origin of the argument that the speech does not fit the context appears to be Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts*, 167–69, first published in English in 1956.

21 While Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles,* 251–78, recognizes Jewish forms behind this address he does not specifically mention the genre of credo. Thus, he also misses "resident alien" as a commonality between Stephen and Jesus as well as the other main exemplars in the speech (253).

In the discourse on the Aeropagus to the Greeks, Paul employed an entirely different tactic.[22] He did not mention any the history of Israel, nor the fathers, Abraham or Moses, nor the predictions of the prophets. Of this history the Athenians were completely oblivious, or, had they been aware of it, they would have rejected its presuppositions. Neither were the Athenians familiar with any Jewish credo form. Instead Paul took his "text" from the religious proclivities of the Athenians. He observed that even with their statuaries, the Athenians paid deference to many gods, and one monument even covered any deity they might have missed (Acts 17:23).[23] At this point he declared he worshiped this "unknown God," that is, the Lord who is the maker of heaven and earth and the creator of humans (Acts 17:25–26). He cited lines from Greek poets as evidence that humans are God's offspring (Acts 17:28–29).[24] In their religiosity the Athenians revealed their guilt and fear of judgment, prompting Paul to declare that God had fixed a day in which he would judge the world by a man he raised from the dead (Acts 17:30–31). Paul thus argued from the Athenian's universal reverence and fear of deities rather than from the mighty acts of God in Israel's history. Luke depicts his speechmakers as fully cognizant that an audience on the Aeropagus presented a different rhetorical situation than a synagogue audience in Antioch of Pisidia.

The author of Hebrews in the New Testament was influenced by Hellenistic eulogistic rhetoric for the overall structure of his discourse and the positioning of the catalogue of past heroes. But in regard to setting forth these heroes in chapter 11, he employs the standard approach of the credo rhetoric. He emphasizes Abraham and Moses then speaks briefly of the judges, Samuel, and David.[25]

While the credo approach does not help ferret out why Stephen selected the specific materials of his address, it does indicate that he (or Luke, as the case may be) utilized a common Jewish rhetorical template for it. With the background covered thus far, we are ready to explore the contours of Stephen's speech in Acts 7.

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22 Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 524, suggests that the Aeropagus speech follows the form found in Hellenistic Jewish apologetics, but then declares that "the use of elements of Greek thought, philosophical and popular, in this speech is not to be denied."

23 See Pausanias, *Descr*. 1.1.4, 5.14.8; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll*. 6.3.

24 See Pervo, *Acts*, 438–39, on the complex history of the citation used by Luke here.

25 See Olbricht, "Hebrews as Amplification," where I explore this arrangement in greater detail.

4 Stephen's Speech: Similarities and Differences to the Genre

Stephen's speech takes its overall form from the credo schemata,[26] but, as expected of credos, differs in specifics and in arguments. I will take up the similarities and differences as they occur in the speech. Stephen does not discuss in his address God as creator,[27] and says very little about the wilderness experience,[28] the conquest of the land,[29] or the significance of David.[30] Rather he concentrates on Abraham,[31] Joseph,[32] and Moses.[33] Clearly he construes the formative years from Abraham to Moses as critical and foundational for the points he wishes to drive home.

While in the case of Ps 105, the psalmist heralds the mighty acts of God as the grounds for praise and admiration of Yahweh,[34] Stephen spends little time depicting the might and worthiness of God or the need to praise God. Rather he singles out Abraham, Joseph, and Moses because their responses to God were enmeshed with God's wonders and signs. They all were responsive and

26 That is not to say, however, that I am arguing for, in Penner's words, "a pre-Luckan *Grundschrift* that Luke uses for the composition of the speech" (*In Praise of Christian Origins*, 94). The borrowing is limited chiefly to the structure, though specific language often comes from the Septuagint in regard to the detailed historical observations. See Richard, *Acts 6:1—8:4*, 357.

27 The credos that begin with Yahweh as creator are Neh 9, Pss 135, 136, and Jer 32. These Psalms especially praise the wonders of God in creation.

28 The time in the wilderness is especially discussed in Ps 78 and 106. It was notably in the wilderness that Israel was guilty of ingratitude. While Stephen was interested in establishing Israel's guilt, he was especially focused upon how they violated the commandments given through Moses, with the emphasis on Moses, not the details of the wilderness experience. The wilderness also receives considerable attention in Neh 9 and Ezek 20.

29 The conquest of the land is presented with a few details in Deut 26, Ps 135, 136, Jer 32 and Ez 20 but especially Josh 24, and Neh 9. In the latter two the comments centered upon how God helped Israel with the conquest and gave them an outstanding land. In Neh 9 the point was also made that they violated God's commandments and therefore were ungrateful for the great gift. Stephen interestingly focused upon disobedience as a sign of ingratitude.

30 The focus of Ps 78 is especially David, whom the psalmist praised for shepherding Israel.

31 Josh 24 mentions Abraham, as does Neh 9 and Ps 105.

32 Pss 78 and 105 note Joseph.

33 Moses is mentioned in Josh 24:5, Neh 9, Pss 105 and 106.

34 Hossfeld, "Eine poetische Universalgeschichte," suggests that Pss 104–106 are grouped so Ps 104 initiates the praise of God for his creation.

faithful. Ps 106, in contrast to Ps 105, itemizes God's mighty acts to charge Israel with failure to react appropriately.[35] This point begins early in the Psalm:

> Our ancestors, when they were in Egypt,
> *did not consider* your wonderful works;
> they *did not remember* the abundance of your steadfast love,
> but *rebelled* against the Most High at the Red Sea (Ps 106:7; emphasis added).

Stephen's speech in its accusatory mode is more like Ps 106 than 105, though the point is not obvious until the end of his speech.

The table below shows the credo items and structuring in six different biblical discourses.

Neh 9	**Ps 105**	**Ps 106**	**Acts 7**	**Acts 13**	**Heb 11**
Creation 9:6					
					Abel 11:4
					Noah 11:7
Abraham 9:7	Abraham		Abraham	Abraham	Abraham 11:8,
	105:6, 10,21		7:2–8	13:26	11:17
	Isaac &		Isaac &		Isaac & Jacob
	Jacob 105;9		Jacob 7:8		11:9
					Sarah 11:11
					Jacob11:21
	Joseph 105:17		Joseph 7:9		Joseph 11:22

35 Pröstl, *Nehemia 9*. I am sympathetic with Carl Holladay's proposal that sub-genres exist, but for the purpose of this essay that focuses on arrangement, I will refrain from developing the point further. The sub-genres are different in regard to the interpretation of the mighty acts. Holladay writes: "Earlier, when I looked at these OT rehearsals of Israel's history, it seemed to me that, rather than reflecting a single genre, there were sub-genres. In some instances the rehearsals uniformly praise God for his mighty acts (Ps 105), whereas others operate with a binary template stressing God's faithfulness matched by Israel's unfaithfulness. This latter template is found in Neh 9. And if one takes Pss 105 and 106 together, they reflect the same pattern: Ps 105 rehearses God's faithfulness, while the theme of Ps 106 is Israel's disobedience" (email communication from Holladay January 25, 2014).

(cont.)

Neh 9	Ps 105	Ps 106	Acts 7	Acts 13	Heb 11
Exodus 9:9–	Exodus 105: 27–41	Egypt & Exodus 106:7–12	Exodus 7:36	Exodus 13:17	Exodus 11;19
					Rahab 11:31
Wilderness guide 9:12		Wilderness guide 106:14	Wilderness 7:36	Wilderness 13:18	
Moses 9:14		Moses 106:16–33	Moses 7:20;40; & Aaron, 7:40	Moses, law 13:39	
Covenant 9:13			Covenant and law 7:38		
Wilderness sustain 9:15			Wilderness 7:42, 44		
					Gideon 11:32
					Barak 11:32
					Samson 11:32
					Jephthah 11:32
					Samuel 11:32
			Joshua 7:45		
Land 9:15	Land 105:11	Land 106:34–39	Land 7:45	Land 13:19	
				Samuel 13:20	
Kingship 9:22			David & Solomon 7:46–47	David 13:22; 26–40	David 11:32
				John the Baptist 13:24	
			Jesus Messiah 7:51	Jesus Messiah13:23	Jesus 12:2

The differences in the Jewish credos derive from the purpose for which each speaker or writer addressed the audience. The speaker commenced with the template, but tailored it to achieve his own ends.[36] We may presume that

36 Wischmeyer, "Stephen's Speech."

Stephen or Luke selected from the items and persons in previous credos to build his case. Stephen, in effect, did respond to his critics. But instead of exonerating himself, he chose rather to try to convince his detractors to change their outlook toward the Righteous One, through his chosen rhetorical strategy. As Luke tells it, Stephen was more concerned to persuade them than to defend himself.

I think the thread stitching together Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Jesus, and also Stephen, is that they were all "resident aliens," oppressed and mistreated by the power brokers.[37] Luke identifies Stephen as among the Hellenists and an alien in Jerusalem (Acts 6:5). Furthermore, as with Moses, Stephen was opposed by his fellow aliens in a foreign land, but in his case, in Jerusalem. Abraham, the reputed father of the Jews, had lived in the land of others; for Luke, Stephen plays a strategic role in the Jerusalem context since he also lives in a country belonging to others.[38] "And God spoke in these terms," continues Stephen, "that Abraham's descendants would be resident aliens in a country belonging to others" (Acts 7:6). Now Stephen did note that God would later destroy the country that had enslaved Israel. Ironically, it was the eleven sons of Jacob who arranged the Egyptian enslavement of their brother Joseph. Eventually, Joseph ruled for a time though an alien in Egypt, but later a pharaoh ascended to power "who knew not Joseph" and accordingly dealt craftily with Israel (7:18–19).[39] Next, Moses, their deliverer, was born in the alien land

37 On other ways of perceiving the purpose of the speech in its context, see Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 92nn106–9. While I appreciate Penner's own observations on the driving motives in the speech, I do think the motif of "resident alien" has been overlooked by him and others and is worthy of consideration. I applaud Penner's efforts to connect the speech to the context and agree with most of his observations on pp. 94–103. See also 306–8 on the structure of the speech. My proposal therefore offers an additional manner of perceiving the move from the context to the purpose of the speech.

38 Abraham is depicted as a citizen in a land beyond the Euphrates, but when God called him he became an alien in the land of Canaan, and his children in Egypt (Josh 24:3–5, Neh 9:7–9). The point of being aliens in the land is particularly stressed in Ps 105: "When they were few in number, of little account, and strangers in it, wandering from nation to nation . . . he allowed no one to oppress them." The last point is interesting since Stephen focused on the enslavement of Abraham's descendants.

39 Ps 78 mentioned Joseph but only to note that God rejected his house and chose Judah's. In Ps 105, much as in Stephen's speech, Joseph is identified as one sold as a slave and a stranger in a land not his own (vv. 17–23). Interestingly the language of Ps 105 is much like the language of Stephen, "Then Israel came to Egypt; Jacob lived as an alien in the land of Ham" (105:23) and likewise was hated by the Egyptians (105:24–25). Carl Holladay has pointed out these similarities in commenting on the use of the Septuagint. Notice Appendix 1 in Holladay, "Luke's Use of the LXX in Acts."

of Egypt, but his own people there rejected him.[40] Thereupon Moses fled and "became a resident alien in the land of Midian" (Acts 7:29). Finally, God, after forty years, revealed himself to Moses as Yahweh in the wilderness of Sinai. Once again Moses's people—who themselves had lived as aliens in Egypt—rejected Moses, as Stephen explains in Acts 7:35:

> It was this Moses whom they rejected when they said, "Who made you a ruler and a judge?" and whom God now sent as both ruler and liberator through the angel who appeared to him in the bush.[41]

Moses therefore takes on added significance as a resident alien rejected by his own people because Moses predicted, as related through Stephen, "This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, 'God will raise up a prophet for you from your own people as he raised me up.'" (Acts 7:37; citing Deut 18:18). The people, however, turned their backs on the words spoken by the angel to Moses on Mount Sinai. Stephen stresses, "Our ancestors were unwilling to obey him; instead, they pushed him aside, and in their hearts they turned back to Egypt"

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40 Contra Penner, who writes, "It is only in the last of these subunits that the speech turns from its supposed 'impartial' retelling of the events to a more harsh denigrating tone." (*In Praise of Christian Origins*, 95.) Penner is correct that the harsh rhetoric awaits the latter part of the speech. But the "resident alien" motif that drives the speech is alluded to from the beginning. Holladay writes: "I think you're right to see the resident alien theme as a prominent motif in Acts 7. What Abraham, Joseph, and Moses have in common is that they had dramatic encounters with God outside the land of Israel . . . Gregory E. Sterling has argued that the Stephen speech, with its emphasis of God's dramatic acts in the "Diaspora" adumbrates how the Acts Narrative unfolds from ch. 8 onward" (email from Holladay, January 25, 2014)." See Sterling, "Opening the Scriptures." Additionally, Holladay writes: "I hadn't thought of your point, at least in the way you put it, of aligning Stephen with the Hellenists, thus as a "resident alien" in Jerusalem, but that's a sound observation."

41 In Josh 24 Moses is depicted along with Aaron as a liberator of Israel from Egypt. In Neh 9 Moses is depicted as a servant of Yahweh who received the commandments (Neh 9:14). In keeping with the Old Testament testimony of Israel's persistent disobedience, Stephen's speech points out that the people had persistently disobeyed the commandments, ordinances, and statutes (Neh 9:16–31). In Ps 105 Moses and Aaron performed the signs God gave them and then announced to Pharaoh the ten plagues that afflicted Egypt. Through Moses, God led the people through the sea and into freedom. In Ps 106, again much like Stephen's speech, Israel rejected Moses. They were jealous of his position of leadership (v. 16). When they worshiped the calf at Horeb, God would have destroyed them had not Moses stood in the breach to turn aside the wrath of Yahweh (v. 23). When Moses set out to secure water from the rock, as the consequence of their craving Moses suffered from the fallout (v. 32). As Stephen declares, they rejected Moses.

(Acts 7:39). Instead, the ancestors offered sacrifices to an idol created by Aaron. Yet God did not require the offering of sacrifices in the wilderness, according to Amos the prophet (Acts 7:42–43; citing Amos 5:25–27). At that time the people built the tabernacle according to the pattern God gave to Moses and offered sacrifices there until the temple was proposed by David and built by Solomon. But God was not as attached to the temple as were the generations of Israelites after Solomon, since God does not dwell in houses made with hands (Acts 7:44–50).

Since Israel rejected Moses, and persecuted a succession of prophets who followed, a foregone conclusion follows that the current alien Israelites sojourning in Jerusalem (as well as the inhabitants of Jerusalem itself) would reject the prophets' predictions and kill the one they predicted. As Stephen asks, "Which of the prophets did your ancestors not persecute? They killed those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One, and now you have become his betrayers and murderers" (Acts 7:52). Therefore, consistently the Righteous One was treated as an alien among his own people, as Moses had been.

I am impressed by the manner in which Stephen's address takes the credo template and utilizes it to make a case that the Hellenistic and resident Jews in Jerusalem have rejected Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah. Consequently, Moses and Egypt loom large in this address. The unique contribution of Stephen's speech is this argumentation, although the form is old and was also used by Paul in the synagogue at Antioch (Acts 13:16–41). Or should we say it is Luke's argumentation? Luke was an astute rhetorician in creatively employing the template of Jewish rhetoric. Then again, perhaps Stephen actually structured his remarks as we find them in Acts 7. Stephen's speech is a distinctive strategy for establishing the messianic role of Jesus (as compared with Peter's speech in Acts 2 and Paul's in Acts 13). I think that the uniqueness of argumentation lies with Stephen himself.[42]

The final question is to what extent, if any, these Old Testament credos influenced Stephen or even Luke. Luke and/or Stephen were familiar with the credos and utilized them in Acts 7 based on their use of the Old Testament. Additionally, in some of the credos may be found similarities that support such a possibility. But, of course, whoever produced this speech had the whole Torah and the rest of the Hebrew Bible from which to draw. Whoever wrote this speech apparently had some specific familiarity with these credos and was

42 I, however, with Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 69, do not posit from this observation a "distinct" Hellenist theology or mission.

cognizant of the common Jewish use made of this credo template. Accordingly, the credo was a fitting template for the superstructure of Stephen's speech.

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CHAPTER 19

Minding the Gap: Why Paul's Conversion Matters for Christology

Darrell Bock

In discussing the development of a high Christology it is often claimed that a truly high view of Jesus emerged later rather than earlier in the history of the church. For example, Bart Ehrman argues in *When Jesus Became God* that it was not until the writing of the Gospel of John that there was a Christology that was high, with Jesus divine from the very beginning, and that Paul held to a lower incarnational Christology.[1] For Paul, Jesus was functioning as an angel who was, according to Phil 2, exalted to a new status of being equal with God as the allusion to Isa 45:22–23 in Phil 2:10–11 shows. But is this distinction accurate for describing Paul's Christology? Did Paul really see Jesus initially as an angel? And if not, what are the implications for the core Christology of the New Testament? It is this question I wish to pursue in this essay.

Another claim also made with regard to the New Testament is that the events narrated in the Gospels were recorded so much later than when the events occurred that room exists for all kinds of key theological additions to have been made to them. The analogy of the telephone game is used to explain how this works. Is this really the case for the core confession about Jesus? I refer to this distance between event and recording as the "gap," much like riding the underground "tube" in London where people are told to "mind the gap" between the side of the car and the platform. So we are told that we need to mind the gap between the events and their recording, for there were all kinds of additions that raised the level of who Jesus was presented to be.[2]

Paying attention to this gap is important. The questions are whether the gap creates a gulf that needs to be bridged in getting to what Jesus was about and who he claimed to be, and whether the burden of the affirmation of a high Christology should be placed at the feet of the early church and not with Jesus.

1 Ehrman, *When Jesus Became God*, chap. 7.

2 On this kind of claim tied to the circulation of Jesus tradition and stories told about him, see Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction*, 70–75. The telephone game is explicitly noted on p. 73.

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The claim that these questions should be answered affirmatively constitutes a basis for denying that the high Christology we see in the New Testament is reflective of the earliest period tied to Jesus' earthly ministry. The idea that early views of Jesus were of the lower incarnational type says that the early Christology was really different from the full exaltation Christology we see in John's Gospel. This view further tries to explain how a high Christology became artificially linked to the earlier period by examining how tradition altered things in the gap.

I want to critically examine this approach to see if it really has any validity. I proceed in three steps. First, I consider whether the angelic Jesus is the Jesus of Paul. Then I consider issues tied to oral tradition that Ehrman did not even mention in his book treating Christology, but now has addressed in a more recent work on tradition and memory, *Jesus before the Gospels: How the Earliest Christians Remembered, Changed and Invented Their Stories of the Savior*. Finally, I ask what understanding the presence of a high Christology with Paul in light of his early conversion means for minding the gap and the christological debate that comes from it.

In the first step we consider the claim that a high Christology came later, long after the time of Jesus. In the second and third steps we consider how early a high Christology may actually be.

1 Was Jesus Originally an Angel for Paul?

One of the undisputed letters of Paul is 1 Corinthians. One of the most significant christological texts from Paul is found in 1 Cor 8:4–6. Here Paul is responding to the presence of idolatry and the many gods and many lords of the Greco-Roman world by an appeal to his own confession that he shares with the church. The idea that God is one is introduced in language echoing the Jewish *Shema* of Deut 6:4 in 1 Cor 8:4. The text reads, "Now concerning food offered to idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world and there is no God (*theos*) but one." So Paul is confessing his view of God. He also is connecting himself with the larger confession of the church, using the language of tradition to introduce his confession. The "for us" of 1 Cor 8:5 invokes a church-wide confession and suggests the use of a traditional piece of material.

One role God has is as Creator. Everything created by God is a creature, a dependent in the realm. Yet look at what Paul says about the creation in the next two verses of 1 Cor 8. Verses 5–6 read,

> For although there may be many so called gods whether in heaven or on earth, just as there are many gods and many lords, but for us there is one

> God (*theos*), the Father, from whom are all things and we exist for him, and one Lord (*kurios*), Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.

The key thing to note in this citation is that Jesus is not a created being. He is *not* an angel. He is a mediator of creation. He participates in it from above, not as one exalted to that role. Existence depends on both the Father and Jesus. Another key observation is that Paul has split the titles God and Lord in comparison to how they are used in the *Shema.* For whereas both titles are applied in Deuteronomy to God, they are now split by Paul between the Father and Jesus. Here is the LXX of the key verse from Deuteronomy: "The Lord (*kurios*) our God (*theos*) is one Lord (*kurios*)." The double use of "Lord" here shows how important that title was for the one God of Israel who was confessed as the only God.

So in a confession about not having many gods and lords evoking a monotheistic confession from Judaism, Paul applies the language to the Father and to Jesus. In addition, while confessing that God is one, Paul ties both equally to the creation. The only difference between them is that God is the originator of that creation while Jesus mediates it. For our concern, most importantly, Jesus stands on the Creator side of the creator-creature relationship. This is very high Christology that at the same time rules out Jesus as an angel.

Ehrman mentions this verse and argues that Jesus is seen as the Angel of the Lord and appeals to Wisdom background to explain what is present. But Wisdom and the Angel of the Lord are not in the same category. Proverbs 8 and its picture of Wisdom is on the Creator side of the ledger; wisdom is not a created being or another form of transcendent being as an angel would be. For Ehrman, Jesus was "an angelic divine being before coming into the world; he was the Angel of the Lord."[3] The explanation fails because the Angel of the Lord is not the Lord of Deut 6:4, which is where Paul gets his language and concepts from as he describes creation in 1 Cor 8:5–6.

A christological passage that is cited in Col 1 reflects the same ideas, making it clear that Jesus was involved in the creation of everything that was created. Colossians 1:16–17 says, "By him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or authorities—all things were created through him and for him. And he is before all things and in him all things hold together." The creation of invisible things is a reference to the creation of spiritual beings, angels, including any Angel of the Lord concept. The echo of "through him and for him" is like 1 Cor 8:5–6, but adds one element. Not only does Jesus mediate the entity of creation, it is created with

3 Ehrman, *When Jesus Became God*, 247–70, esp. 268–69.

him in mind as part of who is to be honored by it. This is also high Christology that places Jesus on the divine and Creator side of the ledger. The text long predates John's Gospel and shows a high Christology in the period when the tradition feeding into the Gospels was circulating.

Now some might argue that this is not Paul writing, as some question the Pauline authorship of this letter. However, the use of a poetic passage that may well also be a hymn points to core early Christian theology and the connection of this idea to the Pauline school at the least. So Col 1 tells us we are on the same "creator" playing field. Jesus is no angel in these texts. He created such dependent beings.[4] There is divine agency here, but it is not angelic. Jesus is on the Creator side of being as one who makes life.[5]

If Paul and those who followed him had a high Christology, how early did it originate? The use of traditional materials in these texts also points to the likelihood that Paul was using already-circulating materials that were a part of worship and confession. These are not just his words, but beliefs he shares with others in the faith, in words crafted for celebration, worship, and confession. They are corporate claims, not merely Pauline ones. So how did such tradition circulate?

2 Issues of Orality: The Telephone Game or Traditions Overseen?

The comparison of Jesus tradition to the telephone game ignores sociological elements that are tied to the Jesus tradition. I would like to mention four of these factors.

First this was not just any story being told. It was a community's story, one that came with a cost of persecution, since the theological position being taken ran counter to some emphases in Second Temple Judaism. This new community taught a suffering but exalted Messiah who was raised in the midst of history and not at its end at the time of judgment. This fresh story claimed events had brought with them a revelation and realization of God's promised kingdom program. Those events, rooted in the earthly ministry of Jesus,

4 We could add Phil 2:6–11 to this list of texts, but it is controversial as to whether Jesus is seen as divine from the start and then brought back to a recognized status of divinity after exaltation, or is seen as human and then exalted to a greater status, as Ehrman argues. I prefer to see a full reverse parabola at work here, but the text is so contested it can only be brought in for a supplemental argument. 1 Cor 8 and Col 1 do not have that potential ambiguity. What they are saying is clear and incontrovertible in this regard.

5 For more details on this particular point, see Michael Bird's essay, "Of God, Angels and Men."

mattered. That message and its origins are tied to the memory of Jesus in all the earliest Christian documents we possess from the first century. No writer in these earliest documents fails to go there.[6]

Second, there also was present a group responsible for overseeing how this material circulated through the churches. Part of the point about Jesus choosing the twelve and having apostles was to place people in leadership who knew about Jesus' ministry. This is the point of a text like Acts 1:21–22, where the requirement for Judas's replacement was that he must have been with the group from the beginning. These leaders were supposed to really know Jesus and what he taught. The various meetings Paul records between leaders in Galatians show a community concern for what was taught in the churches.[7]

Third, we are talking about a culture that functioned orally, not like modern culture with its printed and digitized way of doing things. The value of the spoken word, especially from witnesses, was seen as being higher than the value of a recorded text.[8] The combination of apostolic oversight and the role of witnesses prevented the kind of undisciplined free-floating tradition that Ehrman's argument depicts.

Fourth, we are dealing with stories told in community that would have been regularly retold. Much as how one learns the words to a hymn sung repeatedly, or how a young child who cannot read or write learns the words to his favorite story book or lines from her favorite movie, the repetition seals the outline of the event. Anyone who has raised young children, who live in an oral world until they learn how to read and write, knows they can retain an amazing amount of material with accuracy upon enough repetition.

Ken Bailey, who lived in a modern Middle Eastern version of an ancient oral culture, has discussed three types of orality he experienced in his many years

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6 Even James, whose letter might seem to not fit this claim, has numerous allusions to Jesus' teaching as presented in the Sermon on the Mount and alludes to resurrection in referring to our glorious Lord Jesus Christ in Jas 2:1.

7 Ehrman likes to suggest that Paul and Peter did not agree on theology because of the dispute noted in Gal 2 over eating with Gentiles. However, this was a difference of orthopraxy, not of christological faith. There is no indication they disagreed about who Jesus was and whom they confessed him to be.

8 We recall here the famous citation in Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* 3.39.3, where the fourth-century historian cites a late first-century and early-second century figure, Papias. In the citation, Papias expresses his preference for an oral word over a written report. One should also recall that Justin Martyr called the Gospels the apostolic memoirs. The role of remembering the tradition is highlighted by Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 173–254. He argues for a core memory of the gist of these materials that challenges Ehrman's claim of the telephone game when it comes to the development of oral tradition.

working among such groups.[9] He distinguishes between informal, uncontrolled oral tradition, the kind of model Bultmann espoused and that Ehrman's model represents, from two other types. Bailey's other two models for ancient oral tradition are called (a) formal and controlled, which is the rabbinic model of tradition and (b) informal, controlled tradition, where some variation in the account is permitted but the core story, the gist, is left intact. It is this latter model that Bailey argues is like the Gospels. Other NT scholars, such as Richard Bauckham, have argued for a modified form of type (a), a somewhat looser form of the rabbinic model.[10]

The choice of either of these two categories as opposed to the informal uncontrolled model rests in the idea that this tradition did not freely float from place to place with the freedom to make additions with no oversight or concern from the leaders in the community. There was oversight. In the formal and controlled model, the claim is that only certain people could tell the community's story and pass on the account in official ecclesiastical contexts. So the telling was formal and controlled. In the informal and controlled model, the argument is that anyone could tell the story but its character was still overseen in the context where the community presented the accounts in worship or in other shared contexts of communication. One of the flaws in Ehrman's recent handling of this issue is that he treats the sociological context of the circulation of this material in a way that severs the passing on of tradition from its official uses and the ties that process would have had to existing leadership structures. He is certainly correct that lots of people could and did talk about Jesus and pass on accounts of what he did. It is likely these more popular tellings came with great variation. The question is whether that was how it was done when the church met and when it shared the content in more formal settings tied to worship and catechesis with appointed leaders and overseers present. It is this latter group that would have monitored how the tradition was shared and passed on both within and between communities.

The decision between Bailey's two options turns in part on whether the disciples could have developed and reflected practices of the rabbinic-like model that came from a more scholastic context than the one they emerged from, given that none of the core disciples were rabbis. This observation may slightly favor Bailey's preferred category of informal but controlled. However, for our concerns, the key point is that if either of these other models was in play, the telephone game kind of changes in the gap period are not in view.

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9 Bailey, "Informal Controlled Oral Tradition." See also Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* and Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study.*

10 Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*.

We actually can see examples of how the passing on and retelling of stories works in the New Testament. I select the account of Paul's conversion on the Damascus Road because three accounts come from the same author. This story is told three times, in Acts 9, 22, and 26. Details differ in each telling, in part because each telling permits the introduction of fresh elements on an important story, avoiding a boring mere repetition. But what is significant is that the core of the story is very much intact. Any change or variation is not in the range of a completely recast event. The core remains. Part of the oversight Bailey notes in the oral communities he reports on is how elders who hear the retelling of the informal narrator correct an account in public if the account drifts too far from the core. This is an important observation, for the use of tradition in more formal contexts will certainly also involve this kind of oversight. When we discuss Jesus tradition, it is important to recall that we are discussing corporate community tradition that became received material, not just random storytelling on the side of the road.

Other examples come to mind. Variations in texts like the Parable of the Soils, or even variations on how the centurion's servant is healed still preserve the core part of the story. One can suspect that what we see in the Gospel tradition itself mirrors this oral process to a significant degree. For all the discussion about differences between Gospel accounts that do nuance an event and raise issues that deserve discussion, what sometimes is lost is how the hub of the account remains. If someone wants to deny the core content of that kind of story, they must not depend on those types of differences but on other factors that require the whole of the account be rejected. If either of the other models Bailey presents are what was at work in the ancient tradition, and that seems likely, then we do not have a corporate process like the telephone game at work, and the gap between event and recording is not a time-and-content chasm that cannot be bridged.

For all of the psychological research Ehrman presents about corporate memory studies and the leakage and faultiness of that memory, the half of the story Ehrman underplays in that research is *how the core memory in those studies is affirmed* even as some details are challenged.[11] This is another place where Bailey's claims and the psychological research appear to connect.

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11 For example, Ehrman's appeal to work done on John Dean's testimony versus the Watergate tapes gives us half the story (*Jesus before the Gospels*, 128–30). A closer look at the piece Erhman cites for this discussion shows that the author, Ulric Neisser does note Dean got things said wrong in terms of what and when things were said and that there were distortions that made Dean look better than the recorded events show. So Dean got the details and timing of conversations wrong, but the impression one got from the whole

Working with memory in such a corporate context is also a part of the dynamics in play in tradition. There are not many examples of such orality in our world, but some examples do exist. I have already noted the repeated bedtime storytelling that a child experiences. Another example is when people gather after someone has died and they gather around the family to retell what impacted them about the person who died. These accounts often go back several decades with no written record. When done in the group, if it is a shared experience, others often chime in to add what they recall about the event. The event is etched in the memory because of what it said about the person. However we view some of the details of what gets presented, again the core of the story is retained.

A study of memory by Robert McIver makes the observation that memories of events tend to become relatively fixed at about five years after the events. His entire study covers this area in some detail, although the role of corporate memory could use development.[12] The point we are making here is modest. It is not that we can guarantee every particular in these accounts, but that the core tradition has an excellent chance of being accurate. When it comes to thinking about how Jesus is portrayed in terms of how he is seen, this kind of emphasis would be a core element.

The point here is an aggregate one. The Jesus tradition, which we see finally encoded in the Gospels, was originally a circulating tradition housed in the communities. Some material was likely recorded in writing but even in its oral forms the stories would have been circulated and repeated in services overseen by leaders, who were likely located in key hub communities. The role of Ephesus in Asia Minor or of Rome in Italy would be examples. Here contact

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of Dean's testimony about a presidential cover up and knowledge was accurate. Neisser speaks of accurate repisodic memory. The portrayal and impression made by the whole is accurate even as some of the details are not. The abstract of the article says it this way, "Moreover, his memory for the "gist" of conversations was quite poor except where that gist had been rehearsed in advance or frequently repeated. But while his testimony was often wrong in terms of particular conversations he tried to describe, Dean was fundamentally right about what had been happening: the existence of a "cover-up" and the participation of various individuals in it." The term "repisodic" refers to a memory of a "repeated series of events, and thus reflects a genuinely existing state of affairs." Neisser, "John Dean's Memory." This area of study is known as cognitive psychology. Do note that repetition and rehearsal improve the results for the memory. These are things that the passing on of tradition involves, and thus they can produce stability of memory as one repeats accounts in the worship and teaching.

12 McIver, *Memory, Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels*. It is significant that Ehrman's treatment of memory and tradition has no mention of McIver's work.

with those originally tied to Jesus would have existed. The summary confessions about who Jesus was would have emerged in part from what those stories told the community about Jesus. Their apostolic roots and the nature of orality in a corporate context would have meant not only a certain control on the story but also a base stability to it despite minor differences. The actual variations the different Gospels give to us represent a kind of freezing of the model in process. All of this suggests much less variation than the telephone game implies. What we are dealing with is a corporate tradition with some oversight in terms of what gets circulated when the story is told in community gatherings.

3 Minding the Gap: The Importance of Paul's Vision of Jesus

So what of the thirty- to sixty-year gap between event and recording in the Gospels and their varying portrait of Christology? The discussion of oral tradition above is designed to show that simply counting the date of the written recording is not all there is to factor into such a discussion. But there is one other very important factor rarely brought to the table for such a conversation. It is Paul's conversion, what he calls in Gal 1 his revelatory experience of Jesus, and what Luke narrates three times in Acts 9, 22, and 26 as Paul's Damascus Road experience. How can such a vision be of value in this discussion?

Its value is in its timing. The chronology we get from Gal 1–2 tells us that this event took place within two years of Jesus' death and resurrection. More than that, Paul's persecution of the church meant he was familiar with the Jewish leaders' position on Jesus. When Paul the apostle was Saul the persecutor, he was reacting to preaching he was hearing from the leaders of the newly-emerging Jesus community that he was opposing. The theology of the community he was exposed to was early and recent, with roots into the time of Jesus himself. Saul was reacting to events in Jerusalem, where he resided, the city that was the headquarters for his opposition. We are no longer dealing with decades here. There is no real distance of time or locale. Our gap is gone.

So what seemed an event-theology gap of three to six decades from the time of Jesus to the writing of the Gospels shrinks to a few decades once we figure in Paul's writing of his epistles. But the closing of the gap does not stop there. This is because the experience Paul presents that drove his theology goes back to his encounter with the risen Jesus and his own persecution of the church that preceded that appearance.

My key point is that Paul had to have had enough Christology from what he had heard as one who had persecuted the Jesus community to process his

visionary experience and come to a recast theology and Christology as a result, a Christology he wrote about in his letters. With this in mind, consider what this does to our event-to-recording gap. It is now no longer up to six decades, but just a few years. It is now in a Jerusalem, Judean, and Syrian context where many original players were still present. Paul joined himself to those around him telling the stories about Jesus that had come from the early circle. He knew and met them face to face and wrote about it decades later with a Christology he shared with them. So when Paul cites what "we believe" in texts like 1 Cor 8:4–6 or lines like Rom 1:2–4, he is reciting what was said and had been said about Jesus from very early on. He is reciting what was confessed or sung repeatedly in these communities. He is signing onto what he signed onto when he realized the risen Jesus was alive. Paul is affirming what he understood when Jesus commissioned him directly to reverse course and take on the cause he had previously strenuously rejected. What this means is that if Jesus became God as a result of community creation, he did so very quickly in the movement, not decades later. He did so in a context of community worship that Paul had rejected and now had accepted. All of this points to a momentum coming, not from decades of reflection or even a sudden change in the community after Jesus' shocking death, but from direct experience with Jesus during his life and ministry. The gap turns out to be illusionary. There must have been something radical to break the mold of more traditional thinking about the hope of Messiah and kingdom. That cause is likely to have been what also broke Paul's old mold, a direct encounter with Jesus' power and authority.

That is what Paul's turning to the Jesus movement shortly after the death and resurrection of Jesus tells us. If we mind the gap and Paul's role in it, what we see is the gap between event, theology, and Christology closing down on top of the Jesus events themselves. The seeming chasm has become a simple footstep.

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CHAPTER 20

Introducing Foreign Deities: The Documentary Evidence

Eckhard J. Schnabel

As the Apostle Paul proclaims Jesus as crucified and risen Savior in the Athenian agora, Epicurean and Stoic philosophers involve him in a debate. Luke notes two different reactions in Acts 17:18: some comment on the unsystematic nature of his teaching about God, the world, and human beings,[1] while others think that he proclaims foreign divinities (ξένα δαιμόνια), that is, deities that are not worshipped in Athens, a possibility that prompts an investigation by the Areopagus Council (Acts 17:19). While Greek and Roman cities did not stipulate which deities the population had to worship, the introduction of new deities was subject to the "official authorization of the state."[2] This can be illustrated both by literary and documentary evidence from ancient times.

1 Literary Evidence

The literary evidence for the aversion of the Athenians to the introduction of new deities and their cults into the city ranges from Isocrates and Xenophon (fifth/fourth century BCE) to Josephus and Maecenas in the first century CE.

1. Isocrates (436–338 BCE) praises the Athenians for guarding "against the elimination of any of the ancestral sacrifices and against the addition of any sacrifices outside the traditional ones (ὅπως μηδὲν μήτε τῶν πατρίων καταλύσουσιν μήτ' ἔξω τῶν νομιζομένων προσθήσουσιν). For they thought that piety existed not in great expenditures, but rather in not changing any of those things that their ancestors had handed down to them (ἐν τῷ μηδὲν κινεῖν ὧν αὐτοῖς οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν)" (*Areop.* 30).[3] This traditionalism, which rejects the novelty of nontraditional gods and cults, is seen in Greek literature right from the start: see

1 The term σπερμολόγος can be translated as "a third-rate intellectual devoid of method." Barrett, *Acts*, 2:830, suggests "third-rate journalist"; Pervo, *Acts*, 427, "a bird-brain devoid of method."

2 Versnel, "Paradox," 122.

3 The translation is from J. D. Mikalson, LCL.

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Hesiod ("in whatever way a city sacrifices, the ancient rule is the best" [ὥς κε πόλις ῥέζῃσι, νόμος δ' ἀρχαῖος ἄριστος]; Frag. 322);[4] a law of Draco (sixth century BCE), which, according to Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.22, instructs the Athenians "as a group to honour the gods and local heroes in accordance with the ancestral practices and in private as best they can (θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ ἥρωας ἐγχωρίους ἐν κοινῷ ἑπομένοις νόμοις πατρίοις, ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν)"; the Delphic oracle's answer to the question of how to perform the sacrifices to the ancestors ("according to the law of the city" [νόμῳ πόλεως], Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.3.1; cf. Cicero, *Leg.* 2.16.40).

2. Xenophon (ca. 430–354 BCE) describes the indictment against Socrates (399 BCE) as follows: "Socrates is guilty of rejecting the gods acknowledged by the state and of bringing in strange deities; he is also guilty of corrupting the youth (ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων: ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων) (*Mem.* 1.1.1; Trans. E. C. Marchant, LCL).[5] Xenophon relates that Socrates, who defended himself against the charge that he did "not believe in the existence of the gods (in the way it is traditionally done by the *polis*)" (Plato, *Apol.* 24C; Favorinus, in Diogenes Laertius 2.40; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.1), "to be on the safe side, was at pains to prove that nobody had ever seen him 'sacrificing to strange gods (καινοῖς δαίμοσιν—not δαιμονίοις), nor swearing by or acknowledging other gods (οὔτε ὀμνὺς οὔτε νομίζων ἄλλους θεούς)'" *Apol.* 24.[6]

3. The Case of Phryne: In the early part of the fourth century, the *hetaira* Phryne was accused of *asebeia*, based on the fact that "she held a *komos* in the Lykeion. She introduced a new god and she organized *thiasoi* of men and women (ἀσεβείας κρινομένη ἡ Φρύνη: καὶ γὰρ ἐκώμασεν ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ καινὸν εἰσήγαγε θεὸν καὶ θιάσους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνήγαγεν)"; the plaintiff Euthias states in what is regarded as an authentic epilogue: "So I have now proven that Phryne is impious because she has participated in a scandalous revelry, because she has introduced a new god, and because she has assembled unlawful *thiasoi* of both men and women (ἐπέδειξα τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἀσεβῆ Φρύνην, κωμάσασαν ἀναιδῶς, καινοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγήτριαν, θιάσους ἀνδρῶν ἐκθέσμους καὶ γυναικῶν συναγαγοῦσαν)"

4 Merkelbach and West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Fr. 322; Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.18.

5 Cf. Brickhouse and Smith, *Socrates on Trial*; Versnel, "Paradox", 124–127; on Socrates' trial, see also Garland, *Introducing New Gods*, 136–51.

6 Versnel, "Paradox", 127, with further reference to Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.2–4; 1.3.1; 1.3.4; *Apol.* 10–11; *Anab.* 3.1.4–8; Plato, *Apol.* 21B; 33C; *Phaed.* 60B–61B: Socrates participated in, and advocated, the traditional Athenian cults. Much later, Servius (ca. CE 400) confirms in connection with Socrates' trial that the Athenians prohibited the introduction of new gods: "The Athenians saw to it that nobody should introduce superstitious cults (*ne quis introduceret religions*): on this charge Socrates was sentenced" (cited by Virgil, *Aen.* 8.187).

(*Ars rhet.* 215).[7] Illegal *thiasoi* were, strictly speaking, "all *thiasoi* that had not been officially ratified by *boule* and *demos*."[8] Plato suggests that all should be punished who celebrate other ceremonies than those that belong to the official cult (ἕτερα καὶ ὀργιάζοντα πλὴν τὰ δημόσια; *Leg.* 10.910BC).[9]

4. Maecenas's speech to Augustus, as related by Cassius Dio, summarizes the principal objections against both foreign and new gods and rites: "Do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power (τὸ θεῖον) everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια), but compel all others to honour it. Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites (ξενίζοντας) you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay honour to any other being), but because such men, by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices (καινά τινα δαιμόνια οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀντεσφέροντες πολλοὺς ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν), from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist (ἄθεος) or a sorcerer (γόης) . . . The same thing is done also by many who are philosophers; hence I advise you to be on your guard against them, too" (Cassius Dio 52.36; Trans. E. Cary, LCL).

5. Josephus writes that the Athenians severely punished impiety, with numerous examples of such misbehavior that included uttering "a single word about the gods contrary to their laws" (Apollonius), claiming to have received "communications from a daimon" (Socrates), arguing that the sun is not a god but "an incandescent mass" (Anaxagoras), jeering at their mysteries (Diagoras), writing about the gods in a manner that conflicts with Athenian tenets (Protagoras), initiating people into the mysteries of foreign gods (Ninos), the latter being "forbidden by their law, and the penalty decreed for any who introduced a foreign god was death (κατὰ τῶν ξένον εἰσαγόντων θεὸν ὥριστο θάνατος)" (*Ag. Ap.* 2.262–268; Trans. St. J. Thackeray, LCL). The case of Ninos, a priestess of Sabazios (before 343 BCE), is also mentioned by Demosthenes (19, 281).[10]

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7 K. Müller, *Oratores Attici*, 2:426; cf. Versnel, "Paradox," 118–19.

8 Versnel, "Paradox," 119.

9 On the traditional gods in Plato, cf. Lefka, *Les divinités traditionnelles*.

10 Cf. the scholion ad loc. Versnel, "Paradox," 116, 127–28, following Derenne, *Les procès d'impiété*, 224–29, defends Josephus's testimony against those who argue against the authenticity of either one of the versions of the Ninos incident. Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 30, follow Garland, *Introducing New Gods*, 150, who argues that Ninos was executed because her office forbade her from participating in the rites of foreign deities, rather than because she introduced foreign cults.

2 Documentary Evidence

The documentary evidence demonstrates that magistrates and the demos of Athens, and other Greek cities, did in fact discuss, investigate, and decide whether a new cult could be allowed to be added to the pantheon of deities worshipped in the city. I here supply evidence from eight documents.

2.1 *IG I³ 78* (*ca. 435 BCE*)[11]

[Τιμο]τέλ[ε]ς Ἀχαρνε[ὺς] ἐγραμμάτευε.
[ἔδοχσ]εν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τõι δέμοι· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Τιμοτέ-
[λες ἐ]γραμμάτευε, Κυκνέας ἐπεστάτε· τάδε οἱ χσυγγραφῆς χσυνέ-
[γρ]αφσαν· ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεοῖν τõ καρπõ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲ-
ν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφõν Ἀθεναίος ἀπὸ τõν hεκατὸν μεδίμνον [κ]-
ριθõν μὲ ἔλαττον ἢ hεκτέα, πυρõν δὲ ἀπὸ τõν hεκατὸν μεδίμνον μ-
ὲ ἔλαττον hεμιέκτεον· ἐὰν δέ τις πλείο καρπὸν ποιῆι ἢ τ[οσοῦτο]-
ν ἢ ὀλείζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι. ἐγλέγεν δὲ [τὸς δ]εμ-
άρχος κατὰ τὸς δέμος καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς
Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρῆς Ἐλευσῖν-
ι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια hόπο ἂν δοκῆι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς καὶ τõι ἀρ[χ]ιτ-
έκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἐναι ἀπὸ τõ ἀργυρίο τõ τοῖν θεοῖν. τὸ[ν δὲ κα]-
ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν hὸν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τõν δεμάρ[χον],
ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χσυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά. τὰς δὲ πόλες [ἐγ]λ[ο]-
γέας hελέσθαι τõ καρπõ, καθότι ἂν δοκῆι αὐτῆσι ἄριστα ὁ καρπὸ-
[ς] ἐγλεγέσεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐγλεχθῆι, ἀποπεμφσάντον Ἀθέναζε·
τὸς δὲ ἀγαγόντας παραδιδόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσι-
νόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε· ἐ[ὰ]ν δὲ μὲ παραδέχσονται πέντε ἐμερõν vvvv
ἐπειδὰν ἐπαγγελῆι, παραδιδόντον τõν ἐκ τῆς πόλεος hόθεν ἂν [ἐ]-
[ι] ὁ κα[ρπ]ός, εὐθυνόσθον hοι hιεροποιοὶ χιλίαισιν v δραχμῆσι [h]-

11 Lewis, *Inscriptiones Graecae I*, No. 78; Syll.³ 83 (Dittenberger and Gaertringen, *Sylloge*); Prott and Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, 2: No. 4; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, No. 5; I. Eleusis 28 (Clinton, *Eleusis*, 2:5–7); Meiggs and Lewis, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 73; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, No. 5; Fornara, *Translated Documents*, 1: No. 140; Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik*, 167–98; Brodersen, Günther, and Schmitt, *Historische griechische Inschriften*, 1: No. 123; Dillon and Garland, *Ancient Greece*, No. 12.6. For the date of the inscription in the mid 430's, see Clinton, *Eleusis*, 2:52–53. Translation from Fornara, *Translated Documents*, 1:160–63. Location: Athens, Epigraphical Museum, EM 10050. The Latin letter "h" is part of the transcription, indicating rough breathing marks that are not indicated in the inscription. Since Unicode does not have simple characters for epsilon and omicron with circumflex, the typeset versions of these look slightly different from their unaccented counterparts.

[έκασ]τος· καὶ παρὰ τῶν δεμάρχον κατὰ ταὐτὰ παραδέχεσθαι. [κέρ]υ-
[κα]ς δὲ hελομένε hε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀ[γ]γέλλον[τ]ας [τὰ]
[νῦν] hεφσεφισμένα τῶι δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἐναι hος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ [λ]-
οιπὸν hόταν δοκῆι αὐτῆι. κελευέτο δὲ καὶ ho hιεροφάντες καὶ [ὁ]
δαιδῶχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς hέλλενας τῶ καρπῶ κατὰ
τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν. ἀναγράφσαντες δὲ ἐ[μ]
πινακίοι τὸ μέτρον τῶ καρπῶ τῶ τε παρὰ τῶν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ[ν δ]-
[ἔ]μον hέκαστον καὶ τῶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεον κατὰ τὲν πόλιν hεκάσ[τεν]
[κ]αταθέντον ἔν τε τῶι Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσίνι καὶ ἐν τῶι βολ[ευτ]ε-
[ρ]ίοι. ἐπαγγέλλεν δὲ τὲν βολὲν καὶ τῆσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν [τ]ᾶ[σι] hε-
[λ]λενικῆσιν ἁπάσεσι, hόποι ἂν δοκῆι αὐτῆι δυνατὸν ἐναι, λ[έγο]ν-
τας μὲν κατὰ hὰ Ἀθεναῖοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[νοι]-
[ς] δὲ μὲ ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύσοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βόλονται,
[κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν. παραδέχεσθαι δ-
ὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτον τῶν πόλεον ἐάν τις ἀπάγει τὸς ιεροποιὸς κα-
τὰ ταὐτά. θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶ πελανῶ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσhε]-
[γῶ]νται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν hεκα[τέρ]-
[αι ἀ]πὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῶι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τῶι [θε]-
ῶι καὶ τᾶι θεᾶι καὶ τῶι Εὐβόλοι hιερεῖον hεκάστοι τέλεον καὶ
τᾶι Ἀθεναίαι βῶν χρυσόκερον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ-
οδομένος τὸς hιεροποιὸς μετὰ τᾶς βολᾶς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν-
αι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος αττ' ἂν τῶι δέμοι τῶι Ἀθεναίον δοκᾶ-
ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, hότι ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶ τᾶς ἀπαρχᾶ-
ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ hελλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον· [τοῖ]ς δὲ ταῦτα ποιῶσι
πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπία[ν, hοί]τινες ἂν
[μ]ὲ ἀδικῶσι Ἀθεναίος μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον μεδὲ τὸ θεό. v
[Λ]άμπον εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χσυγγραφαὶ τᾶς ἀπαρχᾶς τῶ
καρπῶ τοῖν θεοῖν· τὰς δὲ χσυνγραφὰς καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγ-
ραφσάτο ho γραμματεὺς ho τᾶς βολᾶς ἐν στέλαιν δυοῖν λιθίναι-
ν καὶ καταθέτο τὲν μὲν Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τῶι hιερῶι τὲν δὲ hετέραν [ἐ]-
μ πόλει· hοι δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντον τὸ στέλα· hοι δὲ κολ[ακρ]-
έται δόντον τὸ ἀργύριον. ταῦτα μὲν πε[ρ]ὶ τᾶς ἀπαρχᾶς τῶ καρ[π]ῶ [τ]-
οῖν θεοῖν ἀναγράφσαι ἐς τὸ στέλ[α], μᾶνα δὲ ἐμβάλλεν hεκατονβ-
αιῶνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα τὸν δὲ βας[ι]λέα horίσαι τὰ hιερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ῶ]-
ι Πελαργικῶι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐνhιδρύεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τῶι Πελα-
ργικῶι ἄνευ τᾶς βολᾶς καὶ τῶ δέμο, μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνεν ἐκ τῶ [Π]-
ελαργικῶ, μεδὲ γᾶν ἐχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος. ἐὰν δέ τις παραβαίνει v
τούτον τι, ἀποτινέτο πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, ἐσαγγελλέτο δὲ h-
[ο] βασιλεὺς ἐς τὲν βολέν. περὶ δὲ τῶ ἐλαίο ἀπαρχᾶς χσυγγράφ-
σας Λάμπον ἐπιδειχσάτο τᾶι βολᾶι ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐνάτες πρυτανείας·
hε δὲ βολὲ ἐς τὸν δᾶμον ἐχσενενκέτο ἐπάναγκες.

[Timo]tel[e]s of Acharnai was Secretary. Resolved by the Boule and the People, Kekropis held the prytany, Timote[les] was Secretary, Kykneas presided. The following the Commissioners (syngrapheis) drafted: First fruits shall be offered to the two goddesses, in accordance with ancestral custom and the (5) oracular response from Delphi, by the Athenians (as follows): from each one hundred medimnoi of barley not less than one-sixth (of one medimnos); of wheat, from each hundred medimnoi, not less than one-twelfth. If anyone produces more grain than [this amount] or less, he shall offer first fruits in the same proportion. Collection shall be made by [the] Demarchs deme by deme and they shall deliver it to the Hieropoioi (10) from Eleusis at Eleusis. (The Athenians) shall construct three (storage) pits at Eleusis in accordance with the ancestral custom, at whatever place seems to the Hieropoioi and the architect to be suitable, out of the funds of the two goddesses. The grain shall be put in there which they receive from the Demarchs. The allies as well shall offer first fruits according to the same procedure. The cities shall have collectors (15) chosen for the grain by whatever means seems best to them for grain collection. When it has been collected, they shall send it to Athens, and those who have brought it shall deliver it to the Hieropoioi from Eleusis at Eleusis. If (the latter) do not take delivery of it within five days after it has been reported to them, although it was offered by (the envoys) of whatever city [was the source] (20) of the grain, the Hieropoioi at their euthynai shall be fined one thousand drachmas [each]. They shall also receive it from the Demarchs in accordance with the same procedure. [Heralds] shall be chosen by the Boule, which shall send them to the cities announcing [the present] decree of the People, in the present instance as quickly as possible and in the future, whenever it (the Boule) thinks best. Let an exhortation be pronounced both by the Hierophant and [the] (25) Daidouchos for the Hellenes to make offerings of the first fruits at the Mysteries in accordance with the ancestral custom and the oracular response from Delphi. After writing on a notice board the weight of the grain (received) from the Demarchs according to the demes and of that (received) from the cities according to city, (the Hieropoioi) shall set up (copies of) it in the Eleusinion in Eleusis and in the Bouleuterion. (30) The Boule shall also send a proclamation to the other cities, [the] Hellenic cities in their entirety, wherever it seems to the Boule to be feasible, telling them the principles on which the Athenians and their allies are offering first fruits, and not ordering them but urging them to offer first fruits, if they so desire, in accordance with the ancestral custom and the oracular response from Delphi. The acceptance (35) of any (grain) that anyone may bring from these cities as well shall be the duty of the

> Hieropoioi according to the same procedure. They shall perform sacrifice with the pelanos in accordance with what the Eumolpidai [dictate]; and (they shall sacrifice) the triple sacrifice, first, a bull with gilt horns to each of the two goddesses separately, out of (proceeds from) the barley and the wheat; and to Triptolemos and to the [god] and the goddess and Eubolos a full-grown victim each; and (40) to Athena a bull with gilt horns. The rest of the barley and wheat shall be sold by the Hieropoioi together with the Boule and they shall have votive offerings dedicated to the two goddesses, having made whatever seems best to the People of the Athenians, and they shall inscribe on the votive offerings that it was out of the first fruits of the grain that they were dedicated, and (the name) of every Hellene who made the offering of first fruits. [For those] who do this (45) there shall be many benefits in abundance of good harvests if they are men who do not injure the Athenians or the city of the Athenians or the two goddesses. Lampon made the motion: Let all the rest be as (advised) in the draft-decree (of the Commissioners) for the first fruits of the grain for the goddesses. But their draft-decree and this decree shall be inscribed by the Secretary of the Boule on two stelai of marble (50) and set up, the one in the sanctuary in Eleusis, and the other on the Akropolis. The Poletai are to let out the contract for the two stelai. The Kolakretai are to supply the money. These things concerning the first fruits of the grain to the two goddesses shall be inscribed on the two stelai. There shall be intercalcation of the month Hekatombaion by the new Archon. The King (Archon) shall delimit the sanctuaries in the (55) Pelargikon, and in the future altars shall not be erected in the Pelargikon without the consent of the Boule and the People, nor shall (anyone) cut stones out of the Pelargikon, or remove soil or stones. If anyone transgresses any of these regulations, he shall be fined five hundred drachmas and impeached by the King (Archon) before the Boule. As to the first fruits of olive oil, a draft-decree (60) shall be produced by Lampon before the Boule in the ninth prytany and the Boule shall be obliged to bring it before the People.

The Athenians' Decree on the First Fruits, which should be dated to the 430s BCE,[12] introduced by the commission of the *syngrapheis*, was recorded on two stelae and set up on the Acropolis and in Eleusis, respectively. The

12 SEG LX 65; Clinton, *Eleusis*, 2:52; Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens*, 73–98; Tuplin, "Religious Policy," 422, against Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik*, 184–216 passim; Meiggs and Lewis, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 217, 222, date the inscription to 422 BCE.

decree describes the administration of the collection of 1/60o of all barley and 1/1,200 of all wheat grown in Attica and by Athens' allies, and perhaps by other Greek cities, to be sent to Eleusis. The two goddesses are Demeter and Kore. The *hieropoioi* ("sacrifice makers")[13] are the administrators of the money from the *aparche*, located on the Acropolis (ἐμ πόλει), initially appointed by the Eleusinians, later in the century by the Athenian State, probably the Boule (Council); at the time of the Decree of the First Fruits they were the sole official body in charge of all aspects of the *aparche* as well as of general financial duties and construction (of additional warehouses). By 422/1 BCE the *hieropoioi* shared jurisdiction over the financial affairs of the Two Goddesses with a board of *epistatai* (IG I^3 32); by the end of the fifth century they had assumed complete control of the financial aspects of the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.[14] The hierophant is the highest official in Eleusis. The Pelargikon is the early (pre-fifth century BCE) circuit wall that enclosed a portion of the lower (western) slopes of the Acropolis and perhaps the entire area.[15] The *basileus* mentioned in line 54 was one of nine *archontes*: the *archon* was responsible for religious festivals, for heiresses and orphans, and for lawsuits concerning family matters; the *basileus* was responsible for most religious matters and for murder trials; the *polemarchos* was responsible for some religious matters and for lawsuits involving non-citizens; the six *thesmothetai* were responsible for the jury courts and for most of the public lawsuits. After their year in office, the *archontes* became lifelong members of the Areopagus.[16]

The decree stipulates in lines 55–56 that no altar (βομός) can be set up in the Pelargikon without a decision of the Boule and the Demos (ἄνευ τῆς βολῆς καὶ τõ δέμο).[17] Anyone who transgresses (παραβαίνει) this law shall be prosecuted by the *basileus* before the Boule (lines 58–59). The decree does not mention new deities, but the stipulation that it is the prerogative of the Boule and the Demos to decide whether an altar can be set up suggests that the Boule and the Demos would have to make a decision in the case of the introduction of the worship of new or "foreign" deities as well.

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13 Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias*, 107: The *hieropoioi* were officials of the city who "had the task of helping in the organization of the four-year festivals."

14 Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens*, 75–77; cf. IG I^3 386–387.

15 Camp, *Archaeology of Athens*, 19, 254; Clinton, *Eleusis*, 2:50.

16 Cf. Rhodes, "Archontes"; Rhodes, *Commentary*.

17 Clinton, *Eleusis*, 2:51, surmises that "the establishment of the boundaries of the sanctuaries within the Pelargikon and the prohibition against building altars were perhaps measures that were related to the removal of earth and stone for a building project."

2.2 ***IG II²* 337 (333/2 BCE)**[18]

[Θ] E O I
ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ-
ος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεῖδος πρώτ-
ης πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδ-
ρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Θεόφιλο-
ς Φηγούσιος· ἔδοξεν τῆι β-
ουλεῖ· Ἀντίδοτος Ἀπολλο-
δώρου Συπαλήττιος εἶπε-
ν· περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ Κιτ-
ιεῖς περὶ τῆς ἱδρύσειως
τῆι Ἀφροδίτηι τοῦ ἱεροῦ,
ἐψηφίσθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ το-
ὺς προέδρους οἳ ἂν λάχωσ-
ι προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρ-
ώτην ἐκκλησίαν προσαγα-
γεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ χρηματί-
σαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυνβάλλεσ-
θαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ-
μον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλεῖ
ἀκούσαντα τὸν δῆμον τῶν
Κιτιείων περὶ τῆς ἱδρύσ-
ειως τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλου
Ἀθηναίων τοῦ βουλομένο-
υ βουλεύσασθαι ὅτι ἂν αὐ-
τῶι δοκεῖ ἄριστον εἶναι.
ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ-
ος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος δ-
ευτέρας πρυτανείας· τῶν
προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Φα-

18 Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III*, No. 337; Syll³ 280; I. Kition T 159 (Yon, *Kition dans les textes*, No. 159); Foucart, *Des associations religieuses*, No. 1; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, No. 34; Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, No. 27; Brodersen, Günther, and Schmitt, *Historische griechische Inschriften*, 2: No. 262; Rhodes and Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 91; Bricault, *Recueil d'inscriptions*, 1:3–4 (No. 101); Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, No. 3, translation from p. 28. Location: Athens, Epigraphical Museum, EM 7173.

νόστρατος Φιλαίδης· ἔδο-
ξεν τῶι δήμωι· Λυκοῦργος Λ-
υκόφρονος Βουτάδης εἶπ-
εν· περὶ ὧν οἱ ἔνποροι οἱ Κ-
ιτιεῖς ἔδοξαν ἔννομα ἱκ-
ετεύειν αἰτοῦντες τὸν δ-
ῆμον χωρίου ἔνκτησιν ἐν
ὧι ἱδρύσονται ἱερὸν Ἀφρ-
οδίτης, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμ-
ωι δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμπόροις
τῶν Κιτιέων ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]-
ρίου ἐν ὧι ἱδρύσονται τὸ
ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καθ-
άπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ
τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν ἵδρυντ-
αι.

Gods! In the year that Nikokrates was archon, in the first prytany of the (tribe of) Aigeis, (5) Theophilos of Pegaea, (chair) of the presiders, put the following to a vote: resolved by the Boule (the motion that) Antidotos son of Apollodoros of Sypalettos made: In regard to what the Kitians propose (10) concerning the establishment of the temple to Aphrodite, it is resolved by the Council that the presiders, who are chosen by lot to preside in the first (15) Assembly, shall bring them forward and deal with the business and put to the People (*dēmos*) the proposal of the Council: that it seems good to the Council (20) that the People, having listened to the Kitians regarding the foundation of the temple and to any other Athenian who wishes (to speak), (25) should decide whatever seems best.

In the year that Nikokrates was archon, during the second prytany, of (the tribe of) Pandionis, the question was put by (30) Phanostratos of the deme of Philaidae, (chair) of the presiders; resolved by the People (the motion that) Lykourgos son of Lykophron, of the deme of Boutadai, made: Since the Kitian merchants are making a legitimate request (35) in asking the People's assembly for (the right to) lease the land on which they propose to establish a temple of Aphrodite–: be it resolved by the People (*dēmos*) to grant to the merchants (40) of the Kitians the lease of the land to establish the temple of Aphrodite, in the same way that the Egyptians also established the temple of Isis.

The first section of the decree (lines 1–25) records the motion of Antidotos,[19] dated with reference to Nikokrates, archon in 333/2 BCE, and the prytany or executive council of the tribe of Aigei that held the presidence of the Council in the month the motion was brought before the Council. When the motion was introduced, Theophilos of Pegaea was the chair of the board of *proedroi*, which was the board that held the presidency of the Council. The motion was to place the matter of the Kitians' proposal regarding the establishment of a temple dedicated to the worship of Aphrodite before the entire Athenian Assembly; the motion evidently came without a recommendation of the Council.[20] Kition on Cyprus was under Phoenician control until the Hellenistic period. The Aphrodite whom the Kitian merchants worshipped is called Syrian Aphrodite or Aphrodite Ourania in other inscriptions (e.g., IG II^2 1337; 4636; 3637); in Kition a temple of Aphrodite-Astarte has been excavated.[21]

The second section of the decree (lines 26–45), dated later in 333/2 BCE, records the motion, introduced by Lykourgos, who controlled Athens' fiscal policy from 338 to 326 BCE.[22] Lykourgos had an active interest in religious matters and may have supported Kitian and Egyptian cults on account of the importance of Egyptians and Cyprians in Athens' economy regarding the importation of grain.[23] Lykourgos's motion is formally moved by Phanostratos, one of the *proedroi*. The phrase ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλεῖ (line 6–7) introduces the decree of the Council, the phrase ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι (lines 30–31; cf. lines 35–36.38–39) introduces the decree of the People.[24]

The People grant (δοῦναι, line 39) the Kitian merchants' petition to "lease of the land on which they propose to establish a temple of Aphrodite" (ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]ρίου ἐν ὧι ἱδρύσονται τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης; lines 40–42). The favorable decision of the People refers to the precedent of the Egyptians who were granted the right to establish the temple of Isis, evidently established in the Piraeus

19 Cf. the discussion in Foucart, *Des associations religieuses*, 128–32; Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion*, 93; Versnel, "Paradox," 122n108; Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 26–32.

20 Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, 144, argues that an open *probouleuma* does not necessarily signal the opposition of the Council; cf. Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 29.

21 Nicolaou, *Topography of Kition*, 105–8. Aphrodite Ourania evidently is a hellenized version of Astarte; cf. Herodotus 1.105.

22 Cf. Weißenberger, "Lycurgus."

23 Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, 145; Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 32.

24 Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 28, mistakenly translate ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι "resolved by the Council"; correct lines 35–36, 38–39.

shortly before the Kitian decree.[25] The decree lacks a formula ordering that the decree shall be recorded on a stele and erected near the temple that the Kitian merchants propose to build (as, e.g., IG II^2 237, lines 31–38). This probably means that the Kitians erected the stele at their own expense.[26] The decree was set up in the new temple, in the Piraeus,[27] "an action that served to establish their legal claim on the land" as non-citizens "were not normally permitted either to own land or to build on it."[28] The grant of ἔνκτησις presupposes the existence, and probably legitimacy, of the Kitian cult.[29] Both the Egyptians and the Kitians may have formed cult associations, perhaps sharing cultic space in another temple, before applying for a grant of land.[30] While some think that the decree merely concerned the right to acquire land (ἔνκτησις),[31] others argue, with more justification given the context of the Athenians' aversion to new deities and cults, that the decree IG II^2 337 constitutes evidence for the necessity of approval for the introduction of a new cult.[32]

2.3 ***I. Milet VI.3 1224 (300–250 BCE)***[33]

– – – TONOMO – – – – – – – – – – –
[τ]ῆς τε βουλῆς [καὶ τοῦ δήμου] τὰ ἄρισ- *ν.*
[τα] καὶ τὰ βέλις[τ]α [– – – ἀπο?]δίδοσθα <ι> *ν.*
δὲ καὶ τ[οὺ]ς ἱερέας – – – – – – – – μένην τοῦ
[Ἀ]ρτεμισιῶνος μ[ενὸς κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα] τοῦ δήμου, κυ-
[ρω]θέντος δὲ [τοῦ ψηφίσματος – – – – – – – σ]θαι τὸν δῆ-
[μο]ν εἴς τε τὴν θ[υσίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγερσιν ὁπ]όσον ἂμ φα[ί]-

25 On Isis in Athens, cf. Simms, "Isis in Classical Athens"; generally, see Mora, *Prosopografia Isiaca*.

26 Todd, *Selection*, 2:251; Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 29.

27 Cf. Liddel, "Places of Publication," 82.

28 Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 29–30, with reference to Rhodes, *Athenian Boule*, 97–98; Pečirka, *Formula*, 155; SEG XL, 98.

29 Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias*, 90, followed by Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 30.

30 Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 337–38; Leiwo, "Religion," 115; cf. Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 30.

31 Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 81; Radin, *Legislation*, 52; Baslez, "Tolérance et intolérance," 14; Jones, *Associations*, 40; thus evidently also Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 30.

32 Foucart, *Des associations religieuses*, 127–28; Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 168; Derenne, *Les procès d'impiété*, 224–27; Versnel, "Paradox," 122–31.

33 Herrmann, Günther, and Ehrhardt, *Inschriften von Milet III*, 141–43 (No. 1224: "Volksbeschluß über die Einrichtung eines neuen Kultes"; edited by Günther). The stele has been missing since at least 1912. Inv. 311. English translation adapted from Günther, in *Inschriften von Milet III*, 142.

[νη]ται [ἀ]ργύρ[ιο]ν ἱ[κανόν· τοὺς δὲ ἀνατά]κτας τοὺς
. . . ΠΙΟ . . ΤΟΥΣ – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ον τῶι τε *ν.*
[τα]μίᾳ {τε} καὶ το[ῖς – – – – – – – τῆι ἐ]τέραι ἐξαμή-
νωι καὶ καταχωρ[ίσαι εἰς τὸν Ἀνθεστ[ηρ<ι>ῶνα μῆνα· *ν.*
τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδ[ε ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὴν] παραστάδα τοῦ
ναοῦ προγρα[ψαμένους τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ] γενόμενον *ν.*
περὶ τῆς ἰδ[ρύσεως τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ *?* καὶ τὸν ἐκ] τῆς ἐπερω-
[τ]ήσεως τῶ[ι δήμωι περὶ τούτων] γενόμενον χρη[σ]-
[μ]όν, τῆς δὲ [ἀναγραφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆ]ναι τοῦς τειχο-
[π]οιοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἀρ[χιτέκτονος, τὸ δὲ] γενόμενον
ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν [ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι] τὸν ταμίαν ἐφ' ο<ῦ> *ν.*
ἂν ἡ μίσθωσις [γένηται ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ] ψηφίσμα- *ν.*
τα ἐξηρημένων. ἔδο[ξε τῶι δήμωι καὶ εἰς λεύ[κωμα ἀνα-
[γ]ράψαι τὸ ψηφισμα, [– – – σθαι δὲ εἰς μὲν τὴν [ἄγερσιν
[σ]τατῆρας πέντε, [εἰς δὲ τήν θυσίαν ἄλλους] στατῆρας
[π]έντε. *vac.*

. . . The best and noblest measures that the Boule and the Demos decided . . . The priests shall sell (or: "one shall sell to the priests"?) . . . in the month (5) Artemision according to the decision of the People; after the decision takes effect . . . from the People for the sacrifice and for the collection to the amount of money which he deems sufficient. The Anataktai who administer the revenue (10) shall allocate (?) the sum to Tamias and . . . in the second half-year and use (this expenditure) for the Month Anthesterion. This decision shall be recorded on the antis of the temple, at the front the decision that has been taken regarding the establishment of the sanctuary and regarding the oracle (15) given to the People in response to the inquiry. Responsible for the recording shall be the commission for wall building (Teichopoioi) together with the architect; the expenses that accrue for the recording shall be paid by the Tamias during whose period of office the contract was placed, from the fund established for expenditures (20) according to the decrees (of the People). The People decided to record the decree on a white-washed (wooden) board as well and to . . . for the collection five staters, for the sacrifice five additional staters.

The marble block, found in two segments, with the middle third of the text missing, was part of the antis of a temple.[34] The date (first half of the third

34 The following remarks summarize the commentary of Wolfgang Günther, in Herrmann, Günther, and Ehrhardt, *Inschriften von Milet III*, 142–43.

century BCE) is derived both from the shape of the letters A, Π, and Σ, and the fact that the costs for the recording of the decree on the marble block were not paid from the funds of the τειχοποϊκά (as later in the third century BCE)[35] but from the funds of the τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἐξηρημένα (lines 19–20; cf. I. Didyma 480, 24–25). The architect who is responsible for the recording of the decree on the marble block assists the commission for wall building (Teichopoioi),[36] (lines 15–17); he is mentioned here for the first time in this role, more regularly in the second half of the third century. The city was determined to control the collection (ἄγερσις)—a common cult practice in Asia Minor[37]—whose monies went to the priest(s). The sum of five staters was collected periodically, possibly monthly.

If the missing text of line 14 is correctly supplied, the decree concerns the founding, i.e., establishment of a sanctuary (ἵδρύσις τοῦ ἱεροῦ) in connection with the introduction of a new cult. Since the beginning of the inscription is missing, neither the temple nor the cult whose foundation and operation the decree regulates can be determined. The later decision regarding the cult of Artemis Bulephoros Skiris (I. Milet 1225)[38] allows us to reconstruct the legal procedure: first decision regarding the dispatch of a delegation of Theopropoi to the oracle of Didyma; response of the oracle; submission of the oracle's response in the People's assembly; final decision after the People's vote; recording of the decision. The final lines of the inscription record the funds that the city provides for the sacrifices and the collection, which were decided upon after the passing of the decree (lines 6–11).

2.4 ***IG II²* 1283 (240/39 BCE)**[39]

1 Θ Ε Ο Ι
ἐπὶ Πολυστράτου ἄρχοντος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ὀγδόη-
ι ἱσταμένου· ἀγορᾶι κυρίαι· Σωσίας Ἱπποκράτου εἶπεν· vv
ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δεδωκότος τοῖς Θραιξὶ μ-
5 όνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὴν ἵδρυσιν τοῦ
ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν μ[α]ντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δωδώνης καὶ τὴν πονπὴν π-

35 Cf. H. Müller, *Milesische Volksbeschlüsse*, 39–43.

36 Cf. Günther, in Herrmann, Günther, and Ehrhardt, *Inschriften von Milet III*, 7 (No. 1026).

37 Cf. Debord, *Aspects sociaux*, 196.

38 Herrmann, Günther, and Ehrhardt, *Inschriften von Milet III*, 143–44 (No. 1225; date: 234/33 BCE); cf. Wörrle, "Die Inschriften von Herakleia," 31–33.

39 Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III*, No. 1283; Prott and Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, 2: No. 42; Kirchner, *Imagines inscriptionum Atticarum*, No. 87; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, No. 46; Guen-Pollet, *La vie religieuse*, No. 7; Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, No. 23, translation pp. 126–27. Location: Archaeological Museum of Piraeus.

ἐνπειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας τῆς ἐκκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καὶ νῦν οἱ
ἠι[ρη]μένοι ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατασκευάσασθαι ἱερὸν οἴοντα-
ι δεῖν οἰκείως διακεῖ[σθ]αι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅπως ἂν οὖν φα-
[ίν]ωνται καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῶι τε τῆς πόλεως νόμωι πειθαρ-
χοῦντες ὃς κελεύει τοὺς Θρᾳικας πέμπειν τὴμ πομπὴν εἰ-
[ς Π]ε[ι]ραιᾶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῶι ἄστει ὀργεῶνας οἰκείως [δ]-
ιακείμενοι· ν ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν ν [τὴ]-
[ν μὲν] πονπὴ[ν ὡ]σ ἂν [ἔ]λωνται οἱ ἐν τῶι ἄστει συνκαθι[στάνα]-
ι τὴμ πομπὴν καὶ τήνδε <ο>ὖν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου εἰς Πει[ραιᾶ]
πορεύεσσθαι ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως· τ[οὺς δὲ ἐ]-
ν τῶι Πειραιεῖ ἐπιμελητὰς ὑποδέχεσσθαι τούτου[ς παρέ]-
χοντας ἔν τε τῶι Νυμφαίωι σφ<ό>γγους καὶ λεκάνας κ[αὶ ὕδωρ]
καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ἄριστον καθάπερ [καὶ ἑαυ]-
τοῖς παρασκευάζουσιν· ὅταν δὲ ὦσιν αἱ θυσίαι εὖ[χεσθαι]
τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν πρὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἃς εὖ[χονται]
καὶ τοῖς ὀργεῶσι τοῖς ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατὰ ταὐτά, ὅ[πως ἂν τού]-
τῶν γινομένων καὶ ὁμονοοῦντος παντὸς τοῦ ἔθ[νους αἵ τ]-
ε θυσίαι γίνωνται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρ[οσήκει]
κατά τε τὰ πάτρια τῶν Θραικῶν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλ[εως νόμου]-
ς καὶ ἔχει καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς παντὶ τῶι ἔθν[ει τὰ πρὸς τοὺ]-
ς θεούς· εἶναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐὰν περὶ ἄλλο[υ τινὸς βούλωντ]-
αι προσιέναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀργεῶνας πρ[όσοδον ἀεὶ πρώτοις]
μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐάν τινε[σ βούλωνται τῶν ἐν τῶι ἄστει]
ὀργεώνων ἐπεισιέ[ναι εἰς τοὺς ὀργεῶνας ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖ]-
ς εἰσιέναι κ[αὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ τελοῦντας τὴν φορὰν διὰ]
βίου τὸ μέρ[ος –]

Gods! During the archonship of Polystratos, eighth of Hekatombaion, at the regular assembly, Sosias son of Hippokrates made the motion: Whereas, the people of Athens granted to the Thracians, (5) alone of all of the immigrant groups (*ethnē*), the right to own property (*enktēsis*) and to build a temple, in accordance with the oracle of Dodona and (to have) a procession from the hearth of the building of the Prytaneion; and now those who have been chosen to build a temple in the Asty think that both (groups) should be favorably disposed to each other; so that (10) the *orgeōnes* also may be seen to be obedient to the law of the city, which orders the Thracians to have their procession continue to the Piraeus, and being favourably disposed towards the *orgeōnes* who are in the Asty; for good fortune, the *orgeōnes* resolve that the procession, when those in the Asty choose to arrange the procession, (15) the (procession) shall

> therefore proceed from the Prytaneion to the Piraeus in the same (procession) with those (members) from the Piraeus. (Further, it is resolved) that the supervisors in the Piraeus shall promise to supply sponges in the Nymphaion and cups and water and wreaths and a breakfast in the temple, just as they (20) prepare for themselves. When the sacrifices occur, the priest and the priestess shall pray, in addition to the prayers that they (normally) pray, also and in the same way for the *orgeōnes* who are in the Asty, so that when these things take place and the entire *ethnos* lives in concord, the sacrifices and other rites shall be made to the gods, (25) in accordance both with the ancestral customs of the Thracians and the laws of the city and so that it will go well and piously for the entire *ethnos* in matters concerning the gods. (And further) it shall be (that), if one (of the *orgeōnes* of the Asty) should wish to have access to the *orgeōnes* (of the Piraeus) concerning some other matter, they shall always have priority following the sacred rites, and if one of the (30) *orgeōnes* of the Asty should wish to join the *orgeōnes*, they may do so, and receive (sacrificial meat) without paying the fee, for life, the portion . . .

The cult of the Thracian deity Bendis was introduced into Athens as early as 429 BCE.[40] The Bendideia included a procession of Athenian members and of Thracians as well as a torch relay on horseback, ending in sacrifice. The decree IG II^2 1283 is dated with reference to Polystratos, who was archon in 240/39 BCE.[41] The Thracians worshipping Bendis met on the 8th of the month of Hekatombaion. The expression ἀγορᾶι κυρίαι refers to the regular assembly. As regards the term "Thracians" (line 4), one should note that "the Athenians were calling Thrace the area from the Thermaic gulf to Byzantion. The onomastic evidence of the 'Thracian' *orgeōnes* is almost entirely Greek, an indication that the Thracian *orgeōnes* were not that Thracian after all."[42] The ἔθνη (lines 5, 26) are the immigrant groups living in Athens. The hearth (ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας; line 7) of the building of the Prytaneion is the shrine of Hestia, the (symbolic) center of the political life in Athens. The phrase "in the Asty" (ἐν τῶι ἄστει; lines 8,

40 Planeaux, "Date of Bendis' Entry." The inscription IG I^3 136 (421/1 or 411 BCE) mentions the appointment of a priest and priestess of Bendis "from all the Athenians" as well as a statue, stele, procession, finances, all-night festival, and hides. The treasury account of IG I^3 383 A.ii.V.143 (429/8 BCE.) confirms that Bendis had a public cult in Athens at this time. On Bendis, cf. Auffahrt, "Bendis"; Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 1:833–34; Simms, "Cult of the Thracian Goddess Bendis"; Janouchová, "Cult of Bendis."

41 Osborne, "Archons of Athens," 92–93, 97–98.

42 Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias*, 59–60; quoted by Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 127.

13, 14, 22, 29) uses the classical designation for the city of Athens, as distinct from Athens's port city of Piraeus. The *orgeōnes* (lines 10, 12, 13, 22, 28, 30) were "sacrificing associates,"[43] originally officials who performed sacred rites on lands dedicated to the gods (ὄργα),[44] later the entire executive board of a particular association.[45] Between 295 and 262 BCE the Piraeus was occupied by Macedonians; Piraeus and Athens were reunited after Athens was defeated in the Chremonidean War (268–262 BCE), with a Macedonian garrison stationed in Athens.[46] The procession in honor of Bendis seems to have been suspended from 288 to 262 BCE, prompting the Thracian residents of Athens who were cut off from the main Bendis temple in the Piraeus to establish their own cult association in Athens and construct a temple there.[47] The decree IG II^2 1283, enacted more than twenty years after the reunification of Athens, addresses the relationship between the Thracian association of Bendis of the Piraeus and the Bendis association in Athens. The group in Athens (the Asty) wants to march with the Thracian group from the Piraeus.

The motion of Sosias begins with a reference to the original decree of the Athenian Council (429 BCE), which had been formulated on the basis of a response from the Zeus oracle of Dodona (κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δωδώνης),[48] that granted the Thracians permission to own property (ἔγκτησις),[49] to establish a temple (ἵδρύσις τοῦ ἱεροῦ) of Bendis and to hold a procession (πονπή) starting at the shrine of Hestia: "Whereas, the people of Athens granted to the Thracians, alone of all of the *ethnē*, the right to own property and to build a temple, in accordance with the oracle of Dodona and (to have) a procession from the hearth of the building of the Prytaneion" (lines 4–7). The expression "laws of the city" (αἱ πόλεως νόμοι; lines 10, 25) refers specifically to the Athenian law addressing the conduct of the procession from the Asty to the Piraeus,[50] that is, evidently the law of the earlier decree that "orders the Thracians to have their procession continue to the Piraeus" (line 11–12), that is, it requires

43 Ferguson, "Attic Orgeones," 62.

44 Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias*, 33.

45 Ibid., 107; cf. Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 22–23, 25 (on IG II^2 1255, a decree of *orgeōnes* of Bendis honoring Athenian citizens).

46 Habicht, *Athen*, 80–81.

47 Gauthier, "La réunification d'Athènes," 396; cf. Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 131.

48 Dodona, the oldest oracle site in Greece, is located in Epirus, 22 km southwest of modern Ioannina; on the lot-oracle of Dodona, see Graf, "Dodona III. Oracle."

49 Cf. Pečirka, *Formula*, 122–30.

50 Jones, *Associations*, 258–59.

the participation by all the *orgeōnes* of Bendis, those in Pieraeus and their co-nationals in the city.[51]

The new decree of 240 BCE concerns the construction of a temple dedicated to the worship of Bendis in Athens by the Thracian worshippers (καὶ νῦν οἱ ἠιρημένοι ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατασκευάσασθαι ἱερόν; lines 7–8). Sosias convinced the Athenian Council to issue a new decree concerning the building of a new temple in Athens with three main arguments: (1) The precedent of the earlier decree granting the Thracians the right to own property and build a temple, which was sanctioned by the Zeus oracle at Dodona (lines 4–7). (2) The favorable disposition of the Bendis worshippers in the Piraeus and in Athens toward each other (οἴονται δεῖν οἰκείως διακεῖ[σθ]αι πρὸς ἀλλήλους; line 8–9) and the harmony of the entire *ethnos* of the Thracians living in the Piraeus and in Athens (ὁμονοοῦντος παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους; lines 23–24), demonstrated by (i) the favourable disposition of the Thracians in the Piraeus to the Bendis group in the Asty (lines 12–13); (ii) the "good fortune" (ἀγαθεῖ τύχει) of the resolution of the two Thracian groups to participate in the double procession of Thracians and Athenian citizens (Plato, *Resp*. 327A–328A), with both *orgeōnes* from the Asty and the Piraeus participating (lines 13–16); (iii) the resolution of the supervisors (ἐπιμεληταί) of the Bendis worshippers in the Piraeus to meet the Thracian group of Athens upon their arrival in the Piraeus with sponges, basins, water, crowns, and a breakfast in the temple (lines 16–19); (iv) the resolution of the Thracian group in the Piraeus to pray, on the occasion of the sacrifices for Bendis, not only for themselves but also for the Thracian group of Athens (lines 20–22).[52] (3) The demonstration of the *orgeōnes*' obedience to the law of the city that mandated that the Thracians have their procession continue to the Piraeus (lines 10–12), and the agreement of the Thracians' piety with Athenian laws (lines 23–26: αἵ τε θυσίαι γίνωνται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα προσήκει κατά τε τὰ πάτρια τῶν Θραικῶν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλ[εως νόμου]ς). Kloppenborg comments, "These demonstrations, coupled with the appeal to Zeus's oracle at Dodona, secured the position of Thracians within Attic society, where the introduction of new gods might otherwise bring about prosecution."[53] The Athenian decree(s) concerning Bendis demonstrate(s) that the Council's permission to introduce a new cult may depend on the positive outcome of a consultation

51 Ibid., 258, against Garland, *Piraeus*, 120, who argues that κελεύω here means "invite" rather than "order."

52 Arnaoutoglou, "Status and Identity," 44, points out that IG II^2 1283 is the one exception to the rule that "collective identity does not seem to link cult associations with other cult groups in the *polis*."

53 Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations I*, 131.

of an oracle (of Zeus at Dodona, or Apollo at Delphi), and on a demonstration that the new cult is compatible with Athenian sensibilities.

2.5 ***BGU VI 1211* (222–214 BCE)**[54]

βασ[ιλ]έως προστάξαντο[ς].
τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν τελοῦντα[ς]
τῶι Διονύσωι καταπλεῖν εἰς Ἀλε[ξ]άν-
δρειαν, τοὺς μὲν ἕως Ναυκράτε[ως] ἀ-
φ' ἧς ἡμέρας τὸ πρόσταγμα ἔκκειται
ἐν ἡμέραις ι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπάνω Ναυκράτε-
ως ἐν ἡμεραι<ς> κ καὶ ἀπογράφεσθ[αι] πρὸς
Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς τὸ καταλογεῖον [ἀ]φ' ἧ[ς]
ἂν ἡμέρας παραγένωνται ἐν ἡμ[έρ]αις
τρ[ι]σίν, διασαφεῖν δὲ εὐθέως καὶ π[αρὰ τί-]
νων παρειλήφασι τὰ ἱερὰ ἕως γενε[ῶν τρι-]
ῶν καὶ διδόναι τὸν ἱερὸν
λόγον ἐ[σφ]ραγι̣ς̣[μένον]
ἐπιγράψαντα τὸ ὄνομα ἕκαστ[ον] τὸ αὑ[το]ῦ
ὄνομα.

By decree of the king. Persons who perform the rites of Dionysos in the interior shall sail down to Alexandria, those between here and Naucratis (5) within 10 days from the day on which the decree is published and those beyond Naucratis within 20 days, and shall register themselves before Aristobulus at the registration office within three days (10) from the day on which they arrive, and shall declare forthwith from what persons they have received the transmission of the sacred rites for three generations back and shall hand in the sacred book sealed up, inscribing thereon each his own (15) name.

54 Schubart, "Ptolemaios Philopator und Dionysos," 189–90; Kühn and Schubart, *Aegyptische Urkunden*, No. 1211; SB III 7266; Sel. Pap. II 208; C.Ord.Ptol. 29 (Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances*, 68– 71 [No. 29]); Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri II*, No. 208; Burnet, *L'Égypte ancienne*, No. 4; Bagnall and Derow, *Hellenistic Period*, No. 160. For a date before 215/14 BCE, see Turner, "Ptolemaic Royal Edict." Cf. Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances**. Translation from Sel.Pap. II 208 (= Bagnall/Derow No. 160 [corrected]). Location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 11774 Vo.

The edict of Ptolemaios IV Philopator (222–205 BCE)[55] seeks to regulate the mystery cult of Dionysos. Ptolemaios IV was himself devoted to Dionysos—he participated in the mysteries, playing the kettledrum as a *telestes*, he was tattooed with an ivy leaf, and he called himself New Dionysos, and loved excessive drinking.[56] The decree stipulates that all people who celebrate "the rites of Dionysos" (τελοῦντας τῶι Διονύσωι; lines 2–3) must travel to Alexandria and register (ἀπογράφεσθαι) at the registration office (εἰς τὸ καταλογεῖον) within three days of arrival in Alexandria (lines 7–8). He wants the priests of Dionysos's *thasoi* to declare from whom they have received the sacred rites, or objects (τὰ ἱερά), going back three generations, and hand over the sacred discourses (ἱερὸς λόγος), sealed, on which each is to write his name. The purpose of the decree has been variously explained: (1) the king wanted to unify the doctrine of the Dionysos mysteries on the occasion of a convocation of priests of Dionysos; (2) more specifically, the king wanted to establish a (more or less) official cult of the Dionysian mysteries; (3) the king wanted to monitor the activities of itinerant priests of the cult of Dionysos with the intention of restricting the centrifugal forces of the cult, which were considered dangerous; (4) the decree aims at compiling a census of the priests of Dionysos so that new fiscal measures could be imposed on the cult members. The second and third proposals are widely accepted. Miguel Jáuregui comments: "The state sought to make use of the attractive force of Bacchic cult and myth in order to reinforce its own prestige, making the cult official, while at the same time trying to smooth away its more centrifugal tendencies . . . they did not suppress the *teletai*, but rather tried to channel and support them within the official cult at the service of the state."[57] G. Zuntz suggests that commentators who translate τελελῖν (line 2) with "initiating," have been working with too noble a concept of initiation into a specific community centred on a sanctuary—rather than established groups with temples and established initiations, there were probably merely "purifications" (τελεταί), of the kind that Plato denounced and that Menander and Plutarch ridiculed; the decree aims at discovering the quacks of

55 Scott, "Dionysus and the *Letter of Aristeas*," who dates BGU VI 1211 to the rule of Ptolemaios II Philadelphus (309–246 BCE), suggests that the writing of the *Letter of Aristeas*, and the translation of the Septuagint, was provoked by this edict, with the Jewish translators seeking to comply with the royal decree, perhaps even under the auspices of royal patronage, providing the king with the Jews' *hieros logos* (ibid., 335–36).

56 Cf. Plutarch, *Cleom*. 54.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr*. 4.48; Polybius, *Hist*. 5.34. Cf. Jáuregui, *Orphism*, 52; Matusova, *Meaning of the Letter of Aristeas*, 113.

57 Jáuregui, *Orphism*, 53, with reference to Zuntz, "Once More"; Henrichs, "Hieroi Logoi," 227–31.

this type who were hard to locate as they were not attached to a specific temple or community, roaming the countryside, donkeys carrying their ἱερά, calling god Dionysus rather than, say, Sabazius or Attis.

> By forcing them from all over Egypt to come to Alexandria, the government was able, if necessary, to apprehend them. If they could demonstrate a reputable tradition of their worship, they might merit official recognition—if indeed their "sacred books" likewise indicated a respectable service κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. In that case they might be allowed a recognized ἱερόν under official authority, like all, or almost all, other cults in Egypt. Failing this, their fate may be guessed from Athenian and Roman analogies … "Purification," "completion," mystical "perfection" (τελετή–τελεῖν–τελειοῦσθαι!) to the devotee: to the unsympathetic critic it was, and is, "humbug," "corruption," or, at best, "Winkelmysterien."[58]

The decree demonstrates that despite the "cosmopolitan and syncretistic tendencies" of the Hellenistic period, there were "manifest symptoms of reservations against foreign gods and cults."[59]

2.6 *IG XI.4 1299* (*ca. 200 BCE*)[60]

ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνέγραψεν κατὰ
πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ γὰρ πάππος ἡμῶν
Ἀπολλώνιος, ὢν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων,
τὸν θεὸν ἔχων παρεγένετο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
θεραπεύων τε διετέλει καθῶς πάτριον ἦν
ζῶσαί τε δοκεῖ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά.
διαδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρός μου Δημη-

58 Zuntz, "Once More," 100; cf. Versnel, "Paradox," 121.

59 Versnel, "Paradox," 121.

60 Roussel, *Inscriptiones Graecae XI*, No. 1299; Syll² 663; SEG XXIV 1158; Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos*, No. 1; Engelmann, *Die delische Sarapisaretalogie*; Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum*, 63 (No. CE 1); Engelmann, *Aretalogy of Sarapis*; Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte*, No. 11. Engelmann, *Aretalogy of Sarapis*, 13–14, dates the succession of the younger Apollonios to the priesthood no later than 205 BCE; Moyer, "Notes," 102, dates the inscription to the late third or early second century, "with the aretalogy perhaps later than the dedicatory inscription." Description: free-standing column (125 cm high), i.e., a public monument. Find spot: temple courtyard of the Sarapieion A on Delos. Translation of the prose section from P. A. Harland, in Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Sourcebook*, 133 (No. 221); translation of Maiistas' hymn (lines 30–94) from Furley, "Revisiting," 123–25. Location: Delos Museum, Inv. Δ0623.

τρίου ἀκολούθως τε θεραπεύοντος τοὺς θ̣ε[ο]ύς,
διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐστεφανώθη ὑπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκεῖ ἣ ἀνάκειται ἐν τῶι ναῶι
τοῦ θεοῦ· ἔτη δὲ ἐβίωσεν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἕν.
παραλαβόντος δέ μου τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσκαθη-
μένου ταῖς θεραπείαις ἐπιμελῶς, ὁ θεός μοι ἐχρη-
μάτισεν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅτι Σαραπιεῖον δεῖ
αὐτῶι ἀναδειχθῆναι ἴδιον καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐν μισ-
{σ}θωτοῖς καθὼς πρότερον, εὑρήσειν τε τόπον
αὐτὸς οὗ δεῖ ἑδρασθῆναι σημανεῖν τε τὸν
τόπον. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἦν
κόπρου μεστὸς ὃς προεγέγραπτο πω-
λούμενος ἐν βιβλιδίωι ἐν τεῖ διόδωι τῆς
ἀγορᾶς· τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ βουλομένου συνετελέ-
σθη ἡ ὠνὴ κατεσσκευάσθη τε τὸ ἱρὸν συντόμως
ἐν μησὶν ἕξ. ἀνθρώπων δέ τινων ἐπισυνστάντων
ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῶι θεῶι καὶ ἐπενενκάντων κρίσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
καὶ ἐμοῦ δημοσίαν, τί χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι, ἐπην-
γείλατο δ' ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅτι νικήσομεν.
τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος συντελεσθέντος καὶ νικησάντων ἡμῶν
ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀξίαν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες.
γράφει δὲ καὶ Μαιΐστας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην.
μυρία καὶ θαμβητὰ σέθεν, πολύαινε Σάραπι,
ἔργα, τὰ μὲν θείας ἀνὰ τύρσιας Αἰγύπτοιο
ηὔδηται, τὰ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, σεῖο θ' ὁμεύνου
Ἴσιδος· ἐσθλοῖσιν δὲ σαώτορες αἰὲν ἔπεσθε
ἀνδράσιν οἳ κατὰ πάντα νόωι ὅσια φρονέουσιν.
καὶ γάρ τ' ἀμφιάλει Δήλωι ἀρίσημα τέλεσσας
τἀπολλωνίου ἱρὰ καὶ εἰς μέγαν ἤγαγες αἶνον.
αὐτὸς δ' οἱ δηναιὰ πατὴρ ἐκόμισσεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
Μέμφιδος, ὁππότε νηῒ πολυζύγωι ἤλυθεν ἄστυ
Φοίβου, ἔνδον ἰὼι δ' ἀέκων ἵδρυσε μελάθρωι
καί σε φίλως θυέ<ε>σσιν ἀρέσσατο. τὸμ μὲν ἄρ' αἰὼν
γηραιὸν κατέπεφνε, λίπεν δ' ἐν σεῖο τεράμνωι
υἷα θυηπολέεν Δημήτριον, ὧι ἐπίπανχυ
γήθησαν θέραπες. τοῦ μὲγ κλύες εὐξαμένοιο,
εἰκὼ χαλκείην νειῶι θέμεν εὖ δὲ τέλεσσαι,
ἔννυχος ἀντὶ πάτροιο {πατρὸς} κᾇθ' ὑπνώοντι φαανθεὶς
δεμνίωι ἤνωγες τέλεσαι χρέος. ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ τὸν
γηραλέον λίπε μοῖρα, πάϊς γε μὲν ἐσθλὰ διδαχθεὶς

ἐκ πατρὸς μεγάλως σέβεν ἱερά, πᾶν δὲ κατ' ἦμαρ
σὰς ἀρετὰς ἤειδεν, ἀεὶ δ' ἐλλίσετο νειὸν
ὅππηι σοι δείμειεν ἀριφραδέως κατάλεξαι
ἔννυχος ὑπνώοντι, διηνεκὲς ὄφρα κε μίμνοις
σηκῶι ἐνιδρυθεὶς μηδ' ἄλλυδις ἀλλοδαπῶι ἐν
οὔδει ἐνιχρίμπτοιο. σὺ δ' ἔφρασας ἀκλέα χῶρον
ὄντα πάρος καὶ ἄσημον, ἀεὶ πεπληθότα λύθρωι
παντοίωι μετὰ πολλὸν ἔτι χρόνον· ἐννύχιος γὰρ
εὐνῆι ἐπιπρομολὼν λέγες· ἔγρεο· βαῖνε δὲ μέσσα
παστάδος ἀμφὶ θύρεθρα καὶ εἴσιδε γράμμα τυπωθὲν
τυτθῆς ἐκ βύβλοιο τό σε φρονέοντα διδάξει
ὅππηι μοι τέμενος τεύχηις καὶ ἐπικλέα νειόν.
αὐτὰρ ὃ θαμβήσας ἀναέγρετο, βὰς δὲ μάλ' ὠκὺς
ἀσπ[α]σίως ἴδε γράμμα καὶ ὤπασεν ἀργυραμοιβὸν
τιμὴν οὗ κτέαρ ἔσκε, σέθεν θ' ἅμα βουλομένοιο
ῥηιδίως καὶ νειὸς ἀέξετο καὶ θυόεντες
βωμοὶ καὶ τέμενος, τετέλεστο δὲ πάντα μελάθρωι
ἕδρανά τε κλισμοί τε θεοκλήτους ἐπὶ δαῖτας.
καὶ τότε δή ῥα κακοῖσι κακὸς φθόνος ἔνβαλε λύσσαν
ἀνδράσιν οἵ ῥα δίκηι ἀνεμωλίωι ἐκλήισσαν
δοιὼ σὸν θεράποντα, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ θεσμὸν ἔτευχον
ἢ τί χρὴ παθέειν ἢ ἐκ τίνα τῖσαι ἀμοιβὴν
θωῆς ἐνγράψαντα {ἐνγράψαντε} κακῶι θ' ὑπὸ δείματι πᾶσαν
ἠῶ τε{ιν} νύκτας τε περὶ κραδίην ἐλέλιζεν
τάρβος θειοπόλοιο. σὲ δὲ σταλάων ἅμα δάκρυ
λίσσετ' ἀλεξῆσαι μηδ' ἀκλέα τεῦξαι ἀμοιβὴν
σῶι ἱκέτει, θανάτου δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρῦξαι.
οὐδὲ σύ, παμνήστοισιν ἐφεσπόμενος πραπίδεσσι,
λήσαο τοῦ, νύχιος δὲ μολὼν ἐπὶ δέμνια φωτὸς
ηὔδησας· μέθες ἄλγος ἀπὸ φρενός· οὔ σέ τις ἀνδρὸς
ψῆφος ἀϊστώσει, ἐπεὶ εἰς [ἐ]μὲ τείνεται αὐτὸν
ἥδε δίκη, τὴν οὔτις ἐμεῦ περιώσιον ἄλλος
ἀνὴρ αὐδήσει· σὺ δὲ μηκέτι δάμναο θυμόν.
ἀλλ' ὁπότε χρόνος ἶξε δικασπόλος, ἔγρετο ναοῖς
πᾶσα πόλις καὶ πάντα πολυμμιγέω<ν> ἅμα φῦλα
ξείνων ὄφρα δίκης θεομήτιδος εἰσαΐοιεν.
ἔνθα {σα} σὺ κεῖνο πέλωρον ἐν ἀνδράσι θάνβος ἔτευξας
σή τε ἄλοχος· φῶτας γὰρ ἀλιτρο<νό>ους ἐπέδησας
οἵ ῥα δίκηι πόρσυνον, ἐνὶ γναθμοῖς ὑπανύσσας
γλῶσσαν ἀναύδητον τῆς οὔτ' ὄπιν ἔκλεεν {ὅπ' ἐνέκλαεν} οὐθεὶς

οὔτε γ<ρ>άμμα δίκης ἐπιτάρροθον· ἀλλ' ἄρα θείως
στεῦντο θεοπληγέσσιν ἐοικότας εἰδώλοισιν
ἔμμεναι ἢ λάεσσιν· ἅπας δ' ἄρα λαὸς ἐκείνωι
σὴν ἀρετὴν θάμβησεν ἐν ἤματι κα<ὶ> μέγα κῦδος
σῶι ζεῦξας {τεῦξας} θεράποντι θεόδμητον κατὰ Δῆλον.
χαῖρε, μάκαρ, καὶ σεῖο συνάορος οἵ τ' ἐνὶ νειῶι
ὑμετέρωι γεγάασι θεοί, πολύυμνε Σάραπι.

The priest Apollonios inscribed this according to the command of the god. For our grandfather, Apollonios, an Egyptian from the priestly class, having brought his god with him from Egypt, (5) continued serving his god according to ancestral custom and, it seems, lived for ninety-seven years. My father, Demetrios, followed him in serving the gods and, because of his piety, he was honoured by (10) the god with a bronze image which was set up in the temple (*naos*) of the god. He lived for sixty-one years. After receiving the sacred things and being appointed to perform the services (*therapeiai*) in a diligent manner, the god instructed me through a dream that I should dedicate his own temple of Sarapis (Sarapieion), (15) and that he was not to be in rented rooms anymore. Furthermore, he would find the place where the temple should be located, indicating this by a sign. And this is what happened. For there was this place full of manure which was advertised for sale (20) on a small notice on a passage to the market-place. Now since the god willed it, a contract of purchase was completed and the temple was quickly built in six months. Now certain people conspired against us and the god, and sought a judgment against the temple (25) and myself in a public trial, seeking either punishment or a fine. But the god promised me in a dream that we would win the case. Now that the proceedings have ended and we have won as is worthy of the god, we praise the gods by demonstrating appropriate gratitude.

Many and wonderful, O much-praised Sarapis, are
your works. Among the sacred towers of Egypt some
are sung, some throughout Greece—yours and your wife's,
Isis. As saviours you always accompany the virtuous
among men who universally think righteous thoughts.
In sea-girt Delos too you raised to prominence
Apollonios' worship and led it to great esteem.
His father's father had brought it from the very town
of Memphis, when he came in an oared ship to Apollo's

town, where, reluctantly, he housed it in his home
and pleased you dearly with sacrifice. But life's span
ended in old age and he left behind in your temple
his son Demetrios as priest, in whom absolutely
the attendants took joy. And you heard his prayer
to set a brazen image in the shrine and make it well,
and at night, in the likeness of his father, while he slept
in his bed, you bade him accomplish it. But when him too
fate left in age, his child, who had learned good deeds
from his father, honoured your cult greatly, all day long
sang your praises, prayed constantly that you should tell
exactly where to build a temple for you, by night while
he was sleeping, such that you could stay permanently
established in a precinct and not move now to one place,
now another randomly. And you indicated an unseemly place
till then and unimpressive, always full of all manner
of defilement for a long time past. Indeed, by night
you visited his bed and spoke: "Awake. Go to the central
doors of the portico and look for a written notice
on a slip of paper which will tell you if you're clever
where you may build a precinct for me and a famous temple."
And he woke up and wondered, and went very quickly
and joyfully saw the notice, and paid the asking price
to the property's owner. And with your aid and assistance
the temple easily took shape and the aromatic
altars and perimeter, and all in the hall was completed,
seats and couches for the meals in god's company.
At that point malicious envy instilled in wicked men
madness and a pair of them had your servant arrested
on specious charge, and they fabricated a wicked case
naming the punishment, or what penalty he should pay
for the crime, in writing, and in sore trepidation
fear by day and night tormented there the heart
of your humble servant. With tears pouring down
he entreated you to help, not to bring an ignoble end
on your supplicant, but to ward off the evil threat of death.
Nor did you, in the all-remembering goodness of your heart,
forsake him, but coming in the night to the man's bed
you spoke: "Dismiss pain from your heart. No man's vote
will be your undoing, since this court case concerns

me personally, which no other man will speak with more
80 authority than me. No longer be downcast in your heart."
But when the day of the trial came on, the whole town
assembled in the temple and all nationalities of foreigners
as well, so they might hear divine judgment at the trial.
There you caused intense astonishment among men, you
85 and your bride. For you laid impediment upon the sinful men
who were preparing the charge, in their mouths you rendered
their tongue speechless, whose voice no person thwarted
nor helping writ of law, no, people stared to see them
miraculously made to look like ghosts struck dumb
90 or lifeless stones. On that day the entire population
marvelled at your power and grace and you conferred[61]
great honour on your servant in Delos, home of gods.
All hail, Almighty, and your wife, and the company
of gods in your temple, O much-hymned Sarapis!

In the prose section of the inscription (lines 1–28), the priest Apollonios relates how his grandfather Apollonius brought the cult of Sarapis from Memphis in Egypt to Delos and how he, the grandson, was directed by Sarapis, who appeared to him in his sleep,[62] to built a temple, which happened with the help of the god despite local opposition. The narrative has two parts: the story of the construction of the sanctuary (lines 1–23) and the story of the trial (lines 23–28). Line 29 announces that Maiistas writes about this matter in the name of the sanctuary, which is followed by a hymn in hexameter verse recounting the founding of the cult of Sarapis on Delos (lines 30–94).[63] The younger Apollonios's grandfather, also called Apollonios, brought a statuette of Sarapis from Egypt to Delos and worshipped Sarapis in his house. When Apollonios, the grandson, took over the cult of Sarapis, he carefully observed the cultic rites and daily praised the deeds of Sarapis (line 48). He asked the

61 Moyer, "Notes," 105–6, argues that ζεῦξας should be retained (and translated as "harnessed"); Furley, "Textual Problems", 123 remains unconvinced and amends to τεῦξας (as in the standard editions).

62 Garland, *Introducing New Gods*,14–15, in a brief of discussion Euripides, *Bacchai* 465–474, mentions IG XI.4, 14–18 as an example for the notion that "it was the responsibility of the god to signal his readiness to be incorporated into the community by commissioning a private individual to speak on his behalf."

63 Cf. Furley, "Revisiting", who argues that some of the textual problems in Maiistas' hymn appear "to be the result of imperfect copying [by the stone cutter] rather than imperfect composition."

god to give instructions regarding the place where he could establish a more worthy cult sanctuary. Sarapis appeared to him in a dream (line 13) and commanded him to go to the market where he would find a small papyrus scroll that would point him to the plot of land that was for sale (lines 16–17), which duly happened. Apollonios bought the land and started to build the sanctuary; with the help of Sarapis the construction of the temple was completed in six months, including the chairs and couches for the festive meals. The neighbors resented the fact that an Egyptian temple was built on Delos where Apollo was worshipped. They brought charges against Apollonios, and they lock him up (ἐκλήισσαν, line 67).[64] The inscription does not mention the law or regulation on which the charged was based: presumably it was the law that stipulated that "if foreigners wish to erect a temple to their deities this requires the approval of the popular assembly."[65] The opponents' legal proceedings were not successful (lines 25–27), a fact for which Apollonios praises Sarapis and Isis (line 28). The victory in the trial (lines 84–90) is explained as the direct intervention of the god Sarapis who "bound" the tongue of the accusers who become "similar to the statues struck by god" (στεῦντο θεοπληγέσσιν ἐοικότας εἰδώλοισιν; line 89)—they became speechless, unable to argue their case, prompting the people to admire the miraculous power of the god.[66]

Most scholars assume that Apollonios built a sanctuary for his Egyptian, i.e. foreign, god without the proper permission of the authorities of Delos to own land and build on the site, triggering a public trial, presumably involving the accusation of *asebeia*.[67] The Egyptian god legitimized himself by a miracle that punished the god's opponents, and was consequently admitted to the legitimate cults of Delos.[68] When Delos returned to Athenian rule, an attempt was made to close the Sarapis temple.[69]

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64 Ibid., 121–22.

65 Engelmann, *Aretalogy of Sarapis*, with reference to Foucart, *Des associations religieuses*, 127–37. Engelmann, *Aretalogy of Sarapis*, 44–46, compares with I. Rhamnous II 179 (below no. 8) and I. Delos IV 1519 (see below no. 7).

66 Cf. Merkelbach, *Isis regina*, 125–26 (§233).

67 Cf. Baslez, "Les immigrés orientaux en Grèce," 47. Siard, "La crypte du Sarapieion A," reports the discovery of a subterranean channel that linked the crypt of Sarapieion A with the lower reservoir of the Inopos, which may suggest that the private interference in the public water supply, which occurred after the construction of the Sarapieion A temple, may have resulted in the legal prosecution of Apollonios; cf. Moyer, "Notes," 103n9.

68 Versnel, "Paradox," 120; cf. Alvar, *Romanising Oriental Gods*, 335–36.

69 Engelmann, *Aretalogy of Sarapis*, 46.

2.7 ***I. Delos IV 1519 (153/2 BCE)***[70]

ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ὀγδόει, ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Διονύσιος Διονυσίου ἀρχιθιασίτης εἶπεν·

ἐπειδὴ Πάτρων Δωροθέου τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν σύν[ο]δον, καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς χρείας παρείσχηται ἀπροφασίστως, διατελεῖ δὲ διὰ παντὸς κο[ι]νεῖ τε τεῖ συνόδωι λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντ[α] καὶ κατ' ἰ<δί>αν εὔνους ὑπάρχων ἑκάστωι τῶν πλοιζομέ[νων] ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων, νῦν [δ' ἔτι] μᾶλλον ἐπ<η>υξημένης αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίας παρεκάλεσεν τὸ κοινὸν ἐξαποστεῖλαι πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὅπως δοθῇ αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν ὧι κατασκευάσουσιν τέμενος Ἡρακλέους τοῦ πλείστων [ἀγαθ]ῶν παραιτίου γ[ε]γονότος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀρχηγοῦ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπά[ρ]χοντος· αἱρεθεὶς πρεσβευτὴς πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, προθύμως ἀναδεξάμενος ἔπλευσεν δαπανῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐμφανίσας τε τὴν τῆς συνόδου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπετελέσατο τὴν τῶν θιασιτῶν βούλησιν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν τιμὴν <συνηύξησεν> καθάπερ ἥρμοττεν αὐτῶι· πεφιλανθρωπηκὼς δὲ καὶ πλείονας ἐν τοῖς ἁρμόζουσιν καιροῖς, εἴρηκεν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς συνόδου ἐν τῶι ἀναγκαιοτάτωι καιρῶι τὰ δίκαια μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἐδέξατό τε τὸν θίασον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δύο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑοῦ· [IN] ἵνα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπαράκλητον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζηι καὶ ἡ σύνοδος φαίνηται φροντίζουσα τῶν διακειμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἑαυτὴν εὐνοικῶς καὶ ἀξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδοῦσα τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ ἕτεροι πλείονες τῶν ἐκ τῆς τοῖς συνόδου διὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦτον εὐχαριστίαν ζηλωταὶ γίνωνται καὶ παραμιλλῶνται φιλοτιμούμενοι περιποιεῖν τι τεῖ συνόδωι· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει·

δεδόχθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν

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70 Roussel and Launey, *Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 1519; Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Sourcebook*, No. 223; translation adapted from Harland's in this work. Location: Louvre, Paris.

ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων ἐπαινέσαι Πάτρωνα Δω-
ροθέου καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν χρυ-
σῶι στεφάνωι ἐν ταῖς συντε[λου]μέναις θυσίαις
τῶι Ποσειδῶνι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ καλοκαγαθί-
ας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρί-
ων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐ-
τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῶι τεμένει τοῦ
Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀλλαχῆ οὗ ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἔσ-
τω δὲ ἀσύμβολος καὶ ἀλειτούργητος ἐν ταῖς
γινομέναις συνόδοις πάσαις· ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ἔστω
τοῖς καθισταμένοις ἀρχιθιασίταις καὶ ταμίαις
καὶ τῶι γραμματεῖ ὅπως ἐν ταῖς γινομέναις θυ-
σίαις καὶ συνόδοις ἀναγορεύηται κατὰ ταύτην
τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν· ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπό-
ρων καὶ ναυκλήρων στεφανοῖ Πάτρωνα Δωροθέου
εὐεργέτην. ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στησάτωσαν ἐν
τῶν τεμένει τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἀνάλωμ[α]
εἰς ταῦτα μερισάτω ὁ ταμίας καὶ ὁ ἀρχιθιασίτης.
ἐπὶ ἀρχιθιασίτου
Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου,
ἱερατεύοντος δὲ
Πάτρωνος τοῦ Δωροθέου.
ὁ δῆμος
ὁ Ἀθηναίων.
ἡ σύνοδος
τῶν Τυρίων
ἐμπόρων
καὶ ναυκλήρων.

When Phaidrias was *archon* on the eighth of the month of Elaphebolion, during an assembly in the temple of Apollo: Dionysios, son of Dionysios the head of the *archithiasitēs*, said: Since Patron, son of Dorotheos, who is a member of the guild, approached (5) the assembly and reaffirmed his existing goodwill towards the guild, and because he has fulfilled numerous needs without hesitation and continues to speak and do what is advantageous for the *koinon* and for the guild all the time in accordance with his own existing goodwill toward everyone of the merchants (10) and shipowners who sail on the sea. Now adding even more goodwill with the goodwill of the gods, he invited the *koinon* to dispatch an

embassy to the Demos of the Athenians so that a piece of land might be granted to them where they would build a sanctuary of Herakles, the cause of the greatest good things that (15) happen to people and the founder of our original homeland. Being chosen ambassador to the Boule and the Demos of the Athenians, he sailed, readily taking upon himself the expenses from his own resources and demonstrating the goodwill of the guild towards the Demos. (20) In this way he accomplished the will of the *thiasitai* and increased honor for the gods, just as it suited him. He spoke often, demonstrating love of humanity, at suitable times, and he also spoke appropriate things on the behalf of the guild at the most pressing (25) time with every kindness and with love of honor, and he received the *thiasos* for two days on behalf of his son. Therefore, in order that he may provide in the future without being asked and the guild may display its consideration for people who show goodwill toward (30) it by returning appropriate favors to benefactors, and in order that still other people may become zealous admirers of the guild because of the thanks shown towards that person and in order that those who show love of honor may compete for the favor of the guild: For good fortune! (35) It was resolved by the *koinon* of the Tyrian Herakleists of merchants and shipowners to praise Patron, son of Dorotheos and to crown him with a gold crown each year during the performance of the sacrifices to Poseidon on account of the virtue and goodness (40) which he continues to have towards the *koinon* of the Tyrian merchants and shipowners. It was also resolved to set up a painted image of him in the sanctuary of Herakles and in another place where he decides. Let him be free of paying his share and free from service with regard to (45) everything that happens in the *synodoi*. Let the appointed leaders of the society, the treasurers, and the secretary take care, during the sacrifices as they are taking place and in the guilds, of proclaiming the following proclamation: "The guild of the Tyrian merchants (50) and shipowners crown Patron son of Dorotheos, the benefactor." Let them write this decree on a stone plaque and let them set it up in the sanctuary of Herakles, and the cost of this is to be shared by the treasurer and the head of the society. (50) This was done when the leader of the society was Dionysios, son of Dionysios, and the priest was Patron, son of Dorotheos. The People (60) of Athens. The guild of Tyrian merchants and shipowners.

The decree of the "guild of the Tyrian merchants and shipowners for the worship of Herakles" (τὸ κοινόν/ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων), dated by the year when Phaidrias was archon in Athens and the

People's assembly that took place on the 8th day of the month of Elaphebolion, honors Patron, son of Dorotheos. The motion to honor Patron was introduced by Dionysios, son of Dionysios, the president of the guild (ἀρχιθιασίτης; line 3). Patron, himself a member of the guild, had promoted the welfare of the guild and its members for a long time and without hesitation. Patron had argued before the guild that Herkules, the great benefactor of mankind, was "the founder of our original homeland" (ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχοντος; line 15), i.e., of where Herkules was worshipped as Melquart.[71] He suggested that the guild, whose members worshipped Herakles-Melqart, send an embassy to Athens, which controlled Delos, to ask the Council and the Assembly to set aside a piece of land (τόπος; line 13) for a sanctuary devoted to the worship of Herakles-Melqart (ἐν ὧι κατασκευάσουσιν τέμενος Ἡρακλέους; lines 13–14). The guild passed the resolution and appointed Patron as emissary. Patron travelled to Athens, assuming the cost of the project of obtaining permission to buy land and build a temple dedicated to the worship of Tyrian Herakles. His embassy was successful: "He accomplished the will of the *thiasitai* and increased honor for the gods" (lines 20–21). That is, the Council and the People of Athens granted the Tyrian merchants and shipowners on Delos permission to buy a plot of land and build a temple for Tyrian Herakles. Patron was honored by the People of Athens and the guild. The guild of Tyrian merchants and shipowners passed an honorary decree (lines 35–64) that stipulated that Patron was to be crowned each year with a gold crown during sacrifices offered to Poseidon, that a painted image of Patron was to be set up in the new temple of Herakles and in a second location of Patron's choosing, that he would be exempt from dues and services that were expected of guild members, and that his honor would be publicly proclaimed by the appointed leaders of the society, the treasurers and the secretary.

The argumentation of Patron is significant. The decree emphasizes that the petition concerns a purely religious matter in honor of Herakles, who is not only the god of the Tyrians but is generally "the cause of the greatest good things to happen to (all) people" (τοῦ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν παραιτίου γεγονότος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; lines 14–15), and it highlights the fact that the guild, in the person of Patron, demonstrated goodwill, i.e., loyalty, to the People of Athens (ἐμφανίσας τε τὴν τῆς συνόδου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν; lines 18–20).[72] The permission of the Council and the People of Athens that allowed the guild of

71 Bonnet, *Melqart*, 372. Cf. Nijf, *Civic World*, 108, who discusses the inscription in the context of cases, "especially if foreign traders were involved," where official permission to build a clubhouse for an association had to be obtained.

72 Cf. Versnel, "Paradox," 121; Bonnet, *Melqart*, 371–75.

the Tyrian merchants and shipowners for the worship of Herakles to buy land and build a temple "was tantamount to official recognition of the cult."[73]

2.8 ***I. Rhamnous* II 179 (35/4–18/7 BCE)**[74]

θεοῖς · λιτουργοὶ : ὑποστάτ̣[της Ἀγδίστεως]
Ζήνων ὁ Ἀντιοχεὺς : ἐπιτίθη[νος . . .]
Νικίας ὁ Καρύστιος : ἀγκωνοφόρ[οι?) |
Χρώτωι καὶ Στρατονίκη : ἀδαμμα |
Διονυσίου Μιλησία ἀνκωνοφόρος κα |
double rameau (leaves with berries)
ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου · ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ · ἐπὶ Παμμέν̣[ο]υ̣, Μου-
νιχιῶνος τετράδι · Ξενοφῶν Θριάσιος εἶπεν · ἐπε[ι]-
δὴ πρόσοδον ποιησάμενος Ζήνων ὁ Ἀντιοχεὺς
ἐμφανίζει λελιτουργηκέναι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶ̣[ι ἐ]ν Ῥα-
μνοῦντι τῆς Ἀγδίστεως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς ἱερ-
οῦται θεοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνους καὶ πλείονας, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπι-
βαρούμενος ὑπό τινων εἴργεσθαι παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παρακαλεῖ τὴν βουλὴν προνοουμένη(ν)
τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβείας τὴν καθήκουσαν φρ[ον]-
τίδα ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ · τύχῃ ἀγαθῆι · δεδ̣[όχθαι]
τῆι βουλῆι · ἐξεῖναι Ζήνωνι ὁ Ἀντιοχεῖ [λιτουρ]-
γεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς τ[οῖς] ἐ̣ν Ῥαμνοῦντ̣[ι καθάπερ ἀ]-
πὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ [μηδ]ενὸς κωλυ̣[ομένωι]
νατ̣ο

To the gods. The *leitourgoi* (dedicated this): the *hypostates* Agdistis, Zenon, son of Zenon from Antioch; *epitithenos*—Nikias, son of Nikias, of Karustos; the *ankon*-bearers— Chroto and Stratonikē; *adamma*—(5) daughter of Dionysos of Miletos; *ankon*-bearer and—{leaves with berries} Archive of the Metroon. For good fortune! When Pammenes was archon, on the fourth day of the month Mounichion, Xenophon from the *deme* Thria proposed: since Zenon, son of Zenon, of Antioch, who was present (to give a report), has clearly shown that he has until then always fulfilled his duties in the sanctuary (10) of Agdistis in Rhamnous, and he himself even now offers sacrifices to the gods in timely fashion and in

73 Habicht, *Athens*, 260.

74 Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte*, 139–41 (No. 24); Petrakos, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνούντος.*, 2:179; Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, No. 245; Thomas, "Cultes orientaux," 177–79 (C. 27). Translation adapted from Thomas.

> great number, he now has been thwarted by some from these obligations; and for this reason he petitions the Council, the guarantor of the piety concerning the gods, (15) to deal with this case. For good fortune! It has pleased the Council: (the Council) permits Zenon, son of Zenon from Antioch, to fulfill his duties regarding the gods in Rhamnous as in the beginning, without being hindered by whomever . . .

The cult of the Phrygian mother-goddess, venerated under the name Agdistis, may have been introduced to Rhamnous (Attica) by foreigners, perhaps mercenaries.[75] When Pammenes was archon some time between 35/4 and 18/7 BCE,[76] a certain Zenon, son of Zenon from Antioch, who was the priest in the sanctuary of Agdistis in Rhamnous, petitioned the Council of Athens to render a decision concerning the people who had prevented the offering of sacrifices to Agdistis, presumably because she was a foreign (Phrygian) goddess. The Council decided that this action would not be tolerated, i.e., that the cultic worship of Agdistis in Rhamnous was legal and could proceed according to the practice that had previously been established.

When Athenians sanctioned foreign cults, they sometimes domesticated them via identification with traditional deities. Thus, the cult of Cybele, the Great Mother, was domesticated by her identification with Demeter and Rhea.[77] Two types of doubt accompanied the introduction of new, or foreign, deities. First, is the new god really the same as the old god? Second, can a god preached by eccentrics be taken seriously? As regards the first concern, Paul would not want his proclamation to be understood as being about two deities (Jesus and Anastasis). He would not mind if the Athenians regarded Jesus as a deity, next to YHWH whom both Jews and Christians worshipped. But he would not want to be understood as introducing a new goddess Anastasis, whom some might identify with the Demeter of the Eleusinian mysteries. As regards the second concern, the worship of Jesus Christ that involved neither sacrifices, priests, temples, festivals, or processions—a cult that focused on a crucified Jew who was believed to be Savior, and a cult community in which the distinction between male and female members and between freeborn, freedmen, and slaves was rendered irrelevant—would have been regarded as a very strange, indeed dangerous, cult, in particular if that cult called into question the existence of the traditional gods of the city. When new deities and new cults were

75 Cf. Borgeaud, *Mother of the Gods*, 25–26; Lancellotti, *Attis*, 63.

76 For the date between 35/4 and 18/7 BCE (rather than 83/2 BCE), see Follet, "Les deux archontes"; Thomas, "Cultes orientaux," 178–79.

77 Versnel, "Paradox," 105–111. The following point from 110–11.

introduced without being officially sanctioned by a decree of the Council of the city, legal problems might ensue (IG XI.4 1299). On the other hand, when official permission was sought, it might be granted (I. Delos 1519) or not, as the procedure of securing an official decree and the practice of inscribing the decision on stone allowed for the latter possibility. The permission of the Council included, at least in some cases, detailed stipulations concerning sacrifices, processions, and financial matters relating to the cult, which would make matters difficult for the new community of worshippers of Jesus Messiah. Thus Paul argued before the Areopagus Council that he was not introducing new gods (Acts 17:22–31).

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CHAPTER 21

The Apostle of the Heretics?[1]

James D. G. Dunn

"The apostle of the heretics" is how Tertullian refers to Paul in his extensive polemic against Marcion.[2] For the impression was already widespread that Marcion had built his system principally on the letters of Paul. But not only Marcion, also different Gnostic systems, particularly Valentinianism, drew heavily on Paul, so much so that a century ago, in the heyday of the History-of-Religions approach to the NT and the beginning of the quest for pre-Christian Gnosticism, Richard Reitzenstein could refer to Paul as perhaps "the greatest of all the gnostics."[3] Whereas most of the Jewish believers-in-Jesus probably regarded Paul with suspicion, and his Gentile mission as the stage where things began to go wrong, there were other religious ideologies or systems that found much in Paul amenable to them. Indeed, the issue cannot be sidestepped: that the two responses to Paul, the different ways in which he was received and in which his impact worked out in the second century, may in fact be related. Was "the gnostic Paul" a confirmation that Paul had led emerging Christianity in a direction too far away from its roots in second Temple Judaism, so that his fellow Jewish believers were right to turn their backs on him? Alternatively posed, was the great church's increasing rejection of the Jewish Christian "sects" a *de facto* affirmation that if Christianity was going to establish itself as a truly international religion, within the prevailing culture of the Greco-Roman world, it had to become a different kind of religion from Judaism?

In addressing these somewhat disturbing questions, it is appropriate to look first at the ways in which those generally regarded as Gnostics received and used Paul, second at Marcion, and finally at the response of Irenaeus.

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1 Since I have enjoyed my earlier interaction with Stan, particularly on his *The Paul of Acts*, I regret that I have been unable to pursue it further here; but this comes nonetheless with gratitude for his many contributions to NT study and with heartiest congratulations on this auspicious occasion. This essay is drawn from my *Christianity in the Making*, vol. 3, *Neither Jew nor Greek: A Contested Identity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015) §§46.5–47.6.

2 Tertullian, *Marc.* 3.5 (*haereticorum apostolus*); see also Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adv. haer.* 23–24.

3 Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions*, 84.

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1 The Gnostic Paul

It is an interesting, not to say a somewhat uncomfortable fact, that much in Paul proved so attractive to so many Gnostics.[4] At not a few points, indeed, Paul affirmed views that commended him more to the "heretical" Gnostics than to the "orthodox" Fathers.[5] Indeed, according to Clement of Alexandria, Valentinus's disciples claimed that he had been taught by Theudas, a pupil of Paul (*Strom*. 7.17), and Paul was even spoken of as "in the form of the Paraclete" (*Exc. ex Theod.* 23.2).[6] The Nag Hammadi texts confirm that for many of those responsible for the tracts, Paul was simply "the Apostle," or "the great apostle,"[7] and *The Teachings of Silvanus* alludes to a statement of Paul (1 Cor. 11:1) "who has become like Christ" (108.30–32). The Nag Hammadi texts include a brief *Prayer of the Apostle Paul*, "heavily indebted to . . . the Pauline letters,"[8] and a Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*.[9]

Not least of significance was the fact that Paul denied that he was dependent on the earlier apostles and Jerusalem leaders for his gospel. His insistence that his gospel came to him by direct revelation from God, "not of human origin nor from a human source" (Gal 1:11–12), would have been more appealing to those who claimed secret revelation from the risen Christ in distinction from the ecclesiastical tradition of the heresiologists.[10] What was so offensive

4 King writes, "The real attraction of Gnosticism to Christianity was not, then, the figure of Jesus; it was the theology of Paul, which contained 'the basic outlook of its own piety'" (*What Is Gnosticism*, 99, quoting Bousset)—an observation much diminished by the Nag Hammadi texts, particularly the *Gospel of Thomas*.

5 The point is made forcibly by Pagels, *Gnostic Paul*, 1–12: "Valentinus himself often alludes to Paul . . .; his disciples Ptolemy, Heracleon, and Theodotus—no less than Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement—revere Paul and quote him simply as "the apostle" (2). She concludes her opening chapter with the challenge: "If the apostle were so unequivocally anti-gnostic, how could the Gnostics claim him as their great pneumatic teacher?" (10).

6 Lindemann, *Paulus*, 98.

7 *Treat. Res.* 45.25–28, echoes Rom 8:17 and Eph 2:6; and 46.25–27 echoes Rom 8:27. *Hypost. Archons* 86.20, quotes Eph 6:12 and Col 1:13. *Exeg. Soul* 131.2–13 quotes "Paul, writing to the Corinthians," cites 1 Cor 5:9–10 and Eph 6:12, and in 134.1–2 echoes 2 Cor 3:6 (*NHL*, 194, 196). Note also that the *Gospel of Philip* quotes 1 Cor 15:50 (56.31–34), alludes to 1 Cor 8:1 (77.25–26) and echoes Rom 7:14–19 (83.25–29); and *The Dialogue of the Savior* also echoes the much-echoed 1 Cor 2:9 (140.1–4) (*NHL* 144, 155, 158, 252).

8 Mueller, "Prayer of the Apostle Paul." Attridge, "Paul, Prayer of the Apostle," says, "The major motifs of the prayer are gnostic commonplaces."

9 Not to be confused with the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

10 Pagels, *Gnostic Paul*, 102. The typical claim that Jesus gave secret instruction to disciples during his appearances following his resurrection—the *Apocryphon of James* indicat-

to many Jewish believers in Jesus, in the Clementine *Homilies*,[11] was precisely what made Paul appealing to Gnostics. According to Hippolytus, the Naassenes were able to draw on 2 Cor 12:4 and 1 Cor 2:13–14 as precedent for their claims to secret and higher wisdom (*Ref.* 5.3).[12] Epiphanius reports that the Cainites had fabricated a book they called the *Ascent of Paul*, expressing the "ineffable words" that Paul claimed to have heard during his journey to the third heaven (2 Cor 12:4) (*Pan.* 38.2.5). And the Valentinian exegetes could cite 1 Cor 2:13–14 and 15:48 to enlist Paul's support for their threefold distinction between pneumatics, psychics, and choics (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.3).[13] It is little surprise that W. Schmithals, the most prominent advocate of the view that Paul encountered Gnosticism during his mid-first century mission, could seize on two passages in Galatians and 1 Corinthians in promoting his thesis:

> The argument [of Gal 1:12] is genuinely Gnostic. The Gnostic apostle is not identified by means of a chain of tradition, by the apostolic succession, but by direct pneumatic vocation.[14]
>
> What is found in [1 Cor] 2:6—3:1 could be the precise exposition of a Gnostic."[15]

Similarly, the Valentinians valued Ephesians as unfolding "the mystery of the pneumatic redemption,"[16] and seem to have attributed their speculation about the aeons to Ephesians and Colossians.[17] And Irenaeus reacts dismissively

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ing that the appearances continued for 550 days (*Apoc. James* 2.19–21, *NHL*, 30); similarly, Ptolmaeus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.2)—of course made more room for the resurrection appearance to Paul (1 Cor 15:8), long after the forty days of appearances asserted by Luke (Acts 1:1–11).

11 Pseudo-Clement, *Hom.* 17.18–19.

12 The Valentinians maintained that Paul "made use of the basic concepts of their system in his letters in a manner sufficiently clear to anyone who can read . . . The teaching of Valentinus is just as inconceivable without the letters of Paul as without the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, and it is no accident that Paul is preferred by all Valentinians as the preacher of the hidden wisdom who speaks out most clearly" (T. Zahn, cited by Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 224–25).

13 The Valentinians interpreted Paul's discussion of Jews and Gentiles in Romans as referring allegorically to different groups of Christians, the psychic and the pneumatic respectively. See Pagels, *Gnostic Paul*, 6, 19–21.

14 Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics*, 29.

15 Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 151.

16 Pagels, *Gnostic Paul*, 115; see also Rudolph, *Gnosis*, 300–302.

17 Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 234; see, e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.4; Clement of Alexandria, *Exc.* 43.2; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 6.29.

against the use of 2 Cor 4:4 to maintain that "the god of this world" is other than God (*Haer.* 3.7.1).[18]

Of course much of this disputation was tendentious—on both (or all) sides. Paul did not claim that he derived his gospel exclusively or entirely from his encounter with Christ on the Damascus road. He freely affirms that the gospel that he preached had been passed down to him by those already believers in Christ (1 Cor 15:3). It was rather his "take" on that gospel, his interpretation of it as also for non-Jews ("his gospel" indeed), that he attributed to the risen Christ (Gal 1:15–16), and which he was anxious should be approved by the Jerusalem leadership years later (Gal 2:2). That revelation was very different from the revelations claimed by the later Gnostics. The "unutterable words" Paul heard during his heavenly journey (2 Cor 12:1–4) were equally as open to an imaginative creation from within the "great Church" (*Apoc. Paul*) as they were to Gnostic invention—neither being exegetically justifiable.

Similarly, the Pauline term "mystery" readily lent itself to transposition into a way of referring to the Gnostic narrative of creation and redemption.[19] But apart from some everyday usage,[20] the heavy weight of theological significance that Paul put on the term was in his use of it to refer to God's purpose for the salvation of Gentiles as well as Jews, a purpose long hidden from the ages and only now revealed.[21] And Paul's use of *pneumatikoi*, *psychikoi* and *sarkinoi/sarkikoi* cannot be transposed into the Valentinian threesome, since Paul rebukes the Corinthians as "fleshly" (*sarkinoi*/*sarkikoi*) in reference, not to their given character, but as a rebuke for their factionalism (1 Cor 3:1–4); he laments that he himself is *sarkinos* (Rom 7:14). And the hope held out in 1 Cor 15 is that the psychical body (*sōma psychikon*) will be transformed into a spiritual body (*sōma pneumatikon*) (1 Cor 15:44, 46).[22]

On the other hand, it could well be argued that the Gnostic dualism between creation and redemption was able to draw strength from Paul's conception of the resurrected body as "spiritual." Presumably because they recognized this, the Fathers argued intensely that it was the *flesh* that would be resurrected. Already Ignatius insists: "I know and believe that Jesus was in the flesh even

18 Similarly, Tertullian responding to Marcion's use of 2 Cor 4:4 (*Marc.* 5.11). See also Lindemann, *Paulus*, 384–85; Perrin, "Paul and Valentinian Interpretation," 129–32.

19 Cf. 1 Cor 15:51; Eph 5:32.

20 1 Cor 13:2; 14:2.

21 Rom 11:25; (16:25); Col 1:26–27; well caught by Eph 3:3–10. This would have been the primary thought behind other references—1 Cor 2:1, 7; 4:1; Col 2:12; 4:3; Eph 1:9; 6:19.

22 To be noted also is that, according to Origen, Basilides interpreted Paul's "I died" (Rom 7:9) as a reference to reincarnation; see Pearson, "Basilides the Gnostic," 18.

after the resurrection" (*Smyrn.* 3.1). The argument could be built on Luke 24:39, but not readily on Paul. Irenaeus and Tertullian were clearly concerned at the capital that their opponents were able to make out of 1 Cor 15:50 ("flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God"),[23] but their attempts to wrest a favorable meaning from the passage are hardly convincing.[24] And Epiphanius rants at the Valentinians, somewhat amusingly at this point, in the following terms:

> They deny the resurrection of the dead, saying something mysterious and ridiculous, that it is not this body which rises, but another rises from it, which they call spiritual (*Pan.* 31.7.6).

But it is clear that Paul did indeed conceive of the resurrection body as "spiritual," as different from the body that goes into the ground (1 Cor 15:37), and as different from the mortal, perishable, flesh and blood body which dies (15:42–50).[25]

What has been missed here is the neatness of Paul's solution to the question, "With what kind of body do (the resurrected) come?" (15:35); that is, the distinction he makes between "body" and "flesh." By maintaining belief in a resurrection *body* Paul retained the Hebrew understanding of material creation as made by God and good, while, at the same time, he in effect diverted the more typically Hellenistic antipathy to the material into his own warnings, we might even say antipathy, to the flesh.[26] To ignore and lose that distinction is to miss the subtlety of Paul's treatment of the resurrection and to lose its potential for response to the Gnostics.

In contrast, by ignoring Paul's distinction, and returning to the more Greek identification of body and flesh, the early Fathers may have refuted the Gnostic

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23 As by the Ophites, in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.13 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1:93), and in the *Gospel of Philip* 56.32–34. "This is [the passage]," complains Irenaeus, "which is adduced by all the heretics in support of their folly" (5.9.1).

24 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.9–14; Tertullian, *Res.* 48–50. See also Pagels, *Gnostic Paul*, 85–86.

25 As noted in Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, 827–30, in the extended sequence of two antithetical columns set up by Paul in 1 Cor 15:42–54, "flesh and blood" belong in the (negative) column along with "corruption" (15:42, 50), "dishonour" (15:43), "weakness" (15:43), "natural body" (15:44–46), "earthly" (15:47–49), "the dead" (15:52), "corruptible" (15:53–54), and "mortal" (15:54), which are set antithetically over against the (positive) column consisting of "incorruption," "glory," "power," "spiritual body," "heavenly," "incorruptible," "incorruption," and "immortality."

26 As, e.g., in Rom 7:18; 8:7; Gal 5:16–17; 6:8; see further Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, §§3.2–3.4.

disparagement of the physical and material.[27] But at the same time, by abandoning Paul's distinction between flesh and body they opened the door to Paul's warnings against living in accord with the flesh being understood as antipathy to the body and to the natural functionings of the corporality of God's creation. Most notably, with the later Fathers, Augustine and Jerome, sexual function became fleshly, negative, the means of transmitting original sin—with virginity and celibacy exalted to a degree that a more biblical creation theology (God made man and woman for each other) could never have allowed.[28]

So Paul was preserved by the great Church as a spokesman for "orthodoxy" against Gnostic "heresy" by dumbing down the subtlety of his anthropology and conception of the resurrection body, with disastrous long-term effects for Christian evaluation of sexuality. To bring in Paul as the great champion against the Gnostics was something of a Pyrrhic victory.[29]

2 Marcion—the Radical Paulinist

It was precisely Marcion's use of Paul in particular that made him such a challenge and threat both to the "great Church" and to the continuing status of Paul as apostle of the "great Church."[30] Harnack could even describe Marcion as "the first Protestant."[31] And Stephen Wilson notes that "During its heyday in the second century the Marcionite church was one of the dominant forms of Christianity."[32]

Marcion is remembered as initially a disciple of Cerdo, who, according to Irenaeus, "took his system from the followers of Simon" and "taught that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . the one was righteous, but the other benevolent" (Irenaeus,

27 Cf. Wiles, *Divine Apostle*, 26–29.

28 Ironically, they shared an antipathy to ordinary sexual function with most Gnostics.

29 One might also wonder whether the patristic church's two-nature Christology reflects something of a Gnostic dualistic world-view (cf. Rudolph, *Gnosis*, 372).

30 Knox prefaces his *Marcion and the New Testament* by quoting Theodore Zahn: "No Christian teacher of the second century holds so significant a place in the history of the ecclesiastical canon as the heretic Marcion" (vii). Hoffmann, *Marcion*, concludes (acknowledging it as oversimplification) "that for Marcion Paul commands papal authority. He is the sole infallible teacher" (308).

31 King, *What Is Gnosticism*, 66. Harnack has often been criticized for regarding Marcion as a second-century Luther; see, e.g., Still, "Shadow and Light," 95 and n23.

32 Wilson, *Related Strangers*, 208; Wilson provides a helpful analysis of Marcion's teaching (211–12).

Haer. 1.27.1).[33] Marcion evidently took up and developed Cerdo's teaching: the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was the author of evils who took delight in war.[34] But Jesus, "derived from that Father who is above the God that made the world, . . . was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judaea, abolishing the prophets and the law, and all the works of that God who made the world" (*Haer.* 1.27.2).

According to Pseudo-Tertullian, Cerdo also accepted only a diminished Gospel of Luke and several of Paul's epistles, "neither all the epistles, nor in their integrity," but he rejected the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse (*Adv. haer.* 6). If so, this would help explain Irenaeus's report that Marcion too "mutilated" the Gospel according to Luke, setting aside Jesus' teaching in which he confesses that the Maker of the universe is his Father; and that he dismembered Paul's epistles in like manner and removed all of Paul's quotations from the prophets (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2).

Whether Marcion drew his inspiration directly from Paul, or simply elaborated his inheritance from Cerdo,[35] the fact remains that Paul provided Marcion's primary authority for his teaching and for his claim in effect to be the truest follower of Paul.[36] Tertullian indeed notes that although Marcion

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33 Quoted also by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.11.2. Similarly, Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 26.5, on whom Irenaeus probably drew (*Haer.* 4.6.2). More fully, according to Pseudo-Tertullian, Cerdo "introduces two first causes, that is, two Gods—one good, the other cruel: the good being the superior; the latter, the cruel one, being the creator of the world. He repudiates the prophecies and the Law; renounces God the Creator; maintains that Christ who came was the Son of the superior God; affirms that he was not in the substance of flesh; states him to have been only in a phantasmal shape, to have not really suffered, but undergone a quasi-passion, and not to have been born of a virgin, nay, really not to have been born at all" (*Adv. haer.* 6. See *ANF* 3:653).

34 See also Tertullian, *Marc.* 1.2 (Marcion quoted Isa 45:7); Still, "Shadow and Light," 96–99. Marcion is probably not to be described as a Gnostic: he borrowed or agreed with the Gnostic concept of the Creator, the Demiurge, as a second and inferior God, and thought of Jesus in docetic terms; but he did not engage in the characteristically Gnostic dualistic speculation about how the (material) world was created, nor did he make a great play of saving *gnosis*. See Hoffmann, *Marcion*, 175–79; discussion of the issue is briefly reviewed by Lindemann, *Paulus*, 387–89.

35 Moll, *Arch-Heretic Marcion*, disputes the claim that Marcion was a disciple of Cerdo (41–43). Räisänen also thinks the claim that Marcion had close connections with Cerdo is dubious ("Marcion," 104).

36 Against Harnack's view that Marcion made the early church aware of a largely unknown Paul (*Marcion*, 12), Moll's judgment is the sounder: "Marcion did not make Paul an authority, he made use of his authority" (*Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 86). "One wonders whether Marcion's radicalized Paulinism could have had the success it had, unless Paul's letters

ascribed no author to his Gospel, he might well have "published his Gospel in the name of St Paul himself, the single authority of the document" (*Marc.* 4.2).[37] Marcion's starting point was probably the antithesis between the law and the gospel, which he could derive fairly readily from Paul,[38] and which was evidently the basis for writing his *Antitheses*, intended to exploit and work out the ramifications of that basic antithesis.[39] Significant here is the fact that Marcion seems to have placed Paul's letter to the Galatians first in his collection of Paul's letters (Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.2), the most sustainedly polemical of Paul's letters in which the gospel/law antithesis is most clearly expressed.[40] And since law characterized the Old Testament, it followed that the OT itself fell on the wrong side of the antithesis, and the God of the OT as well.[41] By the same logic, all that drew upon or derived from the OT should be disentangled from the gospel. That included the OT itself and all NT quotations from and dependencies on the OT. Hence Irenaeus's declaration that "This man is the only one who has dared openly to mutilate the scriptures" (*Haer.* 1.27.4). And Tertullian's caustic comment that "Marcion expressly and openly used the knife, not the pen, since he made such an excision of the scriptures as suited his own subject-matter" (*Praescr.* 38). Thus he drew only on a mutilated Luke, who was traditionally the follower of Paul, and used Galatians (Gal 2:6–9, 13–14) and 2 Cor 11:13 to insinuate the untrustworthiness of other apostles (and the Gospels that derived from them),[42] while also removing what he regarded as the adulterations that had been added to the text of Paul's letters (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.2–5).[43]

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already had an acknowledged status in many existing parts of Christendom" (Räisänen, "Marcion," 116).

37 On "Marcion's Paulinism," see also Hoffmann, *Marcion*, ch. 7.

38 E.g. Rom 3:20; 7:4–6; 2 Cor 3:6; Gal 2:19; 3:13; 5:1; Col 2:20–23; and as typified by Paul's repeated confrontations with what are usually referred to as "Judaizers" in Galatians, 2 Corinthians 3, 10–13, and Philippians 3. It is somewhat unnerving to recall that Lutheranism built its own system largely around the same law/gospel antithesis.

39 Tertullian, *Marc.* 1.19; 4.1. Moll thinks the *Antitheses* was a rather brief collection of contradictory passages from the OT and NT that functioned as a kind of Marcionite catechism; it was not an extensive commentary and has been overrated in previous scholarship (*Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 107–14, 120). Scherbenske, *Canonizing Paul*, argues that the *Antitheses* was an introductory work to guide readers of the biblical text to a proper reading (74–85).

40 Hoffmann, *Marcion*, 75–76.

41 Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 104–7.

42 See also Hoffmann, *Marcion*, 101–5, 135–39, 146–53.

43 Still, "Shadow and Light," 102. See further Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*. Scherbenske discusses examples of Marcion's "textual manipulation" (*Canonizing Paul*, 94–115).

There was an attractive simplicity about Marcion's gospel—a resolution of the endless tensions between the punitive God of the OT and the gracious God of Jesus and Paul. No wonder Marcion proved to be so influential for those who wanted a faith that was clear-cut and from which such tensions had been removed. And for such a simplistic faith, the sharpness of Paul's contrasts between old covenant and new, between "letter" and "spirit" (as in 2 Cor 3), could not fail to be attractive as providing the key to a complete religious system. The tensions between the leaders of a Jewish messianic sect and the Pauline mission to Gentiles were never so radically exploited.[44] Was this indeed what the Jewish believers in Jesus, hostile to Paul and his mission, had feared? Was this the inevitable end for a movement to break embryonic Christianity free from its Jewish matrix? Marcion demonstrated that just such a trajectory could be drawn from Paul, and it is not entirely clear that those who dismissed Marcion understood Paul all that much better.[45]

Of course, a system built on a mutilated Paul and an adulterated Luke was vulnerable to obvious challenge.[46] And Tertullian had little difficulty in undermining Marcion's claims.[47] Paul preached no new God, even though he abrogated some of God's ancient laws; the God whom Christ revealed was the Creator (*Marc.* 1.21); to deny the reality of Christ's sufferings and death (because of the denial of his flesh), was to deny Christ's resurrection and thus to subvert Paul's argument in 1 Cor 15:12–19 (*Marc.* 3.8). Paul's conflict with Peter (Gal 2:13–14) should not be exaggerated, since Peter might simply have been acting according to Paul's own principle of becoming all things to all men (1 Cor 9:22) (*Marc.* 4.3). Likewise with Luke's Gospel, in what we would now call "a careful reading" of the Gospel, Tertullian is able to argue effectively that the connection of Christ with the Creator is clearly to be seen (*Marc.* 4.13–43). And in Book 5 he does the same with Paul's epistles: demonstrating that "they were in perfect unison with the writings of the Old Testament, and therefore testified that the Creator was the only God and that the Lord Jesus was his Christ."[48] For example, Marcion's teaching makes no sense of 1 Cor 1:18–25 (*Marc.* 5.5),

44 Knox sees an undoubted "historical continuity between Paul's conflicts with the Judaizers . . . and Marcion's struggle with the Roman church" (*Marcion*, 15).

45 Wiles notes that "E. Hoffmann-Aleith concludes a study of Chrysostom's interpretation of Paul (*ZNW* 38 [1939] 138) by declaring that he is a striking example of how the theologians of the early Church combined an admiration for Paul with an unconscious failure to understand him" (*Divine Apostle*, 3).

46 Moll provides a list of Marcion's deletions from the Gospel of Luke (*Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 92–98).

47 See also Bain, "Tertullian: Paul as Teacher," 209–15.

48 *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 3.429.

or of Christ as our Passover (1 Cor 5:7; *Marc.* 5.7); Marcion alters "last Adam" of 1 Cor 15:45 to "last Lord," because "last Adam" connects Christ to the Creator of the first Adam (*Marc.* 5.10); 2 Cor 3 can hardly be understood as envisaging two Gods (*Marc.* 5.11); the intensity of Marcion's mutilation of Romans shows how unPauline Marcion's gospel is (*Marc.* 5.13); Rom 8:3, Jesus sent "in the likeness of sinful flesh," cannot be understood in docetic terms, since the "likeness" refers not to the "flesh" but to the "sinful" (*Marc.* 5.14); and Col 1:15–17 clearly envisages Christ as bound up with creation and as making the Creator visible (*Marc.* 5.19).[49]

As vulnerable as Marcion's exposition of Paul is to critique,[50] then, the uncomfortable fact remains that Marcion exposes the problem of Paul in an acute way. The problem was the complexity and subtlety of Paul's theology, too often "resolved" in an unbalanced way, by "orthodox" as much as "heretic."[51] The problem arose because Paul had been trying to hold together in a consistent way what he regarded as earlier revelation (the religion of Israel and the Scriptures of Israel) and the new revelation through and of Christ that had found him and transformed him. He had been trying to proclaim a distinctively Jewish faith to a widespread non-Jewish audience. He had been conscious of the need to translate old terms into new language, to say intelligibly what had never been said before. No wonder 2 Peter found "some things in them [Paul's letters] hard to understand" and easy to twist (3:16). And still to this day, commentators and theologians either find Paul inconsistent, or take a particularly important feature of his theology and make it the key to the whole, subordinating all other features to the one, or sloughing them off because they confuse the clear and straightforward insight of the chosen item.[52] Marcion's Paulinism is the classic example of an aspect of and emphasis in a more complex system being abstracted from the system and pressed to an extreme.[53] As Tertullian and the others demonstrated, to so oversimplify a theology as profound as Paul's was to be unfaithful to it and effectively to destroy it. At the same time, however, it was probably Marcion who drove Christian apologists

49 See also Still, "Shadow and Light," 105–6.

50 Wilson, *Related Strangers*, 214, writes, "His editing of Romans was the most drastic of all." But see also Lieu, "As much my apostle."

51 Cf. Wiles, *Divine Apostle*, 132–39.

52 The enduring problems, for example, of making coherent sense of Paul's attitude to the law and of the tension between his teaching on justification by faith and not works and his teaching on judgment according to works illustrate the point all too well; see, e.g., Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*; Dunn, "If Paul Could Believe."

53 The same is true of Mani; Manichaeism being regarded by many as a "Pauline heresy" (*ODCC*, 1027).

and theologians to engage in depth with Paul, to probe into his theology, and not simply to quote him or allude to him.[54]

3 Paul and Irenaeus

Irenaeus marks the beginning of serious engagement with Paul; he is "the first great exponent of Paul."[55] He was obviously highly familiar with the whole Pauline corpus, quoting from Paul's letters regularly and easily.[56] Irenaeus thus provides irrefutable proof that by the end of the second century Paul's letters had been collected, were widely circulated (Irenaeus was based in Gaul), and were well known and used. There is no embarrassment in his usage. As is clear particularly from his Book One, he clearly knew that the Valentinians and Marcion[57] also made use of Paul in building their systems; but he was entirely confident that he could demonstrate the confusion and invalidity of their use. Whatever the claims and despite the claims made by his opponents regarding Paul, for Irenaeus there was no doubt that Paul was "the apostle" whose teaching established the faith of the great Church.

Moreover, Irenaeus engaged with Paul and theologized with and through Paul. He did not simply quote passages from Paul as though a straightforward quotation would be sufficient to demonstrate the misunderstanding of the "heretics." In *Haer.* 3.7.1–2, for example, he engages in careful exegesis of 2 Cor 4:4, Gal 3:19 and 2 Thess 2:8. In a sequence of passages in Book Four he demonstrates a clear understanding of Paul's arguments in Gal 3:5–9 (4.21.1), Rom 9:10–13 (4.21.2), Rom 4 (4.25.1–3) and 2 Cor 3 (4.26.1); his reliance on Paul is emphasized in the closing paragraph of Book Four (4.41.4). Particularly interesting is his lengthy attempt in Book Five to refute what he regarded as the misuse and misunderstanding of 1 Cor 15:50—"flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (5.9–14)—by interpreting "flesh and blood" as "those who have not the Spirit of God in themselves" (5.9.1); "the flesh, when destitute of the Spirit of God, is dead not having life, and cannot possess the kingdom of

54 Lindemann, *Paulus*, 395.

55 Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 189.

56 Irenaeus quotes from or clearly draws on all the letters attributed to Paul, apart from Philemon, particularly Romans and 1 Corinthians, but with similar familiarity with 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. See Blackwell, "Paul and Irenaeus," 192–93.

57 The Marcionites "allege that Paul alone knew the truth, and that to him the mystery was manifested by revelation" (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.13.1).

God" (5.9.3); "man without the Spirit is not capable of inheriting the kingdom of God" (5.10).

However, Irenaeus most clearly demonstrates that he was a Paulinist, building his own theology on Paul, in his thesis of recapitulation: that Christ, the Word, the Son of God, recapitulated Adam in himself.[58] He builds particularly on Rom 5:14 and 1 Cor 15:20–22 (3.22.3, 4); in Christ the one God "re-formed the human race" (4.24.1); the Word, "having become united with the ancient substance of Adam's formation, rendered man living and perfect, receptive of the perfect Father, in order that as in the natural [Adam] we all were dead, so in the spiritual we may all be made alive" (5.1.2); he "summed up human nature in his own person . . . recapitulating in himself . . . that original handiwork of the Father" (5.14.2).[59] This enabled Irenaeus to refute those who denied Adam's salvation: "inasmuch as man is saved, it is fitting that he who was created the original man should be saved"; "for Adam showed his repentance by his conduct"; "when therefore the Lord vivifies man, that is, Adam, death is at the same time destroyed" (3.23.2, 5, 7).[60] More to the point, however, Irenaeus's recapitulation thesis was at the heart of his refutation of the soteriologies of the Valentinians and Marcion: it was one and the same God who made Adam and sent his Son; salvation has been achieved by the Word combining with flesh; it is the Son's assumption of flesh that ensures the resurrection of the flesh; "if the flesh were not in a position to be saved, the Word of God would in no wise have become flesh" (5.14.1).[61] It was not least the genius of Irenaeus that in his theology of recapitulation he managed to blend the Adam Christology of Paul and the incarnation Christology of John to provide a truly biblical theology.[62]

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58 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.10–23.8; 4.24.1; 6.1.2; 14.1–3; 20.2; 21.1–3.

59 Irenaeus thus resolved one of the points of tension in Paul's Christology: that Jesus was Lord not simply by virtue of Ps 110:1, but also in fulfillment of Ps 8:4–6. That the two roles merged in Paul's thought is indicated by the fact that the final lines of Ps 8:6 and Ps 110:1 said the same thing. See Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, 897–98n165.

60 This was in reaction to Tatian's denial of Adam's salvation (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.28.1).

61 "For Irenaeus the incarnation was physically necessary to save humanity from death and corruption"; as Osborn explains, "God and man are united in Christ where the sin of Adam is reversed and the perfection of Christ is fulfilled" (*Irenaeus of Lyons*, 101, 110–11; see further ch. 5).

62 "R. Seeberg identified Irenaeus as the first great representative of biblicism. Nothing could be further from the truth, because Irenaeus analyses the theology of scripture more rigorously than most theologians. His own theology blends Paul and John in a way which is beyond proof-texts and based on a profound understanding" (ibid., 172).

A not insignificant corollary is that while the death of Christ is still a major point of conflict between Irenaeus and his Gnostic opponents, the Pauline emphasis on the cross as an atoning sacrifice for sin is sidelined; the emphasis is rather on the reality of Christ's death as the destruction of death and thus the reversal of Adam's corruption, as already indicated by Paul in Rom 5:12–21 (2.20.3; 3.18.7).[63] But more significant was the fact that Irenaeus did not succumb to the great Church's perspective in reading Paul through the Pastoral Epistles and Acts. His theology was formed by direct interaction with Paul's principal letters, particularly Romans and 1 Corinthians, and ensured that the theology of Paul and theologizing with Paul would form a fruitful dynamic for subsequent Christianity.

It is Irenaeus, therefore, who put Paul at the center of Christian theology, so that it is in no way surprising that following Irenaeus we find sustained exegetical commentary on and exposition of Paul's letters, beginning with Tertullian and Origen, followed at some remove by Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and in the west by Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and Augustine. And it was probably Irenaeus who secured for Paul the adulation with which he was regarded thereafter by Origen and his successors as expositors of Paul.[64]

4 Conclusion

The fact is that Paul remains a contrary and troublesome figure within the history of Christianity, his letters as provocative as they are confirmatory. But that is precisely why his letters are such valuable members of the NT canon. Paul (like Jesus) prevents a Christianity that acknowledges the NT canon from becoming too self-satisfied and conformist, too content with a comfortable identity or with a nicely coherent system of theology or practice. The fact that a Jewish believer in Jesus could condemn Paul as an apostate, or that a Valentinus or Marcion could find him so inspirational for their divergent systems, should be a constant warning that a simplistically coherent theology or a too comfortable church has lost Paul. At the same time, the fact that Paul could inspire an Irenaeus, an Augustine, and a Luther should be sufficient rejoinder. A Pauline-type church or theology will always have inner tensions,

63 Cf. ibid., 118–21, "John does not oppose the centrality which Paul gives to Christ crucified but joins it with the incarnation" (186).

64 See also Elliott, "Triumph of Paulinism." The esteem for Paul from the third century onwards is illustrated by Wiles, *Divine Apostle*, 19–25; see also King, *What Is Gnosticism*, 99–100.

be rather lumpy, allow or encourage diverse forms and expressions. That was Paul's initial role, to prick presuppositions and presumptions and to remind the church(es) of all generations that the heart of the matter is always a bare trust in the grace and mercy of the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is a role that he still fulfills.

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CHAPTER 22

Habakkuk, Paul, and the End of Empire: A Fresh Perspective on Romans 13:1–7

Nicholas Perrin

1 Introduction

For contemporary readers of Paul, Rom 13:1–7 yields incongruities on a handful of levels. In the first place, the apostle's instructions to submit to governing authorities appear to hang together poorly, if at all, with the larger thrust of the epistle.[1] Despite various attempts to explain the logical connection between this passage and its surrounding co-text, no one suggestion to date has proven particularly convincing.[2] The second problem involves the apparent dissonance between Rom 13:1–7 and Paul's political thought elsewhere, at least as it has been teased out by a recently emerging body of Pauline scholarship, the so-called "Fresh Perspective on Paul."[3] If, as we are led to believe, Paul adopted a critical posture toward the Roman Empire, then Rom 13:1–7's seemingly unqualified exhortation to submit to governing authorities makes it an uneasy outlier.[4] Third and finally, it is difficult to know what to make of the jarring

1 So, e.g., Käsemann, "Römer 13, 1–7," 374; Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 313–14.

2 The solution of Dunn, *Romans*, 759, whereby the legitimization of authorities is linked with the quietism of Rom 12:14–21, only works if one is willing to write off Rom 13:1–7 as an oddly pragmatic addendum to theologically supercharged-charged paraenesis (Rom 12). As such, his proposal is not very different from other a-theological readings of Rom 13, including that of Blumenfeld, *Political Paul*. While it is not impossible that Rom 13:1 marks a departure from the theological framework Paul has developed thus far in the epistle, a more appealing reading would be one that finds an inner consistency in the apostle's argument.

3 The point is taken up at length in Cassidy, "Politicization of Paul." Representative researchers within the Fresh Perspective include Horsley, *Paul and Empire*; Harrison, "Paul, Eschatology"; Oakes, *Philippians*; Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective*; Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1305–19; Hardin, *Galatians and the Imperial Cult*; Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*.

4 Nevertheless, explanations are forthcoming. See Morrison, *Powers That Be*, 11–13; Kallas, "Romans XIII.1–7," 369; Elliott, *Liberating Paul*, 218. Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective*, 78, sees the passage as working hand-in-glove with Paul's counter-imperial stance: "This passage actually represents a severe demotion of the rulers from the position they would have claimed to occupy."

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dissonance between Paul's idealized terms for the Roman magistrates and the harsh historical realities on the ground (as best as we can reconstruct them); it is a dissonance that seems to verge on parody. In sum, in approaching Rom 13:1–7, the reader is confronted with difficulties of a structural, theological, and historical-referential nature.

In honor of Stanley Porter's prodigious career to this point, not least his important work on Paul's use of the Hebrew Scriptures, I offer this study in which I seek to resolve these problems by proposing an intentional correlation between Rom 13:1–7 and Habakkuk.[5] My argument proceeds in three parts. First, I will argue that in citing Hab 2:4b (Rom 1:17), Paul is appealing not to an isolated verse or to discrete words within that verse but to the full narrative of Habakkuk, signaling it as a grid through which he might work out his theology of law *and* exile. Second, in light of precursor texts that employ Habakkuk as a scriptural matrix for addressing exile, specifically as it came into expression through Roman political dominance, I ascribe credence to the possibility that Paul's political theology in Romans fits naturally within the framework of a larger discussion presupposing exile *under Rome*. Third and finally, given identifiable verbal allusions in Rom 13:1–7, reminiscent of not only Habakkuk but also other exilic texts, I conclude that the same passage is best described as fundamentally eschatological in orientation. In sum, on recognizing the Habakkukan backdrop behind Rom 13:1–7, we are in position to appreciate the structural coherence of Romans, the theological coherence of Paul, as well as the appropriateness of his descriptors.

2 Paul and the Promises to Israel

Whatever Paul's reasons for writing Romans, no convincing interpretation of the epistle can ignore the programmatic role of Rom 1:16–17, including its citation of Hab 2:4b: "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. For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, 'The one who is righteous will live by faith' (ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται)" (NRSV and throughout except where noted).[6] While the past several

5 Porter, "Use of the Old Testament in the New"; Porter, "Further Comments"; Porter, "Allusions and Echoes." Also extremely relevant here is Porter, "Romans 13:1–7."

6 That Rom 1:16–17 serves as thesis statement is a common view; see, e.g., Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.87; Morris, *Romans*, 66; Byrne, *Romans*, 51; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 253. On the central significance of Hab 2:4, see Nygren, *Romans*, 28–32, 81; Feuillet, "La citation d'Habacuc 11.4";

decades of scholarship on Rom 1:17 has focused largely on clarifying both the meaning of πίστεως (subjective or objective genitive?) and the identity of the δίκαιος (generic or christological?), more work remains to be done in exploring Paul's citation of Hab 2:4b as a synecdoche for Habakkuk as a whole.[7] Key efforts and remarks along these lines appear in the writings of Hays, Watts, and Kirk.[8] Even if such studies may differ on the specific details, together they lend plausibility to the thesis that Paul invoked Hab 2:4b not merely as a rhetorical contrivance for scripturally rooting his key terms, but as the invocation of an entire discourse.[9]

This understanding is corroborated on even a brisk review of Habakkuk's plotline. In the opening verses, the prophet is distraught over surrounding social injustice (Hab 1:2–3) and complains that the law has been "paralyzed" (תפוג) (v. 4), insofar as it has failed to effect the righteousness of God within the life of Israel.[10] In reply to the prophet's objection, Yahweh issues a surprising response: Israel's God will send in the Chaldeans, "that fierce and impetuous nation" (v. 6), to initiate a state of exile (vv. 5–11). Contemplating this awful prospect, Habakkuk then raises a second complaint (1:12—2:1), entailing a series of questions related to God's justice, not least: "Why do you look on the treacherous, and are silent when the wicked swallow those more righteous than they are?" (Hab 1:13b). Following Habakkuk's surrejoinder, Yahweh offers the final word. In response to the prophet's two complaints (Hab 1:2–4; 1:12—2:1), fundamentally theodicean in nature, Yahweh promises resolution pending a future revelation (2:3–4).

While it would be speculative to theorize too much about Habakkuk's *Wirkungsgeschichte* within Second-Temple Judaism, one suspects that the

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Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.98; Watts, "'For I Am Not Ashamed"; Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 50–67; Campbell, *Deliverance of God*, 613–17. Watson's discussion of Hab 2:4b is extensive; helpful, too are Heliso, *Pistis and the Righteous One*, 40–71; Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2.466–71.

7 Hays's published dissertation *Faith of Jesus Christ* has proved seminal for the subjective-objective genitive debate. For a recent *Stand der Forschung*, see Easter, "*Pistis Christou* Debate."

8 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 39–41; Watts, "For I Am Not Ashamed"; Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 47–48.

9 According to Foley, *Immanent Art*, 7–8, such a semantic transaction "allows for much more than a pre-set, one-to-one allusiveness; in this case we are speaking about a situation in which a text or version is enriched by an unspoken context that dwarfs the textual artifact, in which the experience is filled out—and made traditional—by what the conventionality attracts to itself from the context. The phrase or scene or tale as a whole commands its meaning by synecdoche."

10 Janzen, "Eschatological Symbol," 398–99; Johnson, "Paralysis of Torah."

prophetic text was regarded as highly relevant to the post-exilic setting. After all, Habakkuk's two-fold complaint frames what was essentially the same question nagging a not-yet-restored Israel: how would God keep his eschatological promises to Israel, given (1) the law's manifest powerlessness to bring about righteousness (Hab 1:4), and (2) Yahweh's decision to cede political control to the "law-unto-themselves" Gentiles who knew nothing of God's righteousness (Hab 1:7)? "What to do about ourselves (our Torah obedience)?" and "What to do about those Gentiles"—these were the kinds of questions that mattered deeply to Paul's Israel.

Strikingly, as Watts rightly hints, it is precisely these twin concerns lingering behind Habakkuk's two-fold complaint that also occupy Paul in his writing of Romans.[11] Although Paul's argument regarding the law is famously intricate, he is certainly keen to emphasize the law's limitations. Against many of his peers who would have broadly assumed Torah's instrumentality in securing Israel's righteousness, the apostle denies the law any such efficacy (Rom 3:9–20; 5:20), even as he lays fault not with the law but with the unregenerate "flesh" (7:7–25). But whereas the law had failed, Christ had made possible a righteousness "apart from the law" (3:21). Only once liberated from sin and death through the death of Christ, so Paul maintains, could the Roman believers expect to keep the law (8:1–4; 13:8–10). Such obedience was possible through the Spirit (6:1–14; 8:1–17). To summarize, one might say that where Habakkuk had left off in questioning the law's inability to achieve the righteousness of God, Paul picks up by showing how God, through the death and resurrection of the eschatological "coming one" (Hab 2:2–3), had managed to make good on his intentions for the law.

As concerned as Paul is with the law, he is no less concerned—as the New Perspective on Paul reminds us—with the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. The issue is hardly of theoretical nature. Indications that the Roman believing community struggled with ethnic tensions are obvious enough, especially as such tensions seem to have been exacerbated by interethnic "boasting" (2:17, 23; 3:27; 4:2; 5:2, 3, 11; 11:18; 15:17), as well as self-righteous attitudes (11:11–24) revolving around meat-eating practices (14:1—15:13).[12] The "strong," on the other hand, seem to have been Jews who were confident of their own meat-eating practice without qualms of conscience. Meanwhile, the "weak"

11 Watts, "For I Am Not Ashamed," 22–24; followed by Thielmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 348–50.

12 While scholars differ on the identity of the "weak" and the "strong" in Romans, I am persuaded that the former category refers to Gentile believers who had converted out of a pagan lifestyle fraught with unsavory experiences involving meat sacrificed at pagan temples.

were subject to their own self-righteous attitudes. With the church at Rome threatened by such divisions, Paul wrote Romans not only to strengthen the church but to ensure that his base for Iberian mission would remain fully supportive of his mission to the Gentiles, which indirectly served the mission to the Jews.

In responding to a pastoral situation such as this, Paul summons his understanding of redemptive history and divine election. These allow him to strike a deft balance. On the one side, Paul seeks to undercut Jewish claims of superiority (based on their natural possession of the Torah) by pointing out Israel's resistance to the gospel (10:14—11:12). On the other side, he hopes to quell a sense of triumphalism among the Gentiles, who had been responding much more positively to the gospel than their Jewish peers, by pointing out their at-a-remove standing in relation to Israel (11:13–24). More than that, the apostle insists that all these sweeping realities are finally a function of the sovereign elective purposes of God (11:25–32). In light of such realities, Paul hopes and expects that all Jewish and Gentile boasting at Rome will be duly chastened.

At the same time, the present unresponsiveness of the Jews to Paul's gospel constituted a theological problem in its own right. For if first-century Judaism had been largely conditioned to associate the messiah's advent with Israel's renewed obedience and national restoration (i.e., end of exile), the apostle offered a different account. For him, Israel had been subject to divine hardening in order to open the door to the gospel ministry among the Gentiles, that is, "until the full number of Gentiles has come in" (Rom 11:25). While Paul remained sanguine about Israel's eschatological destiny (v. 26), he was nevertheless convinced that the intervening period would find Israel obdurate (vv. 25–32). Therefore, for the apostle, if the patent fact of the Diaspora was not sufficient evidence that Israel's restoration was incomplete, the nation's on-going resistance to the gospel would have been. Notwithstanding certain indicators that Israel's restoration was at hand, including the advent of the messiah and the in-gathering of the Gentiles, the divine hardening of Israel could only mean that God's people remained in a protracted state of exile.

Accordingly, whatever the precise relationship between the eschatological believing community and ethnic-political reality "Israel" (a complex question indeed), the apostle takes for granted that the believing community made up of Jews and Gentiles will somehow share in that exile. This becomes clear not least in Romans 8, where Paul sets forth the future hope of deliverance at the culmination of "present sufferings" (8:18–27). Until the appointed time of restoration, the believing community must, as Adam's exiled heirs, continue to endure a state of subjugation; the same must also live with the frustration that

the land of promise is not yet truly theirs.[13] All this is confirmed by Paul's climactic citation of Ps 44:22 (Rom 8:36), which, as part of a larger text focusing on Israel's plight of exile, makes most sense as an attempt to contextualize the Roman believers' suffering within the exilic setting presupposed by Ps 44. For Paul, here as elsewhere (Gal 1:3), as well as for various NT authors across the board (e.g., Jas 1:1; 1 Pet 1:1), exile remained a constituent element of the Christ-believer's present-day reality.[14]

3 Paul and the Pesherist

Exactly what the condition of exile may have entailed, so far as Paul was concerned, is somewhat difficult to reconstruct, especially given Second-Temple Judaism's metaphorization of the concept.[15] To be sure, by the time of the first century CE, exile had evolved into a multi-faceted signifier, being "absorbed into a nexus of associations that included death, sterility, bodily and emotional pain, and servitude."[16] At the same time, this does not mean that all these associations were equally weighty or equally integral to the Jewish concept of *corporate* exile, as envisioned by Paul. A key indicator remained "servitude," more exactly, Israel's subjugation to Gentile powers (Lev 26:25, 33–35; Deut 28:36–37). And as far as we can tell, the progressive development of the exile concept over time did little to erode its political significance.[17] On the contrary, if in Torah the political hegemony of the Gentiles (vis-à-vis Israel) remained a distinguishing mark of exile, by the late Second Temple period, Israel's political servitude had virtually become a metonymy for exile itself (Tob 13:3–6; Bar 3:6–8; 2 Macc 1:27–29; *1 En.* 93.1–10; 91.11–17; *T. Mos.* 3.14; *2 Bar.* 1.4–5; CD 1.3–11). Judging by this evidence, it would be almost impossible to overstate the

13 See Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 18–40. On the Adam motif in Romans, see Wedderburn, "Adam"; Adams, "Paul's Story of God."

14 See, e.g., Scott, *Adoption*; Scott, "Use of Scripture"; Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 137–56, 231–57; Hafemann, "Paul and the Exile."

15 For a very helpful summary of the scholarly discussion, see now Piotrowski, "Concept of Exile."

16 Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 202–3.

17 On the importance of exile in Second-Temple Judaism, see Knibb, "Exile"; Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 214, 268–71; Fuller, *Restoration of Israel*.

close association between exile and the political dominance of the Gentiles in Paul's day.[18]

Due to the heightening of apocalyptic expectations among certain Jewish communities in the first century CE, it was almost inevitable that these same communities would equate imminent restoration with the equally imminent defeat of the Romans. From this conviction it was only a short step to identifying the Romans as the contemporary fulfillment of Habakkuk's marauding Babylonians. Evidence for precisely this interpretive move comes by way of the targums (*Tg. Hab.* 1.16) and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QpHab).[19] Of course, the targums are notoriously difficult to date and may possibly reflect a post-temple outlook. The *Pesher*, however, stands as a clear example of pre-Pauline interpretation that equates the Romans (or "Kittim") with Habakkuk's Babylonians. The text is worth quoting at length:

> You made humanity as helpless as fish in the sea, like something a worm could rule over. He draws them [all] out [with a hook], pulls them in with his net, gathers them [with his dragnet. Therefore he sacrifices] to his net, therefore he is happy [and rejoices and burns incense to his dragnet; for by them] his lot in life [is enriched and his food is wholesome" . . .
>
> [This refers to . . .] [. . .] the *Kittim*, and they added to their wealth by all their plunder like the fish of the sea. And when it says, "therefore he sacrifices to his net and burns incense to his dragnet," this means that they sacrifice to their standards, and that their weapons are what they worship. "For by them his lot in life is enriched and his food is wholesome" means that they impose the yoke of their [7]taxes—this is "their food"—on all the peoples yearly, thus ruining many lands.
>
> "Therefore he keeps his sword always drawn to kill the nations without pity" . . . This refers to the *Kittim*, who destroy many people with the sword, including boys, the weak, old men, women, and children. Even on the child in the womb they have no mercy. (1QpHab 5.12–6.12)

The notation that these "Kittim" sacrifice to their standards reflects a distinctively Roman cultic practice and therefore very strongly suggests that these

18 This is also in keeping with the tendency of the classic prophetic texts, which describe Israel's salvation as a reversal of political fortunes, whereby Israel would finally come to rule the Gentiles rather than vice versa (Isa 42:1–15; 43:9–17; 60:1–17).

19 The equating of Babylon with Rome is well established in rabbinic Judaism (see Oppenheimer, "Das biblische Babylonien"), as it is in early Christianity (see Diehl, "Babylon").

Kittim are in fact Romans.[20] This supposition is only confirmed by, among other things, the text's recitation of what may have been stock—but nonetheless accurate—descriptions of Roman cruelty.[21] In current Qumran scholarship, the pesherist's equation of the Kittim with the Romans is taken for granted.[22] While other (intramural) antagonists are also singled out for judgment in 1QpHab, it nevertheless remains the case that for the Qumran community, the Romans in some realistic sense *were* the Babylonians.

If the Qumran covenanters, who almost certainly saw themselves in exile, interpreted Habakkuk with specific reference to the Roman powers, then this raises the question as to whether Paul followed suit in his writing of Romans. At this point, it will not do to deny the possibility outright on the dubious grounds that Paul separated out the political and metaphysical implications of exile. Nor is there any hint that Paul has somehow allegorized away the long-standing promises regarding the political liberation of Israel or otherwise discounted them, as if Israel's political subjugation was merely a metaphor for something else altogether. In fact, Rom 1:17 would suggest just the opposite. For the very invocation of this particular prophetic text, helpful as it might prove for Paul's soteriological agenda, may also have been perceived as being equally provocative in a different sense. Paul's citation of Habakkuk in the opening of his letter to (of all places) *Rome* has all the potential of a political gesture.

This is consistent with other passages in Romans. For example, when Paul speaks to the possibility of eschatological "peace" in Rom 5:1, this may be surmised to be an implicit challenge to the *Pax Romana*.[23] Returning to Rom 8, when Paul issues a series of rhetorical questions contemplating various trials facing the believers at Rome (8:35), precisely in their state of exile (as argued above), these are most likely recent or imminent experiences grounded in the community's interaction with the Roman state.[24] This much is suggested through not only the life-and-death stakes of the persecutory threat, but also

20 Atkinson, "Historical Setting," 238–40; Hagedorn and Tzoref, "Attitudes to Gentiles," 500.

21 Here one may think, for example, of Tacitus's description of the Romans, calling them "robbers of the earth, for after depleting the land by altogether ravaging it, they ransack the sea. If the enemy is rich, they are greedy; if poor, they are ruthless. Neither the East nor the West has satisfied them. Unique among all people they lust for domination over those in poverty and opulence, and do so with equal desire. Robbery, massacre, seizure—these they call by the false name of empire; they make a wasteland and call it peace" (*Agr*. 30; the translation is my own).

22 See Lim, "Kittim."

23 So Matera, *Romans*, 131; Wu, *Suffering in Romans*, 76.

24 So Jewett, "Corruption and Redemption of Creation," 32; Jackson, *New Creation*, 166–69; Wu, *Suffering in Romans*, 175–77.

the mere mention of the sword (8:35), which the apostle elsewhere clearly identifies with Roman executive power (13:4). For Paul, as for the Qumran persherist before him, exile may have entailed more than Roman oppression, but it did not entail anything less. Again, for the apostle, as for the Qumran scribe before him, the invocation of Habakkuk was not designed merely to mark out the path of righteousness, but to identify the wicked from whom the righteous would be delivered.[25]

Thus, for Paul, who is no doubt very aware of both this particular interpretive cipher and the oppressive socio-political situation of his audience, the quoting of an explicitly anti-Babylonian, and therefore thinly veiled anti-Roman text, could hardly be unintentional. If Paul's gospel, crystallized in the Habakkukan story-line, declares *in nuce* that God will establish the righteousness of his people and their ability to keep the law (Rom. 8:3), then there is no a priori reason to doubt that the same gospel also speaks to Israel's redemption from political subjugation. Until such redemption becomes reality, however, God's people must come to practical terms with their provisional state of exile, ordained as it has been by God. It is to this end, I suggest, that Paul writes Rom 13:1–7 with Habakkuk in mind.

4 Echoes of Habakkuk in Rom 13:1–7

If this brief account of Romans (and Rom 13:1–7 in particular) is accurate, this would lead us to expect some hints of exile in the passage at hand. And this is, I suggest, precisely what we do find. In attending closely to our text, we find tantalizing allusion not only to Habakkuk but also to the web of scriptural texts that speak of exile.

4.1 *Instituted for Judgment* (*Rom 13:1–2*)

In addressing the Roman believers' relationship to the political powers that be, Paul encourages an attitude of submission. Such a posture is warranted, he argues, because the executive arm of Rome ultimately derives its authority from God himself:

25 Along with these we might mention, in the Christian context, the author of Luke–Acts, who with the tantalizing phrase "God my Savior" has Mary allude to Hab 3:18 in her expectation that God would overthrow the Romans (Luke 1:46–55). Luke also recounts Paul as saying that the scenario of Habakkuk was finding its fulfillment in the present generation (Acts 13:41; Hab 1:5)—again, all presumably under the Romans, power granted to such Gentiles in order to signify Israel's status as an exiled nation.

> Let every person be subject to the governing authorities; for there is no authority except from God, and those authorities that exist have been *instituted* (τεταγμέναι) by God. Therefore whoever resists authority resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur *judgment* (κρίμα). (Rom 13:1–2)

Paul's term τεταγμέμαι is a perfect participial form of τάσσω, a lemma that occurs only eight times in the NT, with five of these instances falling in Luke–Acts. The Pauline corpus accounts for two of the remaining three: here in Rom 13:1 and 1 Cor 16:15. In the LXX the verb is more common (59x); two of its occurrences fall in Hab 1:12 and 3:19. Interestingly, Hab 1:12 (LXX) and Rom 13:1–2 are the only two places in the biblical canon where τάσσω appears alongside κρίμα within the space of a verse. In the former text, the prophet employs the terms in reference to the promised incursions of the Babylonians:

> O Lord, you have *marked* them for *judgment*; and you, O Rock, have established them for punishment' (Hab 1:12b)

> Κύριε εἰς **κρίμα τέταχας** αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπλασεν με τοῦ ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ (Hab 1:12b, LXX)

> יהוה **למשפט** שמתו וצור להוכיח יסדתו (Hab 1:12b, MT)

The rare pairing of words, shared by Rom 13:1–2 and Hab 1:12b, leads us to ask whether Paul self-consciously drew on the prophetic text. That he did so is supported not only by the shared pairing of κρίμα alongside a perfect form of τάσσω, but also by the twin fact that in both texts the subject of τάσσω is God and its object is a human agent assigned the function of establishing κρίμα. At the same time, if the apostle is alluding to Hab 1:12b, it is certainly not out of the question that he was availing himself of the Hebrew, in which case the object of שׂים (= τάσσω, establish) has the role of securing משׁפט (judgment).

4.2 *A Law unto Themselves* (*Rom 13:2* [*Hab 1:7*])

Returning to the "judgment" of Rom 13:2, we are struck by Paul's phraseology: those who oppose the established authorities will "receive judgment in themselves" (ἑαθτοῖς κρίμα λήμψονται). The choice of wording is unusual insofar as one might expect Paul to convey this idea with a simple passive of κρίνω (judge) as, for example, at 1 Cor 10:29. One possible explanation for the awkward dative construction of Rom 13:2 is to construe the phrase in light of the

apostle's wording at Rom 1:27, where Paul states that those who engage in sexual perversion receive "in their own person (ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) the due penalty for their error."[26] But the analogy between Rom 1:27 and 13:2 is weak, for in regards the former verse, commentators generally interpret the penalty "in their own person" as the deleterious psycho-spiritual effects of sin, the point Augustine (*Nat. grat.* 24) makes when he maintains that the true punishment of sin is a proclivity to greater sin.[27] Any attempt to apply the logic of Rom 1:27 to 13:2, where the nature of the punishment is obviously external rather than internal, would be fruitless.

I suggest that the odd construction of Rom 13:2 finds its best explanation on the supposition that Paul wrote ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα with Habakkuk's Babylonians in mind, who (as the NIV and NET rightly render it) are "a law unto themselves" (MT: הוא ממנו משפטו; LXX: ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ ἔσται) (Hab 1:7). In this case, Paul is suggesting that those who resist the Romans will receive not "judgment in themselves" (whatever that means) but rather "law-unto-themselves," a shorthand code phrase for the present-day iteration of Habakkuk's Babylonians and their equally Babylonian mode of justice. Thus the point would be that just as Habakkuk's soon-to-be exiled remnant would be consigned to meet the demands of Babylonian-style justice for any crimes against the state, the believers in Rome, also in exile, would face similar consequences for similar misdeeds. In the biblical-theological vision of exile, there was no virtue in disobeying the civic order imposed by the occupying Gentiles (Jer 29:4–14). Paul's words to the Romans simply extend this political ethic to the present situation.

This reading of Rom 13:2 finds added support in Rom 2:14: "When Gentiles, who do not by nature have the law, do the things of the law; these, though not having the law, are *a law unto themselves*" (ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες **ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος**).[28] While the identity of these mysterious Gentiles "not having the law" has been debated, in my view the best interpretation identifies these with the non-Jews at Rome who have responded positively to the gospel and thereby reveal the arrival of eschatological law of Jer 31:33 "written on their hearts" (Rom 2:15).[29] But in Rom 2:12–16, Paul frames the Gentile converts at Rome not only as those who

26 A strong line of textual tradition, including B, reads ἐν αὐτοῖς (in them). The difference in meaning between the two variations is minimal.

27 E.g., Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.126–27; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 299.

28 The translation here is my own.

29 So, e.g., Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.155–63; Wright, "Law in Romans 2"; Bergmeier, "Das Gesetz im Römerbrief"; Gathercole, "Law unto Themselves."

bear witness to the work of the New Covenant law (Jer 31:31–37), but also as the contemporary embodiment of Habakkuk's law-unto-themselves Babylonians. Paul is driving home the irony that those who would have ordinarily been considered the very last to benefit from the splendid promises of Jer 31 are in fact proving to be the very first. Meanwhile in Rom 13:2, the apostle reminds his audience that those who defy the authorities instituted by God may have to do business with the people-group that is not only responding positively to the gospel (2:12–16), but also carrying out a divinely appointed role, entailing, at least for a time, the political subjugation of (Diaspora and Palestinian) Judaism.

4.3 *"They are a fear" (Rom 13:3)*

Paul goes on to say that these same authorities "are a fear" (εἰσιν φόβος) to those who oppose them (Rom 13:3). As Cranfield notes, this is unusual indeed, for it is unlike the apostle to enjoin others to fear anyone except God himself.[30] But if Habakkuk describes the Babylonians as "fearsome" (LXX: φοβερός; MT: אים) (Hab 1:7), then Paul's application of φόβος to the Roman authorities would certainly not be out of line. Of course by identifying the Babylonian-esque Romans as "a fear," Paul would only be extending a well-established scriptural trajectory that typecasts hostile foreign occupiers as "a fear" or "a terror" (Lev 26:16 [?]; Isa 17:13–14; Jer 8:15; 20:3; 49:29; Ezek 32:23–32). Thus, in designating the Roman rulers as a φόβος, Paul is not so much describing the psychological impact that such rulers exert in human experience or should exert; instead he is mapping these pagan authorities against a familiar scriptural narrative. This in turn, so Paul hopes, serves as an interpretive key for providing a theological perspective on the current political situation.

4.4 *The Sword (Rom 13:4)*

Although the received text of Habakkuk makes no mention of the Babylonians bearing a "sword," it is interesting that the 1QpHab 6.9–10 and Habakkuk Targum (*Tg. Hab.* 2.16) in fact do.[31] Accordingly, Paul's mention of the μάχαιρα ("sword") in v. 4 ("But if you do what is wrong, you should be afraid, for the authority does not bear the sword in vain! It is the servant of God to execute wrath on the wrongdoer") could be explained with reference to a now-lost tradition. The point cannot be pressed too strongly, however.

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30 Cranfield, *Romans*, 2.670–73.

31 Wieder ("Habakkuk Scroll and the Targum," 16–17, suggests that the targumist changes the MT's "net" (חרם) to "weapons" bears on the assonance with "sword'" (חרב).

In any case, I would suggest that Paul's placement of μάχαιρα in v. 4 directly on the heels of φόβος (v. 3) is most likely inspired by the frequent pairing of these same two nouns in his precursor texts. As a rule, where "terror" occurs alongside "sword," it is strictly in connection with either exile (Deut 32:35; Jer 6:25; 14:18–19; 15:8–8; 20:4) or divine judgment against Yahweh's enemies (Isa 31:8–9; Ezek 32:23, 25, 26, 30, 32). By bringing together these two terms so as to invoke the context of exile, Paul is once again intimating that the Romans are playing the classic role once occupied by the Babylonians.

That Paul's mention of "sword" was motivated by a larger pool of "exile texts" appears all the more likely in light of Lev 26, one of two *loci classici* pertaining to the Hebrew concept of exile. In this passage, the "sword" is something of a recurring motif, being mentioned seven times. The thrust of the text is simple enough: if Israel obeys, its enemies will fall by the sword (Lev 26:8). However, if Israel disobeys, the tables are turned:

> [25] And I will bring a *sword* (LXX: μάχαιραν; MT: ברח) upon you, that *shall execute vengeance* (LXX: ἐκδικοῦσαν; MT: תמקנ), for the covenant; and if you gather within your cities I will send pestilence among you, and you shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy. (Lev 26:25)

The sword of Lev 26:25, which has the function of executing vengeance, bears comparison with the sword of Rom 13:4: "But if you do what is wrong, you should be afraid, for the authority does not bear the *sword* (μάχαιραν) in vain! It is the servant of God *to execute* (ἔκδικος) *wrath* on the wrongdoer." The apostle's wording is quite close to that of Lev 26:25 and suggests that the Roman magistrates were in fact the enemies into whose hands God had sovereignly delivered his people.

5 Romans 13:1–17: Its Oddities and Its Place in the Epistle

Paul's use of exile language in Rom 13:1–7 may be further established by showing that the backdrop of "exile texts" makes good sense of several difficulties that are otherwise unresolved (at least not satisfactorily) by our traditional reading of Romans. First, we consider the strange fact that Paul, undoubtedly aware of the persecution being daily brought to bear on the Roman believers, designates the local authorities as "God's servant" (Rom 13:4) and as "ministers" (v. 6), who can be expected to offer "praise" for the believers' civic obedience (v. 3). The problem is acute: in a scenario where first-century Roman authorities—to the best of our historical knowledge—only posed problems

for Christian and Jewish communities, to imagine such language being taken literally is almost to imagine the unimaginable.[32] But in this connection the reading I am offering can be illuminating. First, Paul's deeming the magistrate a "servant of God" (θεοῦ . . . διάκονος, Rom 13:4) can once again be explained with reference to a narrative of exile. While the epithet is normally predicated of the patriarchs (Abraham, Gen 26:24; Moses, e.g., Num 12:7, Jos 1:2; and David, 2 Sam 7:5), as well as the prophets (e.g., Isa 20:3; 2 Kgs 14:25), it does not go unnoticed that God also calls the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar "my servant" (Jer 25:8–9; 27:6–8; 43:10). On this comparison, Paul is implying that the role once played by Nebuchadnezzar finds its continuation in the office of the Roman magistrate. For Paul's readers, the ethical implications of such an analogy would be clear enough. Even if Nebuchadnezzar was God's servant in the sense that he was instrumental in achieving God's purposes for Israel, this does not imply the granting of a moral free pass either to the Babylonian king or to the emperor in Rome.

But this still leaves unexplained why Paul would go so far—certainly farther than necessary—as to call the magistrates "ministers" (λειτουργοί, Rom 13:6), a term with quasi-cultic connotations (Neh 10:40; Ps 103:21; Isa 61:6).[33] Nor does this explain how Paul expected the Roman believers through their obedience to obtain the "praise" (ἔπαινον) of these officials (v. 3). It is here, I suspect, that Paul is thinking eschatologically, having in mind Isa 60:3, 6–10:

> Nations will come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your dawn. . . . They shall bring gold and frankincense, and shall proclaim the *praise* (ותהלת) of the LORD. All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered to you, the rams of Nebaioth shall *minister to you* (ישרתונך); they shall come up with acceptance on my altar, and I will glorify my glorious house. Who are these that fly like a cloud, and like doves to their windows? For the coastlands shall wait for me, the ships of Tarshish first, to bring your sons from far, their silver and gold with them, for the name of the LORD your God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because he has glorified you. Foreigners shall build up your walls, and their kings shall *minister to you* (ישרתונך); for in my wrath I smote you, but in my favor I have had mercy on you. (Isa 60:6–10)

32 Elliott and Reasoner, *Documents and Images*, catalogue fifteen cases of religious intolerance in Rome (from 429 BCE to 64 CE), including three significant actions directed against the Jews in the first half of the first century CE.

33 Attempts (by Dunn, Cranfield) to downplay the liturgical overtones in this choice of words are ultimately unconvincing.

Isaiah's vision concerns the eschatological age in which God's wrath has been spent and the rulers of the Gentiles will come to Israel in order to declare the Lord's praise. Not only so, but these same rulers shall "minister," again, in a kind of cultic sense. Accordingly, when Paul promises praise (Rom 13:3), he has no expectation that his Roman audience will elicit commendation from their magistrates simply on the basis of their good behavior. Rather, the point is that believers at Rome should submit to their "captors" because this is God's appointed course of action for his people as they await the eschatological moment. At that eschatological moment, God's people will be rewarded with praise (Rom 2:29; 1 Cor 4:5; Eph 1:6, 12, 14), the long-awaited destiny of Israel (Deut 26:19; Isa 60:18; Rom 2:10).

The last oddity to be resolved is the structural *non sequitur* allegedly posed by Rom 13:1–7. How might our reading of this passage shape our understanding of the passage within the broader epistle? One could do much worse than submit that the passage belongs snugly within a much larger section beginning with Rom 9:1, where Paul begins to explore Israel's exile, which involves at a deep level the complex interaction of Jew and Gentile, touched on ever so slightly by Habakkuk. This discussion continues for several chapters before culminating briefly in the doxology of 11:33–36. As instructions for cultic life in the new temple economy (12:1), Rom 12:1–13 is now especially relevant in light of the Jerusalem temple's correspondingly limited significance in the face of exile. Next, 12:14–21 takes up the issue of enemies (a fixed feature for the people of God in exile); Rom 13:1–7 then serves as a particular instantiation of such enemies. The flow of thought is seamless.

6 Conclusion and Implications

In this essay, in celebration of Stanley Porter and indeed in dialogue with his own essay on Rom 13:1–7, I have suggested that this passage be read against the backdrop of Habakkuk and the wider biblical story of exile.[34] This conclusion has both negative and positive implications. As for the former, it simply will not do to maintain that the apostle is drawing on standard Hellenistic categories, as if for Paul "the rulers" and "the ruled" were but faceless entities in an exercise of moral abstraction.[35] Nor will it do to suppose that Paul conceives of the Roman magistrates as operating by some "creational" mandate.[36]

34 Porter, "Romans 13:1–7."

35 Contra, e.g., Blumenfeld, *Political Paul*; Bailey, "Paul's Political Paraenesis."

36 Contra Stein, "Argument of Romans 13:1–7."

Thus, if one wishes to validate existent political powers or systems, Rom 13 is one passage to which one *cannot* legitimately turn. Although such authorities may indeed have been "established by God," Paul's concern has nothing to do with creationally-rooted ontology of political office. Quite the contrary; by obliquely identifying the Roman authorities with the ruthless Babylonians, the author of our epistle offers a stinging check to the political powerbrokers of his day—and by extension all their sword-bearing successors. Romans does not imply the inherent moral legitimacy of established political structures (much less the ideologies they espouse), but, quite the opposite, implies their inherently moral instability and the necessity of thoughtful Christian resistance (Rom 12:2).

Positively, Paul is concerned that believers in Rome adopt an appropriately nuanced posture as it negotiates life under those who are a "law unto themselves." In continuity with the ethic of the antecedent Jesus movement, Paul is reaffirming the non-violent goals of the messianic movement he serves. One potentially live option for the first-century Roman believers, an option that had seriously been entertained and exercised in previous and later Jewish messianic movements, was the path of violence. In part, Rom 13:1–7 was written so as to encourage the path of peace.[37] In applying an eschatological lens to Judaism's latest "Babylon," Paul is inviting his fellow sufferers at Rome to understand themselves and their Roman overlords as, *mututatis mutandi*, recapitulating the Habakkukan narrative and the Habakkukan hope in their own lives. The invitation is as relevant today as in Paul's day.[38]

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37 As argued by the late Marcus Borg, "New Context for Romans XIII."

38 What all this means for Paul's other citation of Hab 2:4a (Gal 3:2) is a good question, but perhaps can wait for a separate study.

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CHAPTER 23

The Apostle and the Doctor: Lloyd-Jones on Romans

Stephen Westerholm

In a recent review of a volume on modern interpretations of Romans, I. Howard Marshall commented on one notable omission from the discussion:

> If we ask who has been the most influential interpreter of Romans in the church in the twentieth century, one strong candidate is David Martyn Lloyd-Jones. You do not hear about him in academic circles. Quite simply, he was the finest preacher and expositor of Romans in the evangelical wing of the church, and John Calvin and Martin Luther will have been the major influences upon him. He did not always get it right, but of the breadth of his influence in the U.K. there can be no doubt.[1]

Lloyd-Jones was minister at Westminster Chapel in London from 1939 until 1968.[2] Over the last twelve-and-a-half years of his ministry (October 7, 1955 to March 1, 1968), he preached a series of 372 sermons on Romans on Friday evenings, October to May, to "five or six hundred" eager listeners.[3] The series—and his ministry at the Chapel—ended abruptly after a sermon on Romans 14:17 because of ill health, though Lloyd-Jones was able to devote time in his retirement to editing these sermons for publication. After his death in 1981, the work was continued by his wife and daughter, assisted by others; the fourteenth and final volume in the series (on Rom 14:1–17) was published in 2003.[4]

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1 Marshall, Review of *Modern Interpretations of Romans*.

2 From 1926 to 1939, he had served as minister at Sandfields, Aberavon in Wales.

3 Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 80.

4 Volumes in the series were published from 1970 until 2003 by Banner of Truth Publishers. According to the preface to the final volume, sales of individual volumes had long since passed a million (a figure, we are told, that does not even include sales of volumes published by Baker Book House in the United States from 1970 to 1997). The order of their publication did not follow the order in which the sermons were preached (e.g., the first volume to be published covered Rom 3:20—4:25). For purposes of this paper, however, volume numbers follow the latter sequence: volume 1 thus covers the sermons on Rom 1:1–32; vol. 2 covers 2:1—3:20; vol. 3 = 3:20—4:25; vol. 4 = 5:1–21; vol. 5 = 6:1–23; vol. 6 = 7:1—8:4; vol. 7 = 8:5–17; vol. 8 = 8:17–39; vol. 9 = 9:1–33; vol. 10 = 10:1–21; vol. 11 = 11:1–36; vol. 12 = 12:1–21; vol. 13 = 13:1–14; vol. 14 = 14:1–17. References to the volumes are given throughout this paper by volume

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"In his day, Lloyd-Jones was probably the most influential and widely quoted evangelical in Britain";[5] to this day, his writings are highly recommended reading among those touched by the much-discussed revival of Reformed theology[6]—a revival in which (and in the interest in these circles in the works of Puritan theologians) he played a decisive role. He is, moreover, widely credited with reviving expository preaching, and must himself be ranked among the great preachers of the twentieth century.[7] For many readers interested in theology today, Martyn Lloyd-Jones needs no introduction. Still, it is undoubtedly the case that "the Doctor"[8] has few readers *outside* the circles in which he is revered[9]—so there is a point, after all, in drawing attention to a remarkable treatment of Romans.

1 Sermons, Not Lectures

Lloyd-Jones repeatedly insisted that his Friday night addresses on Romans were sermons, not lectures (4. Preface, 301; 9.25; 11.148).[10] Sermons differ from lectures in their purpose, mode of delivery, and content; and in each respect, it is clear that Scripture must be *preached*.[11]

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number and page, with a dot between them, so as not to confuse them with Scripture references, which separate chapter and verse with a colon.

5 Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 1.

6 Cf. Coffey, "Lloyd-Jones and the Protestant Past," 323–25.

7 Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 48, 225, 232. Emil Brunner found in the sermons of Lloyd-Jones "reformed preaching at its finest." Kendall, "Foreword," 2.

8 Lloyd-Jones abandoned a highly successful career as a physician to enter the ministry (for which, in fact, he had no formal training, though his gifts as a preacher were immediately evident); the transition was much publicized and sufficiently remarkable in itself to attract many to hear him preach.

9 Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 195–96, 233.

10 Cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Preaching and Preachers*, 71–99. Along similar lines, he insisted that the Friday night meetings in which he preached on Scripture were "services," occasions "for worship. I am one of those who do not recognize any consideration of the Word of God which is not accompanied by worship. The Bible is not an ordinary book—it is God's Book. . . . Therefore, every time we consider or study the Bible we are, of necessity, worshipping" (1.1; cf. 14.212).

11 Lloyd-Jones is well known for his emphasis on the exalted role of preaching in the life of the church; see the nine sermons on Rom 10:14–17 (10.252–355); also his *Preaching and Preachers*.

Romans was written, not as a theological treatise for "experts" and "professors," but to build up Christians in their faith. Appropriately, then, it is treated in sermons that serve the same purpose (1.1).

Most of us have heard "warm" lectures and "cold" sermons, but Lloyd-Jones thinks we naturally associate warmth (engagement?) with sermons and coldness (detachment?) with lectures. It follows, then, that Scripture is to be preached (not lectured on) because only those moved to the depth of their being really grasp its truths. "A man who can lecture on this does not really appreciate what it means. If you know anything about this you are bound to preach!" (5.288).[12]

Like lecturing, preaching is concerned with enabling listeners to understand a subject intellectually: that must be first (9.25). *Unlike* lecturing, preaching must then proceed to "apply" what has been understood to the hearer: "the Bible must be preached; it must be applied; it must be brought home" (2.14).[13] Scripture was not given to us so that we could pass examinations in biblical knowledge, but so that we might have "food for our souls" and be brought "to a deeper and a greater experimental knowledge of God . . . and the riches of God's grace" (9.26). The message of Scripture, therefore, can only be conveyed through preaching, since "you have not finished preaching until you have applied your teaching" (2.137).[14]

Scripture itself, as Lloyd-Jones reads it, is made up of doctrine interwoven with application. In the nature of the case, one cannot apply what has not

12 "I have heard people handling the Word of God and yet doing it as if they were teaching Shakespeare or geography or history, doing it very well and cleverly, but you felt it was outside them" (1.209).

13 Readers of the Bible, too, must "stop and say, 'What does this say to me? Where do I come in?'" (2.14). "Allow the Scripture to search you, otherwise it can be very dangerous" (2.148). In reading the history of the Jews in the Old Testament, one should say "I am the Jews"; in reading of Pharisees and scribes, one should say, "But I am the Pharisees and the Scribes, this is speaking to me." "That is the only profitable way in which you read the Bible. If you detach yourself and just regard it in a purely academic way, you are missing the whole point; you are turning the Bible into a textbook of history or into the account of some ancient philosophy" (11.149; cf. 2.10).

14 A purely academic or theoretical approach to Scripture "has been the curse of theological seminaries. Men who have gone in full of life have come out dead, and all because of this academic interest in the Scriptures!" (2.14; cf. 14.215). Lloyd-Jones did distinguish between preaching that is primarily evangelistic, that which is "instructional teaching but mainly experimental," and "a more purely instructional type of preaching" (*Preaching and Preachers,* 63). The *sermons* on Romans belonged to the third of these categories.

been learned, so the teaching, of necessity, comes first (5.111):[15] "Scripture always starts with truth, not experience. The first thing that Christians must therefore be clear about is what they believe. . . . Our position . . . depends on certain great objective truths and facts" (10.100–101). Fittingly, then, Romans is "almost exclusively doctrinal" from 1:16 until the end of chapter 11 (12.2–3). The very first verse "is full of vital doctrine" (1.50); in the third and fourth verses "we have in a most amazing, astonishing manner a perfect summary and synopsis of Christian doctrine" (1.102). In "the little word 'and'" in Rom 1:7 ("Grace to you and peace from God our Father, *and* the Lord Jesus Christ"), Lloyd-Jones sees "that the Lord Jesus Christ is equal to God. . . . Paul is here declaring . . . the whole amazing doctrine of the Person of Christ, the only begotten Son of God, co-equal with the Father" (1.175). When Paul speaks of the mutual benefit that would attend his visit to believers in Rome, Lloyd-Jones finds in his words "the whole doctrine of the nature of the Christian church introduced" (1.235, referring to Rom 1:11–12). Even in sections of the letter where Paul deals primarily with practical application, "doctrine keeps on coming in" (13.210); "doctrine is peeping out at us everywhere, and profound doctrine at that" (1.230).[16] Yet, though the New Testament epistles consistently begin with doctrine, they always follow it with exhortation (1.169). Indeed, "there is nothing in the Scripture which is not always of practical application" (1.47).

In approaching Martyn Lloyd-Jones as an interpreter of Romans, it is thus important to bear in mind that we are reading sermons, not lectures, delivered by a minister of the gospel (and one without theological training, at that!)

15 "It is only the people who really know and understand the doctrine who can live the life" (6.332). Lloyd-Jones (like many others) summarized the substance of Paul's exhortations to believers in Rome in the words "Be what you are!" (i.e., live in ways consistent with the reality of your life in Christ) (5.64–65, 262; 12.102). The point in the exhortation is lost where there is no understanding of this reality.

16 The preoccupation with finding doctrine in Scripture is, of course, typical of the theological tradition to which Lloyd-Jones belonged, and some will regret the apparent insensitivity to the variety of ways in which, in addition to communicating (doctrinal!) information, the language of Scripture functions (cf. Vanhoozer, *First Theology*, 151–58, 159–203). For Lloyd-Jones's view that the purpose of revelation is to convey factual information, note the following remarks: "Revelation means making known certain facts—giving the information; inspiration is that which controls the statement and the expression of those facts" (1.77). Lloyd-Jones understands the early chapters of Genesis along these lines: the story there told is one of "literal actual fact and history" (4.181). Its historicity finds confirmation in what Paul writes about Adam in Rom 5:12–19 (4.181, 195–97; 8.56). Lloyd-Jones consistently and firmly rejects the "theory of evolution" for that reason (1.388; 4.181; 8.55; 10.203–4).

rather than a biblical scholar; it is nonetheless fair to ask to what extent the sermons are informed by biblical scholarship. References to the Greek text of the epistle are relatively rare; but they do occur, and in a way that shows that Lloyd-Jones was at least able to make use of more scholarly commentators and of standard Greek-English lexicons.[17] At one point he clearly refers to Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (*TDNT*) without mentioning it by name (1.38–39); the work of the grammarian A. T. Robertson is cited explicitly (7.313). Tellingly, Lloyd-Jones regards the two greatest commentators on Romans to be Charles Hodge and Robert Haldane, and insists that he departs from their readings only with hesitation (4.12; 5.17, 18): they were "both great Christian men, great Reformed teachers, men of profound understanding and learning" (14.244–45). Calvin, of course, is regularly referred to as well, though at times with the reminder that he was no Pope and the observation that mistakes in his commentaries are common (5.151; 7.80; 9.18; 13.139). Many other commentators are mentioned, though perhaps not in a way that would suggest they were perused on every passage. Lloyd-Jones shows no reluctance in disagreeing with C. H. Dodd or William Barclay (3.10; 9.169–71; 11.253; Barclay's popularity among some evangelicals he finds inexplicable [9.53, 76]). Among other commentators mentioned, we may note Henry Alford ("a great commentator of the last century" [8.258]), F. F. Bruce, William Hendriksen ("excellent" [11.219]), John Murray, Anders Nygren, and Sanday and Headlam ("regarded by most scholars as the best commentators on [Romans]" [5.95]).

Lloyd-Jones preached from the Authorized (King James) Version, but felt free to criticize its renderings (e.g., 1.367, 373; 3.98) and to note that its "Elizabethan English" can be misleading today (1.377; 11.209). He reminded listeners that those responsible for the Revised Standard Version were all "liberal in their theology" (1.196); but that did not prevent him from citing it (1.156; 3.216) and noting where it, and not the Authorized Version, correctly renders Paul's Greek (3.98). The older Revised Version, that of James Moffatt (whom "no one would charge with being an evangelical" [3.61]), the Amplified New Testament ("generally . . . excellent" [9.124]), and the New English Bible are mentioned as well.

For "higher criticism"[18] he had no use. But he was careful to distinguish it from textual criticism (6.258; 9.80; 11.18–19), was well aware that early

17 He refers at several points to the lexicons of Arndt-Gingrich (BAGD) and Grimm-Thayer (e.g., 7.170, 255, 378).

18 Higher criticism "denies a unique inspiration," and treats the Bible "like any other book" (9.80); it represents "the introduction of man's mind and opinion and philosophy; man deciding whether a thing should or should not be [in the text] according to whether or not he agrees with it" (14.95; cf. also 11.151).

manuscripts of the New Testament differ from each other (4.11, 30; 8.162; 14.95), and recognized the importance of getting as accurate a reading as possible (9.80). The King James Version, he noted, is at times not based on the best reading (6.258, 281).

2 Expository—and Topical

How does one preach 372 sermons on Romans 1:1—14:17?[19] Lloyd-Jones speaks of those who jokingly suggested to him that Paul himself would have been astonished at what he had gotten out of the apostle's letters. With the utter seriousness that characterized all his ministry, Lloyd-Jones would have none of it: Paul would rather be "amazed at the *little* that most people, and I with them, get out of his great epistles" (1.227; cf. 12.2). Paul's letters were only a "kind of synopsis" of what he would have taken months to expound, had he been present with those to whom he wrote. The preacher must not "give a synopsis of the synopsis," but "draw out" what the apostle "condensed" (12.2). "In other words, our consideration of the Epistle to the Romans must be a very long one" (1.226). That, in sooth, it was.

Lloyd-Jones generally began by giving a "bird's eye view" of a longer portion in the letter (or even of the letter in its entirety) before focusing on a particular verse or part of a verse. "The right method is to do the two things—first, the general conception, and then the working out in detail, with a final synthesis again of all that has emerged in the detailed analysis" (1.318; cf. 2.1; 4.184). And, to be sure, when he engaged in detailed study, he could attend to *every* detail: as noted above, he found great significance in the "and" that connects Paul's reference to God the Father with that to the Lord Jesus Christ (Rom 1:7). Such is his view of inspiration that every word in the text is deemed important (cf. 1.50, 60, 102; 5.169), and extended portions of the sermons are frequently given to word studies. On the other hand, the sermons are not "padded" with stories and illustrations: in the popular desire for the latter (or even for films!) and the common distaste for proper preaching and long services, he saw evidence of the church's increasing conformity to the world (12.80; cf. 5.242).

19 Dr. Gerald Griffiths, my pastor for years at Calvary Church in Toronto, tells me of a letter received by a woman in his former congregation at Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London from a woman who attended Westminster Chapel. Having heard four sermons from Lloyd-Jones on the first verse of Ephesians, she wrote that they anticipated hearing another shortly on "the full stop."

Clearly, the serious conviction with which his (lengthy) sermons[20] were delivered commanded the serious attention of Lloyd-Jones's listeners.

The art of interpretation, Ben Meyer once wrote, has a "triangular structure," with three "indispensable" components: the interpreter, the text to be interpreted (*Sprache*), and that to which the text refers (*Sache*).[21] He went on to note that interpretations may differ significantly, "even in kind, in accord with how the interpreter distributes his attention, conation, and care between text and referent, respectively." To illustrate the point, he discussed "two superior interpreters" of Gen 22, Søren Kierkegaard and Gerhard von Rad: the latter's interpretation is "weighted towards the text"; Kierkegaard (in his *Fear and Trembling*) tells us "of innocence and dread, of faith and hope against hope, of the reasonable and the absurd, ethics and divine madness."[22]

The observation is astute, but the division proposed between those who attend primarily to the text and those who focus on that to which it refers cannot be applied to Lloyd-Jones. Details of the text were addressed in his sermons; yet the focus lay on its subject matter. For that reason, Lloyd-Jones was seldom content to note simply what the text of his sermon has to say on a topic; citing the slogan that Scripture must interpret Scripture, he regularly went on to speak of other Pauline texts that treat the same subject, then relevant texts from the rest of the New Testament or even the whole Bible. The mention of prayer in Rom 8:26 elicited what must essentially be considered a topical sermon on the subject. The reference in 8:15 to the "Spirit of adoption" provided the subject matter for multiple sermons. Paul's admonition to "be subject unto the higher powers" (13:1) likewise occasioned a series of sermons on the relation both between the church and the state and between the state and the individual believer. We should scarcely be surprised, then, that the task of expounding what all of Scripture has to say on every subject touched upon in Paul's letter to the Romans filled fourteen volumes of sermons.

And, of course, we must keep in mind Lloyd-Jones's insistence that whatever truth is conveyed must be applied. If he gave little space in his sermons to stories and illustrations, the same cannot be said of the implications for life that he drew from his texts; the practicality and wisdom of these parts of his sermons have been treasured by listeners and readers alike. And to even this we must add the penchant he derived from the Puritans for spelling out, for example, the *ten* tests by which we can know whether or not we are "sons

20 Lloyd-Jones's sermons "were usually fifty or more minutes long" (Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 31).

21 Meyer quotes Luther (as cited by Gadamer): "One who does not understand *the things* is quite unable to draw the meaning from *the words*" ("Tricky Business," 743).

22 Meyer, "Tricky Business," 743–45.

of God" (7.235, referring to Rom 8:14), the *nine* tests by which we can know whether we are among those "called according to [God's] purpose" (8.259, referring to Rom 8:28), the various characteristics of false zeal (10.20, referring to Rom 10:2), and the tests for telling whether our "hearing" is "a true hearing that has led to faith" (10.333, referring to Rom 10:17).

How could any treatment of Romans take on the proportions of Lloyd-Jones's fourteen volumes of sermons? As a final factor, we may note that he felt it his duty to warn his congregation, in season and out of season, of what he perceived as false teaching (7.92; cf. 3.114); and he was wont to make sweeping statements about what he perceived as pernicious developments in the church or society at large, accompanied by an opinion about their probable or undoubted source. He found, it must be said, abundant material for such warnings and reflections.[23]

3 Theologically Controlled Preaching

Søren Kierkegaard once deplored any confusion between a genius and an apostle: however intriguing we may find the work of a genius, it carries no authority, whereas an apostle speaks with divine authority. To speak of an apostle as a genius is in fact to undermine that authority, to suggest that the apostle is worth a hearing for some reason other than that he is divinely commis-

23 Lloyd-Jones's claim to dislike "nothing . . . so much as having to be controversial" (10.298) was not self-evidently true to all observers. Certainly, he was aware of the danger of "too much polemic" and warned young ministers (and even T. T. Shields!) against it (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Preaching and Preachers*, 258–61; Murray, *First Forty Years*, 271–74). In the series on Romans, Catholicism, theological liberalism, and an ecumenical movement indifferent to doctrine were predictable and frequent targets; and Lloyd-Jones's well-known insistence that evangelicals should leave denominations tolerant of liberal theology is repeatedly expressed (10.302–3; 11.76–77, 158). Evangelical targets included dispensationalism (e.g., 3.20, 47; 9.300; and, specifically, notes in the Scofield Bible [4.327; 6.282; 8.209–10; 10.246–51]); a "carnal" preoccupation with prophecy (8.94, 116; 11.2; Lloyd-Jones himself was an amillennialist [8.83–85], and dismissive of the notion of a "preliminary rapture of the saints" [7.177; 12.248]); "believism" (i.e., assent to the truth of the gospel without repentance or obedience [5.296–97; 7.210–11; 10.335]); evangelization that focuses on Christ as the answer to people's *perceived* needs rather than as the One through whom sinners can be reconciled to God (1.363; 4.8–9; 11.129), or that applies pressure to get "decisions" (5.214; 10.130); and a glib, superficial religiosity that lacks both the "fear" and the "joy of the Lord" (1.363; 13.280).

sioned to convey a message that commands (whether or not it captures) our attention—and our obedience.[24]

Doctor Martyn missed the memo. For him, Paul's letter to the Romans is the result of the happy confluence of divine inspiration and "perhaps the greatest mind and intellect that the world has ever known" (1.186).[25] After all,

> inspiration is a very active process; it makes use of the different natural faculties and powers of the writers whom God has chosen. . . . Inspiration means that God controls the man and his faculties in a way that ensures that the message He wants to give is communicated to others without any error (13.165; cf. 1.82; 8.159).

What we have in Scripture is thus

> the complete revelation that God has given to man concerning His truth. . . . It is the only authority. It is our only rule and standard, and we must abide by its teaching in every respect. My message must always come from the Bible, and from nowhere else (1.91–92).

If one's "message must always come from the Bible," it follows that one should *not* preach theology *per se*; on the other hand (as we have seen), Lloyd-Jones belonged to a theological tradition that read Scripture in the first place for its doctrinal content and placed great emphasis on true doctrine. If sermons are not to be used to preach theology, they should nonetheless be theologically "controlled" (10.140).[26] In other words, believing that the doctrine or doctrines conveyed by a particular text, when taken together with the doctrines revealed through other passages, provide the basis for a coherent systematic theology, the preacher is to show how the (discerned) part of that theology fits into the (reconstructed) whole.[27] That was certainly Lloyd-Jones's own way of proceeding—and his recommendation that people read "any work by

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24 Kierkegaard, "The Difference between a Genius and an Apostle."

25 The mind of the apostle was "very much greater" than that of Beethoven or Shakespeare (5.301; cf. 1.262; 5.248). Paul was, moreover, "a mighty debater" who has "no equal in handling a matter of controversy" (3.174; 6.16). Nor has he ever been matched as a "logician" (10.223; cf. 1.257); and he was an "incomparable teacher" (9.117). Yet he combined "gigantic" intellect with remarkable delicacy, sensitivity, and tenderness (1.248; 9.92); "his heart was as big as his brain" (1.186; cf. 4.283). As "a true gentleman" (9.251), he was also, presumably, an honorary Brit.

26 Cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Preaching and Preachers*, 64–67.

27 Lloyd-Jones, *Preaching and Preachers*, 66–67.

any great theologian such as Hodge or Warfield or Calvin" (13.211) gives a fair idea of the theology that shaped his preaching. There are, nonetheless, some surprises.

To his credit, Lloyd-Jones was very aware of the tendency (the *temptation*) of theologians to speculate beyond what Scripture warrants (4.218),[28] and to find in Scripture only what is congenial to their systems. He warns against coming to Scripture "full of our prejudice," picking out the texts we like and ignoring the others. There is a terrible danger that we read the Scriptures "not so much to be enlightened and to be taught, as to confirm our own theories" (2.8–9). Whether one sees oneself as Calvinist *or* Arminian, one will encounter difficult texts (2.9);[29] these must not be explained away, but dealt with honestly and squarely (9.140, 169).

> We must come to every particular statement of the Scripture with an open mind; we must try to discover what the Scripture is saying, because no system is perfect, and at particular points even the best system may have certain defects (6.178).

Such acknowledgements are certainly refreshing, even if they do not, in the end, temper the assurance with which Lloyd-Jones advances his own convictions—or, for that matter, his view that Arminians (though "they can be true Christians") are "very muddle-headed" (10.138). No doubt the degree to which one sympathizes with Lloyd-Jones's Calvinism will determine the degree to which one believes he measures up to his own prescriptions.

And so, to a few particulars.[30] Lloyd-Jones reasserts the Calvinist view that we must distinguish between God's "general" or "universal" call, by which

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28 Theologians "tend to go too far, and to press their own logic. Natural ability and reason begin to insinuate themselves and they speculate beyond the teaching of the Word" (4.218). Lloyd-Jones's own caution in this matter is reflected in his refusal to speculate about the eternal destiny of those who die in infancy (4.249) and in the care he exercises in speaking about the destiny of those who have never heard the gospel (2.135–36; 10.260–63).

29 Cf. 6.190: "Whatever your view of this section [Rom 7:7–25] there will be particular statements which will trouble you, and there comes the danger, the tendency just to twist things a little, or modify them, in order to make them fit in. We must try to avoid that. But all are in trouble."

30 Among the Reformed positions adopted by Lloyd-Jones that cannot be discussed here are his references to a *single* covenant in Scripture (what appear—and are said—to be *different* covenants are in fact repetitions of the single covenant, each emphasizing one of its different *aspects*) (3.157; 9.54–55); and his belief that believers are subject to, and bound

salvation is offered to all, and his "effectual" (i.e., irresistible) call, by which, through the working of the Holy Spirit, those predestined to salvation are brought to saving faith (1.161–62; 8.188). He rejects the "hyper-Calvinist" belief that the gospel ought not to be freely proclaimed lest it be offered to the non-elect (2.55; 8.188; 9.285).

He does not know why only some will be saved; and "I am not meant to know!" (9.244).[31] He is certain that nothing in us determines whether or not we are saved (9.292). Though the predestination of some—the elect—to salvation inevitably means the damnation of all others, Lloyd-Jones resists any suggestion of double predestination, which he believes has no basis in Scripture (8.266–67).[32] All humankind is damned by its participation in Adam's sin, and all who reach the age of moral responsibility are culpable as well for their own transgressions. They are damned, therefore, not because God has so predetermined their destiny, but simply because sin has brought them under God's wrath and condemnation, and God leaves them in that condition. Predestination itself is a purely positive process, by which God produces—from among those rightfully damned—a people for himself (9.131–36). Thus, election accounts for the salvation of the elect, but the damnation of the lost is their own responsibility (9.285; 11.3).

Admittedly, there are texts that speak of God's will for *everyone* to be saved. The issue arises for the interpreter of Romans in 2:4, which speaks of how God's goodness is meant to bring unbelievers to repentance. Again, to his credit—and because he is wont to treat the *subject matter* introduced by a text—Lloyd-Jones brings into the discussion other texts (2 Pet 3:9; Ezek 33:11; Matt 23:37) that speak as well of God's desire for the salvation of the wicked. After dismissing as too facile the explanation "that God has shown His goodness to the unbeliever [merely] to render him without a single excuse," Lloyd-Jones concludes that we must distinguish between "what God desires" and "what God wills and brings to pass." "God wishes that all men should come to repentance and to salvation, but it is equally clear that He does not will it" (2.52–55; cf. 9.216).

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to keep, the moral law of God (summarized in the Ten Commandments), including the Sabbath (10.56; cf. 6.26–27; 14.81).

31 Nor does he think the subject of predestination should be brought up in an evangelistic service; it is a doctrine for believers only (8.199).

32 That Rom 9:22–23 speaks in the active voice of how God prepared "vessels of mercy" (i.e., the elect) for glory, but only in the passive voice of "vessels of wrath *fitted to destruction*" indicates that God is responsible for the salvation of the former but not the destruction of the latter (9.213).

> I do not pretend to be able to put these things into such intellectual order that no difficulties are left. There are difficulties. But, my dear friends, we are talking about God and we are but human beings! . . . There, it seems to me, is the only answer—He wishes the salvation of all, but He does not will it, for what God wills He brings to pass (2.58).

For Calvin himself, the sovereignty of God necessarily requires divine predetermination of everything that humans do: "nothing happens except what is knowingly and willingly decreed by [God]."[33] It follows that God planned from eternity even the sinful deeds of human beings, including the original sin of Adam (*Institutes,* 3.23.8). But though human intentions in sinning are evil, God's intentions—to use human sinfulness for his glory—are good; he thus has no share in the *wickedness* of what they do, even though the deeds themselves are part of his eternal plan (*Institutes,* 2.4.2). The active role that God thus plays in human sinfulness leaves, in Calvin's mind, no place for distinguishing between what God *wills* and what he merely *permits*: "they babble and talk absurdly who, in place of God's providence, substitute bare permission—as if God sat in a watchtower awaiting chance events, and his judgments thus depended upon human will" (*Institutes,* 1.18.1).

The subtle distinction by which God is deemed to have designed sinful deeds while avoiding responsibility for their sinfulness is simply not broached by Lloyd-Jones, who is content to reject outright any suggestion "that God has created sin in order that He might show forth His own grace and mercy and power to save."

> God is not the Author of evil. God is the eternal antithesis to evil. I say it with reverence, God cannot create evil. God could not have created sin for any purpose. Sin, I say, is always rebellion against God, disobedience to God, the eternal antithesis to God. . . . [This] is what the Apostle is actually saying; that sin and unbelief, not created by God, have entered the world and that it is entirely man's responsibility for having listened to the devil (11.215, referring to Rom 11:32).[34]

It follows, in Lloyd-Jones's view, that God has allowed human beings a measure of freedom—which they have then used to commit evil (11.216). Adam "had complete free will and complete freedom of choice" when he chose to rebel

33 Calvin, *Institutes,* 1.16.3.

34 Isaiah 45:7 ("I create evil") simply means that God creates the evil consequences that follow human sin, thus demonstrating that "He is in control of it all" (11.215).

against God (9.202). Furthermore, Lloyd-Jones's concern to dissociate God from any part in human sinfulness inevitably means that (unlike Calvin) he distinguishes between what God *permits* and what God *wills* to happen.

> God in His infinite wisdom has permitted evil and sin. . . . This is not to say that God created evil. God permits it and then overrules it; He can take it and bend it to His own will and use it for His own great and wonderful purposes (11.239).

> Man's history [might better be described] as the history that God permits. We are not machines or automata, and God allows us to do certain things, but always under His ultimate control. We call this aspect of God's will His "permissive will" (13.227).[35]

Lloyd-Jones is traditionally Reformed in his understanding of justification.[36] The whole point of the gospel is to answer Job's question, "How shall a man be just with God?" (Job 9:2). The answer is that God "provides us with the very righteousness that He demands." Christ satisfied the law of God on our behalf, both by perfectly fulfilling it himself so that (positively) his righteousness can be "imputed" to us, and (negatively) by bearing, in his death on the cross, our guilt and punishment—"the penalty meted out by the law upon all sin" (1.300–302). The righteousness God has so provided is received by faith in Jesus Christ: faith does not constitute *our* righteousness (nor is it "a 'lighter demand' that God now makes of us" instead of the heavier demand of the law), but merely "the instrument by which we receive [God's] righteousness" (1.305–6).

The term "justification" itself refers to the legal or forensic act by which God declares sinners righteous. The declaration makes no actual change in the

35 Lloyd-Jones's concern to avoid any suggestion that God creates or promotes evil is reflected as well in his understanding of divine "hardening" (cf. Rom 9:18; 11:7, 25). He sees divine hardening in the first place as God "ceas[ing] to strive with the rebellious," or "giving them up" to the sin that they will not renounce. God at times withdraws his restraining influence from those who are stubborn in their unbelief. In these cases, God "hardens," not in the sense that he actively intervenes to create or increase unbelief, but only in the sense that sinners become more "hardened" in their own unbelief when God leaves them to themselves. Lloyd-Jones allows that some texts go beyond this to speak of a kind of "judicial hardening": as part of his punishment of unbelievers, God hardens them in their unbelief. At no point is God's hardening the *source* of human unbelief; one way or another, God hardens hearts already unbelieving (11.37–40; cf. 9.176).

36 Justification by faith is "the key to everything" (8.411). Any interpretation of Scripture that brings justification by faith into question can immediately be dismissed as false (8.316).

sinner (3.55) (change takes place through regeneration). Though Paul speaks of the "propitiation" of God's wrath in 3:25, it is wrong to say (as, Lloyd-Jones observes, evangelical preachers and hymns are wont to say) that Christ's death brings about a change in God's mind: it is God himself who has "provid[ed] the propitiation in His own Son and by His blood" (3.78; cf. 4.104–5).

Lloyd-Jones sees justification as the great theme of Romans 1–4.[37] He sees the theme of chapters 5–8[38] to be another great Reformed doctrine: here Paul demonstrates "the certainty, fullness and finality of this great salvation. He is giving us a picture of the utter, absolute security of the Christian man" (1.25; cf. 4.3–4).[39] A clear textual basis for this doctrine is found in Rom 5:1–11 and especially 8:28–39; in the light of these (and other) texts, Lloyd-Jones confidently asserts the impossibility of anyone ever "falling from grace" (4.39, 93, 236). "If you are in Christ you are going to glory, and neither sin,[40] nor hell, nor the devil can stand between you and getting there" (4.237).

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37 There is, of course, nothing remarkable in this. He interprets problematic verses in Rom 2 in a way that finds them fully consistent with this larger theme. In Rom 2:6–10, Paul is presenting works, not as the path to righteousness, but as the standard by which people will be judged and condemned (2.93–94). Rom 2:14–15 claims only that Gentiles "have a certain moral sense and a moral consciousness" (Lloyd-Jones does not consider the possibility that Gentile believers are here spoken of), as part of Paul's larger argument that neither Jews nor Gentiles ever live up to the light that they have (2.126). In Rom 2:26, Paul speaks in a purely theoretical and hypothetical way of an uncircumcised person who keeps the law (2.153).

38 Within these chapters, we may simply note that Lloyd-Jones takes Rom 5:12 to be saying that all human beings sinned when Adam sinned, in that he is "our head and representative." "We are all guilty and held guilty in God's sight for the sin of Adam" (4.208, 211; cf. 4.216–17). The baptism of which Paul speaks in Rom 6 is not water baptism (a baptism to which Paul himself appears to assign little significance [5.34, referring to 1 Cor 1:13–17]; cf. Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones,* 70–72) but the spiritual baptism by which God's Spirit baptizes believers into the body of Christ (5.35, referring to 1 Cor 12:13). In Rom 7:7–13, Paul is probably describing how he experienced the period between his Damascus road encounter with Christ and Ananias's coming to him with the comfort of the gospel (6.173–74, referring to Acts 9:8–17). The last half of Rom 7 depicts the experience of one who is convicted of sin, given to see the holiness of the law by the Spirit, and feeling utterly condemned, but who has "not seen the truth clearly even about justification" or been converted (6.255–56).

39 Indeed, Lloyd-Jones sees the same theme continuing in chapters 9–11, where Paul responds to a potential objection: if God's commitment to Israel has not prevented the majority of Jews from a damning unbelief, how can Christians today be sure of the salvation they have been promised? (9.4, 92).

40 True believers who fall into sin are "backsliders"; they can never, in the end, be lost. They are distinguished from those who never were true believers in that they are miserable

The problem,[41] of course, is that "fallen from grace" is a Pauline expression (Gal 5:4), and a host of texts speak of the need for perseverance to the end in faith if one is finally to be saved. In treating such texts, Lloyd-Jones outlines and follows his approach for dealing with apparent contradictions in Scripture.

He starts with the fundamental conviction that there can be no real contradictions in Scripture, since the same Holy Spirit inspired all its parts (4.246; 7.223; 11.140; cf. 9.282). So assured, one turns to *unambiguous* statements in Scripture: in this case, that means (for Lloyd-Jones) the texts on which the doctrine of eternal security is based (11.140–42; 14.189–90). One is left then to find the true interpretation of those texts that seem to contradict the unambiguous texts (but cannot, in fact, do so [8.281]).

Here we can only note a few examples. Galatians 5:3–4 speaks of the consequences that will follow if the Galatians should get circumcised (Christ will be of no benefit to them; they will have "fallen from grace"); Lloyd-Jones takes this to mean that they will have departed ("fallen") from the *teaching* of salvation by grace, not that they themselves will have so fallen (4.39–40, 353; 10.66; 14.187–88). John 15:6 (Any who do not abide in Christ are cast forth as a branch, gathered, and cast into the fire) is taken to mean that "if a Christian loses living contact with his Lord, he will be useless from the standpoint of service" (11.145; cf. 8.297). In interpreting warnings written to churches of the necessity of perseverance (e.g., 1 Cor 10:1–12; 15:1–2; Col 1:20–23; Heb 3:6, 14), we need to remember that not all who are part of the visible church are true believers; those who do not persevere were never truly born again (8.305). At the same time, the warnings serve as God's means of keeping true believers *from* falling, since they are the ones who take the warnings seriously (14.195–96).

Finally, something should be said of Lloyd-Jones's distinctive understanding of the difference between baptism *by* the Spirit and baptism *with* the Spirit, and of the relation of sanctification to both.

Baptism *by* the Spirit is that which is spoken of in Rom 6 and 1 Cor 12:13. It takes place at the very beginning of the Christian life as the Spirit unites the

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as long as they go on sinning, and in that, in the end, they will inevitably repent and be restored (5.128–31; 7.38; 14.192–93).

41 And Lloyd-Jones recognizes it as such; note the five sermons given largely to a treatment of the problematic texts, 8.263–333. They come up for discussion again at 11.137–46 and 14.186–96. "While I say that these verses can be dealt with and expounded, I am not for a moment suggesting that there are no difficulties in doing so. . . . All honest expositors admit that there are residual problems in interpretation with respect to certain aspects of the teaching of the Bible" (8.276–77).

new believer to Christ, his body, death to sin, and life to God. Apart from *this* baptism, one cannot be a Christian (5.35; 7.314).

Sanctification is a process of growth in holiness that begins at the very moment of justification (5.217, 226) and continues throughout the life of the believer (6.304). Unlike justification, sanctification is not a gift to be received but a task to be acted upon (5.155). It is not "a sudden experience of deliverance [from sin] once and for ever. It cannot be, because sin is going to remain in the body as long as it is mortal" (5.156, alluding to Rom 8:10). Lloyd-Jones dismisses any notion that sanctification takes place through a kind of second conversion experience, one in which one simply "surrenders" and allows Christ "to live his life in you," or "lets go and lets God" in order to be delivered from "all effort and striving" and from living "a defeated life" (5.156–57, 260; cf. 7.93–99). If that were the case, the second half of most of the New Testament epistles—where we are called to action—would be entirely unnecessary (5.157).[42] Believers have already had one vital experience, in which they died to sin and became servants of righteousness. "Everything that is necessary they have already had; their business now is to act upon it" (5.260–61). The New Testament teaching about sanctification can be summed up in the words "Be what you are!" (5.262).

> Most people get into trouble in the living of the Christian life because of their molly-coddling of themselves spiritually. . . . We are called upon to pull ourselves together, to "quit ourselves like men" (5.264).
>
> What most of us need is not a clinic, but to listen to the sergeant major drilling his troops, commanding them, warning them, threatening them, showing them what to do. . . . Let us get rid of the flabby, sentimental ideas, and this morbid interest in ourselves, and our desire simply for something to help us (5.175).

God, who wants to use us in his kingdom, calls on us to take action (5.176–77).

Sanctification is not to be sought through a post-conversion experience. Nonetheless, Lloyd-Jones believes that baptism *with* the Holy Spirit is just such

42 "The Apostle never teaches . . . what is called 'the victorious life.' Nor does he ever give what is known as 'overcoming teaching.' In these teachings we are told that we are miserable because we are failing, because we are falling into certain particular sins, but that we can be happy, we can be delivered, we can live a victorious life, an overcoming life. And then we are told how to obtain an experience that will at once deliver us. . . . We do not receive sanctification in a package, in an experience. No, no, Paul says, in effect, 'You have a grasp of the truth I have been laying before you, therefore work this out'" (13.215–17).

an event. The subject arises because of Paul's reference to receiving the "Spirit of adoption" in Rom 8:15. Lloyd-Jones interprets the verse to mean that *every* believer has known, in some measure, the "spirit of bondage" (i.e., the work of the Holy Spirit in bringing conviction of sin), whereas *some* believers, subsequent to their conversion, receive the "Spirit of adoption."[43] With this latter experience comes the highest form of assurance possible that one is, indeed, a child of God (by "the Spirit of adoption . . . we cry, Abba, Father"). It is, of course, possible to arrive at the assurance that one is God's child simply by applying the tests of true faith found in Scripture (including Rom 8:14). Such assurance, based on logical *deductions*, though real, falls short of the inner assurance that accompanies the presence of the "Spirit of adoption" (7.272, 302). Lloyd-Jones goes on to identify the receiving of this Spirit as the "most essential aspect" of baptism *with* the Spirit,[44] and to identify it with the "sealing" of the Spirit (7.300).[45] None of the spiritual "gifts" necessarily attends its reception (7.328). It is itself, however, a *gift* of the Spirit; we can do nothing to produce it either in ourselves or in others (12.220–21), and those who seek the experience for the sake of the experience are not likely to receive it (7.334). It is appropriate nonetheless to long for it, and pray for it, while living a life of obedience (7.282). The experience "leads to great joy, and love to God" (7.328); though promoting sanctification, the two must not be confused (7.301, 370–72, 381–83).

4 Conclusions

There is neither place nor point here in evaluating Lloyd-Jones's interpretation of particular passages. As even his authorized biographer concedes, "Precise

43 Lloyd-Jones suspects that in the early days of the church, most of those converted received this "baptism" *almost* at the time of their believing (7.333; cf. 7.298). That, in his mind, explains why the New Testament epistles, written to believers, lack exhortations to seek this experience: it is taken for granted that early readers already knew it (7.385).

44 This Lloyd-Jones sees as different from the baptism *by* the Spirit that is necessarily experienced by every believer; not the Spirit himself, but Christ is the one who baptizes *with* the Spirit (7.315; cf. John 1:33). Lloyd-Jones deems it "ridiculous" and "false to experience" to say "that every individual Christian believer experiences this witness of the Spirit with his spirit" (7.310), though it is indeed something meant for all, and possible for all (7.308, 332).

45 According to one observer, the dubious nature of Lloyd-Jones's exegesis at this point proved "a real blessing. After that people did not follow him so slavishly but judged whether he was truly expounding the Bible. It broke a near idolatry of the man and did no harm" (Murray, *Fight of Faith*, 501n2).

erudition and exact exegesis were not his forte."[46] One does not (one *should* not) read his sermons to learn what, precisely, Paul meant at various points in his argument; there are commentaries to consult. Moreover, his search for doctrine in every text, to be fitted then into a (rather idiosyncratic) Calvinist systematic theology, led him frequently to over-interpret theologically Paul's words.

Why, then, read Lloyd-Jones on Romans? We might point to the great influence he exercised in his own day and still exercises (at least, in certain circles) in ours. But surely the most important reason is another. On one level, Lloyd-Jones was not a great exegete. On another level, one is tempted to say that there is more of what was essential to Paul in Lloyd-Jones's little finger than in whole library shelves of learned commentaries. But the Doctor himself put it best. Suggesting that the chief end of preaching "is to give men and women a sense of God and His presence," Lloyd-Jones went on to state in general terms what many would say of him:

> I can forgive a man for a bad sermon, I can forgive the preacher almost anything if he gives me a sense of God, if he gives me something for my soul, if he gives me the sense that, though he is inadequate in himself, he is handling something which is very great and very glorious, if he gives me some dim glimpse of the majesty and the glory of God, the love of Christ my Saviour, and the magnificence of the Gospel. If he does that I am his debtor, and I am profoundly grateful to him.[47]

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46 Murray, *Fight of Faith*, 776. The critique of others was more direct (Murray, *Fight of Faith*, 649–50).

47 Lloyd-Jones, *Preaching and Preachers*, 97–98.

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CHAPTER 24

A Comparison of the Fruit of the Spirit in Galatians 5:22–23 with Ancient Thought on Ethics and Emotion

Craig S. Keener

A comparison of Paul's virtue list in Gal 5:22–23 with the thoughts of some of his contemporaries may help us to appreciate more fully some of the concepts that ancient auditors would have found here.

Examining Paul's usage elsewhere offers the surest clue for determining how Paul understands the terms on his list. Nevertheless, some of Paul's examples of fruit of the Spirit in his virtue list in Gal 5 are harder to define in Pauline terms than others. Because philosophers were often meticulous about defining their ethical language, we may compare and contrast some of Paul's ethical language here with that of other intellectuals, especially often with that of the dominant philosophic school of his era, namely the Stoics.

1 A Virtue List

Virtue lists were quite common in antiquity,[1] including in works of philosophers[2] and rhetoricians.[3] Virtue and vice lists often appear together, as here

1 E.g., 1QS 4.3; applied also to what we might call gifts, e.g., Aelius Theon, *Prog*. 9.15–19; Pliny, *Ep*. 6.26.1; 6.11.2; Symmachus, *Ep*. 1.2.7.

2 Philo, *Sacr.* 27; Seneca, *Lucil.* 95.55; Musonius Rufus 4 (44.10–12); 8, (66.11); 14 (92.31–33); 17 (108.8–11); 38 (136.3); Arius Didymus 2.7.5b (10.16–25); 2.7.5b2 (14.18–20); 2.7.11i (78.12–18); 2.7.11m (88.1–8) Plutarch, *Stoic rep*. 7, in *Mor*. 1034C. References to Musonius Rufus in this essay are all from Lutz, "Musonius Rufus," giving section, then in brackets, the page(s) and line number(s). References for Arius Didymus in this essay are all from Pomeroy, *Arius Didymus*, giving section, then in brackets the page(s) and line number(s).

3 Pseudo-Aristotle, *Rhet. Alex*. 6.1427b.39–41 and 1428a.1–2; 36.1442a.11–12; Cicero, *Mur*. 14.30; 29.60; *Rhet. Her*. 3.2.3; Aelius Theon, *Prog*. 9.15–24; Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 32.37; Pliny, *Ep*. 6.11.2; 6.26.1; Lucian, *Imag*. 11; Maximus of Tyre, *Or*. 3.1; 18.5. Particularly fitting in a eulogy (e.g., Arrian, *Anab*. 7.28.1–3), they could surround individuals in biographies, as in Cornelius Nepos 15 (*Epam.*), 3.1–3.

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(5:19–23).[4] Sometimes they employed asyndeton, suppressing conjunctions, as here.[5] Despite considerable overlap with wider social values, the earliest Christian lists sometimes omit some key virtues common in other lists.[6]

Engberg-Pedersen suggests that Gal 5:22–23 is "in principle an ordinary Greek virtue list"; thus the Spirit generates "certain states *of mind*, namely *mental attitudes*."[7] As we shall see, regarding them as purely "mental" states may be too narrow, at least in view of what we often mean by that term.[8] Nevertheless, Paul's interest is in behavior and not just attitudes, but Stoic virtue lists do offer points for comparison. For Stoics, virtues are continuous dispositions.[9]

Stoics would have defined some elements in Paul's list as virtues, although they would have highlighted self-control and may have emphasized internal tranquility more often than virtues such as the communal "peace" that Paul likely envisions here. Stoics sought to eradicate harmful emotions and behavior, but whereas most philosophic schools valued εὐδαιμονία, a goal lacking in our earliest Christian sources, they probably would not have highlighted "joy" the way Paul did. Most notably, Paul's special emphasis on love reflects a different value tradition stemming from Jesus' interpretation of Scripture.

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4 E.g., Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 2.8.1–8, 1108b–1109a; *Eth. eud.* 2.3.4, 1220b–1221a; *Virt. vit.*1249a–1251b; *Rhet. Alex.* 36, 1442a.11–14; Arius Didymus 2.7.11e (68.12–20). Alternation could be rhetorically effective (Cicero, *Cat.* 2.10.25; Seneca, *Dial.* 4.13.2), and positive and negative lists in proximity highlight their contrast (Cicero, *Scaur.* 16.37; *Phil.* 3.6.15; 3.11.28; *Cael.* 22.55; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.27–29; Fronto, *De Nepote Amisso* 2.8; 1QS 4.3–11); cf. discussion of antithesis in R. D. Anderson, *Glossary*, 21–22. Cf. the two ways tradition (e.g., Deut 11:26–28; 4Q473, frg. 2.3; *Did.* 1.1; *Barn.* 18.1). On virtue lists, see also Charles, "Vice and Virtue Lists"; see examples of vice lists in Keener, *Acts*, 2269–70.

5 Lists could use polysyndeton (e.g., Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 33.23), but could also use asyndeton, as here; see *Rhet. Her.* 4.30.41; R. D. Anderson, *Glossary*, 33–34; Rowe, "Style," 136; Lee, "Translations,", 779–80; for examples, see e.g., *Rhet. Alex.* 36.1442a.11–14; 38.1447b.5–6.

6 See e.g., Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation*, 138; Keener, *Mind of the Spirit*, 226, 229.

7 Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 160. Stoics treated "every psychological phenomenon . . . as some form of understanding or misunderstanding" (ibid., 168). Others are more skeptical on philosophic language influencing earliest Christianity; cf. Wojciechowski, "Philosophical Vocabulary." Most of these virtues are also biblical; see e.g., Matera, *Galatians*, 213. Many note that Paul's virtues address qualities that were widely commended in antiquity but these scholars also note differences (e.g., Betz, *Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, 286; de Boer, *Galatians*, 363).

8 Neurochemical studies show that mind, body, and emotions are linked much more inextricably than our common verbal differentiation of such terms acknowledges.

9 Arius Didymus 2.7.5–6, (30.18–19). Their distinction of virtues from activities (30.21–22) is more rigidly analytical than Paul's approach.

The phrase "such things" in 5:21 (τὰ τοιαῦτα) and 23 (τῶν τοιούτων) makes explicit that Paul offers only samples here.[10] Comparison with other Pauline virtue lists also shows that this list consists of merely samples,[11] although undoubtedly particularly of contextually relevant ones (e.g., the Spirit of gentleness in 6:1).

2 Works and Fruit

In the key argumentative section of Galatians, Paul expressed his concern with works that do not stem from faith (Gal 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10); at times in this letter he associates human religion—that is, religious activity apart from the transforming activity of God's Spirit—with "flesh" (2:16; 3:3; 4:23, 29; 6:12–13; cf. 5:13, 16–17, 24; 6:8). Now in 5:19–21 he summarizes the best that flesh can do, that is humanity without divine righteousness. The language of "fruit" in 5:22 offers a deliberate contrast with "works" in 5:19: fruit is something that simply springs forth based on the nature or character of something (cf. Matt 7:17–19//Luke 6:43–44).[12] Similarly, Seneca insists that "good does not spring from evil, any more than figs grow from olive-trees. Things which grow correspond to their seed" (*semen*).[13] Here the Spirit of God at work in believers produces this new character (cf. John 15:4).

Paul's approach to character is distinctive, but some partial analogies help us better grasp how his contemporaries may have heard him. Many intellectuals believed that virtue had to be developed by practice;[14] others insisted that one's character was inborn and could not be transformed by nurture.[15] For

10 See Augustine, *Continence* 9 (in Edwards, *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians*, 85–86).

11 With e.g., Luther, *First Lectures on Galatians* on 5:19; Erasmus Sarcerius, *Annotations on Galatians* on 5:22 (in Bray, *Galatians, Ephesians*, 193, 198).

12 With e.g., John Chrysostom, *Hom. Gal.* 5.22 (in Edwards, *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians*, 84); Ridderbos, *To Galatia*, 207; Longenecker, *Paul*, 178–79; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 444; cf. Luther *Second Lectures on Galatians* on 5:22 (in Bray, *Galatians, Ephesians*, 197–98). This approach does not endorse passivity (as among some late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century old-school New England Calvinists); see Wright, *Justification*, 193.

13 Seneca, *Lucil.* 87.25 (LCL 2:337). Ancient agrarian societies, of course, recognized this principle, pervasively (e.g., Gen 1:11–12).

14 Malherbe, *Paul*, 16, regarding Cynics. In the Stoic understanding in Arius Didymus 2.7.5b4 (16.32–33), practice may expand capacity for virtue, although this was not a learned expertise.

15 Euripides, *Alcmeon in Corinth* frg. 75 (Stobaeus 4.30.2); *Dictys* frg. 333 (Stobaeus 4.30.5); *Phoenix* frg. 810; frg. 1113 (Stobaeus 4.29.35); cf. frg. 1027, 1067–68 (Stobaeus 4.29.47;

Paul, of course, humans are fallen and can be transformed only in rebirth by God's Spirit (Gal 4:29; cf. John 3:3–6); whereas some thought that the seed of the divine character was innate in souls,[16] early Christians believed that it was implanted through regeneration (1 Pet 1:23; 1 John 3:6).

Some others in antiquity spoke of deities working in one.[17] The first-century Roman Stoic, Musonius Rufus, offers a list of virtues (and lack of vices) in humans who are godlike and share God's virtues.[18] For him, reason, when permitted to remain in the soul, provides moral discernment.[19] Perhaps thinking of inherited disposition, the second-century Middle Platonist orator Maximus of Tyre considers good people "godly" "because . . . they were good not through the exercise of human skill, but by the work of Zeus."[20]

Such thoughts were not limited to Gentiles. An earlier Qumran document speaks of the Spirit of truth inspiring results such as "humility, patience, abundant compassion, perpetual goodness, insight, understanding, and powerful wisdom."[21] Another Qumran text speaks of those who fear God as "empowered by His holy spirit" to do good things and resist the ways of evil spirits.[22] Less emphatically, the Alexandrian Jewish *Letter of Aristeas* recognizes that being a doer of good is God's gift,[23] since only God can guide the mind toward wisdom.[24] The psalmist also depicted radical dependence on God in terms of

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4.30.3); *Antigone* frg. 166 (Stobaeus 4.30.1); *Meleager* frg. 520 (Stobaeus 4.22.131); perhaps Euripides, *Archelaus* frg. 232 (Stobaeus 4.29.44).

16 For various related conceptions, see, e.g., Ovid, *Fast.* 6.6; Seneca, *Lucil.* 73.16; Musonius Rufus 2 (38.12–14); Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.9.4–6; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.40; *Post.* 171.

17 For deities' indwelling, see e.g., Cicero, *Leg.* 1.22.58–59; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.8.10–11, 14; Marcus Aurelius 2.13, 17; 3.5–6, 12; 3.16.2; 5.10.2; discussion in Keener, *Gospel of John*, 2:933. For Philo, cf. Sellin, "Die religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergründe."

18 Musonius Rufus 17 (108.8–22; cf. μίμημα in 108.15; θείους and θεοειδεῖς in 22). The law of Zeus requires such virtues (Musonius Rufus 16 [104.32–36]). Romans sometimes deified qualities; thus among the gods Cicero includes "the qualities which grant a man ascent to heaven, such as Mind, Virtue, Piety, and Good Faith." Lintott, *The Romans*, 135, referring to Cicero, *Leg.* 2.19.

19 Musonius Rufus frg. 36 (134.11). For reason's role in law, albeit as a sort of social contract, cf. earlier *Rhet. Alex.* pref. 1420a.26–28.

20 Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 38.1 (translation from Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre*, 299).

21 1QS 4.3 (trans. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*). Davids, *James*, 54, also offers the comparison with Gal 5:22–23 and Jas 3:17–18.

22 4Q444, frg. 1, col. 1.1–4.

23 *Let. Aris.* 231, 252; for prayer for God to guide one's life rightly, see 251 (for prayer for wisdom, 256). For particular virtues as gifts, cf. 271–72, 274, 276, 278, 282, 290.

24 *Let. Aris.* 237–38, 243, 267. Nevertheless, Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting*, 134, is right (commenting on *Let. Aris.* 18, 231, 237, 255; *Jub.* 5:12; *Pss. Sol.* 16:12–13; 2 Macc 1:3–4) that such

God as the strength of one's life.[25] Although such concepts suggest that Paul's teachings would have been intelligible, Paul's grounding of all Christian life in the experience of Christ and the Spirit (e.g., Gal 2:20; 5:16, 18) is more pervasive and dramatic than such claims.[26]

The metaphor of moral fruit is frequent in the Gospel tradition (Matt 3:8, 10; 7:16–20; 12:33; Luke 3:8–9; 6:43–44; 13:6–9; John 15:2–8, 16; probably Mark 11:14; 12:2) and is often developed by early Christian writers (Phil 1:11; Eph 5:9; Col 1:10; Heb 12:11; Jas 3:18; Jude 12). Yet the image was also a natural one in antiquity. Thus in Hosea, Israel yielded fruit for idolatry (10:1, 4, 13), but God would make them sow and reap righteousness (10:11–12); God would cause Israel to blossom and bear fruit (14:5–7), and he would be the source of their fruit (14:8). Likewise, Jewish people could speak of the Torah as a seed that would bear fruit in God's people (*4 Ezra* 3:20; 9:31, 33).[27]

Given their proximity to agrarian life, even urban hearers in antiquity would be able to comprehend fruit in a figurative sense. One could compare with fruit a person's gifts,[28] the products of one's mind,[29] or other characteristics consistent with one's nature.[30] Thus, for example, the "fruit"[31] of hatred is bitter; a Stoic expounds on the fruit of reason;[32] Socrates reportedly wanted to cultivate Alcibiades as a plant so his "fruit" would not be destroyed;[33] the fruit of knowledge is a deeper intellectual life;[34] the fruits of education are great.[35]

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texts "speak of divine strengthening," but these "are still at a considerable distance from Paul's conception of obedience being the fruit of the inward work of God's Spirit."

25 Ps 18:1; 27:1; 28:7–8; 31:2, 4; 37:39; 73:26; 118:14; 138:3; 140:7.

26 See, e.g., discussion in Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 441–42. On Gal 2:20, see, e.g., comments in Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases*; Luther, *Second Lectures on Galatians*; Calvin, *Commentary on Galatians* (in Bray, *Galatians, Ephesians*, 79–81).

27 Cf. *'Abot* 3:17; cf. the "fruit of righteousness" in the later *Apoc. Sedrach* 12:5; good works as fruit in *Num. Rab*. 3:1. The results of Torah learning as fruit (*Num. Rab.* 21:15) may be simply like any profit as fruit.

28 Quintilian, *Inst.* pref. 10 (*fructus*).

29 Epictetus, *Diatr*. 1.15.8; 1.17.9 may suggest "fruitfulness" as a broader cultural metaphor for utility; certainly it could mean "profit" (cf., e.g., Musonius Rufus 14, [92.23]). In Philo, *Migr*. 205, a good memory is a good fruit of souls. See Betz, *Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, 286n138, for numerous passages in Philo connecting virtues with fruit imagery.

30 Cf. the comparison of wisdom with fruit in Philostratus, *Hrk*. 4.11.

31 Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 41.12.

32 Marcus Aurelius 9.10.

33 Plutarch, *Alc*. 4.1.

34 Philo, *Fug.* 176; see also Jewett with Kotansky, *Romans*, 422. Vice makes the ground of one's soul barren, as in Lucian, *Nigr.* 16.

35 Libanius, *Anecdote* 3.14, 20, 33, 34.

Against whatever backgrounds Paul and his hearers might construe the image of fruit here, the activity of the Spirit is a paramount feature of his exposition. The character of the Spirit grows in believers as an expression of the divine righteousness that comes (Gal 2:21) through sharing Christ's death and because Christ lives and works in one (2:20). Those who are "born from the Spirit" (4:29) have the Spirit's character. Believers can cultivate this fruit of the Spirit by "sowing" to the Spirit rather than to the flesh (6:8).

Paul develops the image in Gal 6:8 (cf. Hos 10:12): if we want the fruit of the Spirit, we must sow to the Spirit (cf. Gal 5:22–23), which brings life, rather than to the flesh, which brings destruction (5:19–21).

3 Virtues or Emotions?

Whereas love, gentleness and self-control surface in ancient discussions of ethics, joy (and sometimes peace) might appear to us to have more to do with emotion. Paul may not strongly differentiate these categories if both were experienced as part of the life of the Spirit, but some of his contemporaries might be inclined to distinguish them.[36]

Philosophers sometimes had ambivalent responses toward emotion. The first-century Roman Stoic Seneca claims that Stoics reject emotions altogether, a more helpful approach, he suggested, than the ineffectual halfway measures of Peripatetics who try to rule them with moderation.[37] Stoics wished to eradicate some kinds of emotion, but this may refer (at least for many Stoics) only to passion, i.e., to negative emotions.[38] A calm pleasure in virtue or in the rational state of the cosmos could be acceptable.[39]

36 Calvin also emphasizes the ethical dimension here, noting that "joy" in Gal 5:22 "means 'cheerfulness' toward our fellow human beings" (*Commentary on Galatians* on 5:22, in Bray, *Galatians, Ephesians*, 198).

37 Seneca, *Lucil.* 116.1. More philosophers shared Aristotle's preference for moderation; for a survey of views, see Sorabji, *Emotion*, 194–202.

38 Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 72; cf. the late second-century Stoic Marcus Aurelius, in Engberg-Pedersen, "Marcus Aurelius on Emotions," 334–35. They also might be willing to courteously indulge others' emotions (Seneca, *Lucil.* 104.2–3). On restraining negative emotions, see also Cicero, *Off.* 1.29.102; also Valerius Maximus 3.3. ext. 1: Philosophy "drives away every unseemly and useless emotion."

39 Brennan, "Old Stoic Theory," 57.

Most Stoics described emotion in purely cognitive terms[40] (although sometimes exempting precognitive impulses);[41] Chrysippus viewed emotions as purely false judgments of reason,[42] although under Platonic influence Posidonius challenged this approach,[43] in turn influencing some subsequent Stoics.[44] Plato and Aristotle treated emotions as less voluntary than did Stoics.[45] Epicureans, like Stoics, viewed emotions as cognitive, but unlike Stoics they believed that one could calm emotions without needing to change one's beliefs.[46]

Aristotle accepted appeal to emotion as a form of argument that can follow evidence;[47] Roman rhetoric treated it more as simply an appeal to move an audience,[48] but Stoics were unusual in wanting to exclude it altogether in favor of pure logic.[49] Philosophers in general insisted that reason should control emotion,[50] but those who were not Stoics rejected the Stoic ideal of extirpating emotion.[51] Unlike Stoics, Plato did not believe that emotions could be extirpated; nevertheless, he viewed them largely negatively because he wanted "to achieve detachment from a changing reality."[52] (Passions fasten the soul more

40 Knuuttila and Sihvola, "Philosophical Analysis," 13; Sorabji, *Emotion*, 2, 21; for most Stoics, every part of the soul was rational (Brennan, "Old Stoic Theory," 23). Some partly demurred, however; see below. Stoics also viewed emotions, like all other genuine entities, as corporeal; see Vogt, "Sons of the Earth."

41 Sorabji, *Emotion*, 73–74 (Seneca); cf. 118–19 (Posidonius). In Philo, cf. Graver, "Philo."

42 Sorabji, *Emotion*, 29–54.

43 Ibid., 5, 121–32; Cooper, "Posidonius on Emotions," 71.

44 Cooper, "Posidonius on Emotions," 99.

45 Knuuttila and Sihvola, "Philosophical Analysis," 13. Cf. also various Aristotelians (Sorabji, *Emotion*, 133) and Neoplatonists (142).

46 Sorabji, *Emotion*, 26–27.

47 Kraftchick, "Πάθη," 48–50.

48 Ibid., 52–53, 56.

49 For Stoics, see e.g., Seneca, *Lucil.* 108.7; Musonius Rufus frg. 36 (134.14–16); R. D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory*, 61; for emotion in rhetoric, see e.g., Cicero, *Brut.* 43.158; *De or.* 2.45.189; Pliny, *Ep.* 9.26.2; Hall, "Oratorical Delivery."

50 See e.g., Cicero, *Inv.* 2.54.164; *Off.* 2.5.18; *Leg.* 1.23.60; Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 51.3; Plutarch, *Lect.* 1, in *Mor.* 37E; Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 33.3; Porphyry, *Marc.* 6.99; 29.453–60; 31.478–83; 34.521–22; see further Keener, *Mind of the Spirit*, 21–22, 77–78.

51 Knuuttila and Sihvola, "Philosophical Analysis," 17.

52 Ibid. The Neoplatonist thinker Plotinus advised training the soul to eliminate "the affections to the extent this is possible." Emilsson, "Plotinus on the Emotions," 359. On concerns about tragedy or comedy overstimulating emotion, see Proclus, *Poetics* Essay 5, K42.12–17; K50.12–15; but others felt that these provided helpful catharsis (Sorabji, *Emotion*, 5).

tightly to the body, he believed.)[53] Thinkers in the Platonist tradition disassociated the divine from emotion; thus the gods do not feel hatred, love, anger, pity, anguish, other passions, sorrow, joy, or desire.[54] Greeks often associated excess emotion with barbarians, whom they thus depicted as effeminate.[55]

This approach to emotion would lead philosophers to appreciate Paul's final virtue of "self-control," but might lead to some confusion regarding his mention of joy (and possibly peace and love). Paul does not believe in extirpating emotion, although he speaks of passions and desires crucified with Christ (Gal 5:24; cf. 2:20; 6:14; Rom 6:3–7). The evil "desire" that concerns him is, at least in his later letter to Christ's followers in Rome, the desire already specified as forbidden in the Torah, namely, desiring what belongs to another (Rom 7:7, citing Exod 20:17). Such desire contravenes the all-encompassing law of love (Gal 5:13–15).

4 Sample Observations about Particular Fruit

Why does Paul speak of fruit in the singular in 5:22? (That Paul could make an issue of a singular form is clear in Gal 3:16, although cf. 3:29.) One might suggest a philosophic reason for his singular form here. The Stoics spoke of all offenses as equal[56] and spoke of virtues as if they were all inseparable.[57] Other thinkers, however, allowed that one could have some virtues while lacking others.[58] Some scholars suggest that Paul speaks of one fruit, love, from which others flow. But while καρπος could be used in the plural,[59] the term appears in the singular eleven times in the Pauline corpus (nine of them in undisputed

53 E.g., Plato, *Phaed*. 83d; Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 32.228.

54 Apuleius, *De deo Socr*. 147.

55 McCoskey, *Race*, 56.

56 See e.g., Epictetus, *Diatr*. 2.21.1–7; Arius Didymus 2.7.11 L (85.34–87.15); 2.7.110 (96.22–29); Diogenes Laertius 7.1.120. Others also attributed this view to Stoics (Cicero, *Parad.* 20–26; Pliny, *Ep*. 8.2.3), and often challenged it (e.g., Cicero, *Fin*. 4.27.74–75; Diogenes Laertius 10.120); even some Stoics demurred (Marcus Aurelius 2.10). Cf. *4 Macc.* 5:19–21; *T. Asher* 2:2–8; also Jas 2:10, with Boyle, "Stoic Paradox."

57 Arius Didymus 2.7.5b5 (18.17–19); esp. Jas 2:10; cf. Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 72. On the indivisibility of virtue, cf. also the Neoplatonist thinker Iamblichus, *Ep*. 16, frg. 2.7–9 (Stobaeus 3.1.49).

58 Aristotle, in Diogenes Laertius 5.31.

59 About 23 percent of NT occurrences, about 27 percent of LXX occurrences, one-third of occurrences in the Apostolic Fathers, 53.5 percent in Philo, and 63 percent in Josephus.

works), only one instance of which (2 Tim 2:6) is plural. The singular, then, may be simply Paul's preferred style.[60]

Love. Regardless of the grammatical number of fruit, love is the paramount and probably encompassing virtue here.[61] In the context, Paul speaks of love as the virtue that fulfills the law (5:14), contrasting it with strife (5:15; cf. 5:19–21). Emphasis on this virtue pervades the context: there is no law against love (5:23), since love fulfills the law (5:14). Saving faith is expressed through love (5:6), which includes serving one another (5:13).

Other Jewish sources make love of neighbor a central teaching, occasionally even the greatest commandment.[62] Nevertheless, other early Jewish movements do not earmark it as paramount with anything like the same sort of consensus found in earliest Christian texts.[63] The role of love as the supreme virtue is distinctive in early Christianity (Gal 5:6; 1 Cor 13:13; Eph 5:2; 1 Pet 1:22; 4:8; 1 John 4:7–21), a distinctiveness that reflects Jesus' own teaching about love as the greatest commandment (Mark 12:29–31). Following Jesus' teaching, various early Christian circles deemed love the heart of the law's instruction for how believers should treat other people, especially among the household of faith (Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8–10; John 13:34–35; Jas 2:8; 1 John 2:7–11, 21; 2 John 5).

Joy. Paul's mention of joy raises a different issue, already broached above.[64] Despite philosophers' general concerns about "emotion," most thinkers valued positive emotions such as happiness, provided one avoided excess such as levity. Even Seneca, for example, values a cheerful spirit and calm mind that finds good reason to be satisfied in everything, rather than complain about fate's vicissitudes.[65] Among virtues, Stoics opined, wise people will be "free, serene, happy, . . . giving thanks for all things to God, under no circumstances finding

60 With, e.g., Moo, *Galatians*, 363.

61 With, e.g., Jerome, *Gal.* 3.5.22 (Edwards, *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians*, 85); de Boer, *Galatians*, 362.

62 E.g., tradition attributed to R. Akiba makes love of neighbor supreme (e.g., *Sipra Qed*. pq. 4.200.3.7; *Gen. Rab*. 24:7); cf. the emphasis on love of neighbor in *m. 'Abot* 1:12, attributed to Hillel; *Jub*. 36:4, 8.

63 For instance, among the great diversity of views among early Jewish teachers, many felt that honoring parents was the greatest commandment (*Let. Aris*. 228; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.206; Pseudo-Phocylides 8; Moore, *Judaism*, 2:132); by contrast, early Christians followed especially one teacher and thus prioritized his specific teaching. See Keener, *Gospel of Matthew*, 530–31; cf. 248–49.

64 Romans described fruit-bearing trees as "happy" trees (see Fronto, *Ad Amicos* 2.7.6), but this observation indicates appreciation for fruitfulness rather than envisioning joy as a fruit. My comments about joy here adapt my work in *Acts*, 2112–13.

65 Seneca, *Dial*. 7.15.4, 6; 7.16.1–3; 9.10.4.

fault with anything that has happened."[66] Some good matters, such as virtues, are necessary for "happiness" (εὐδαιμονία), but others, such as joy (χαρά) and gladness (εὐφροσύνη), are not.[67] The latter are plainly valuable in some respects,[68] but they are not virtues.[69]

Most ancient philosophy heavily emphasized εὐδαιμονία;[70] this was philosophy's usual chief goal.[71] By contrast, the term is absent in biblical Greek, perhaps because most biblical ethics' goal was oriented toward God's pleasure rather than that of mortals.[72] For what it is worth,[73] although Stoics distrusted emotions,[74] Greek philosophy, including Stoics, valued joy.[75] Among philosophers, wisdom and virtue rather than bodily pleasure yielded happiness.[76] "Being happy, however," Wayne Meeks observes, "is not the same

66 Epictetus, *Diatr*. 4.7.9 (LCL 2:326); cf. Eph 5:20; 1 Thess 5:18.

67 Arius Didymus 2.7.6d (38.34–40.3).

68 Arius Didymus 2.7.5k (34.1). These are right actions; see 2.7.11e (68.12–16). They are final but not productive goods; see 2.7.5g (32.1–6) (though for a final good as a goal, cf. 2.7.6b [38.19–21]).

69 Arius Didymus, 2.7.5b.19–21. The wise do not possess them at all times; see Arius Didymus 2.7.5c (28.7–9).

70 See Hossenfelder, "Happiness"; Vorster, "Blessedness." The term occurs roughly 80 times in the Philonic corpus.

71 E.g., Musonius Rufus 7 (58.13–15); Arius Didymus 2.7.5b5 (20.15–16); 2.7.6d (38.34– 41.3); 2.7.6e (40.11–13); cf. Lucian, *Demon.* 19–20; Lutz, "Musonius Rufus," 28; Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 74; Hossenfelder, "Happiness." Cf. pleasure for Epicureans, Diogenes Laertius 10.131; 10.144.17.

72 Though cf. more hellenized Jewish and Christian approaches in e.g., *Epistle to Diognetus* 10.5; the term and its cognates appear 151 times in Josephus (e.g., *Ant*. 1.14, 20, 41, 44, 46, 69, 98, 104, 113, 142–143) and 189 times in Philo (e.g., *Alleg. Interp*. 1.4; 2.10, 82, 101–102; 3.52, 83, 205, 209, 218–219, 245).

73 Wojciechowski, "Philosophical Vocabulary," doubts that moral philosophy shaped much NT language. I find some overlap in Pauline literature (e.g., Keener, "'Fleshly' versus Spirit Perspectives"; Keener, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 44–47, 57; see esp. Malherbe, *Paul*), most prominently in the Pastorals, but much less often in Luke (apart from texts like Acts 24:25; 26:25, where Paul addresses educated Gentiles).

74 E.g., Knuuttila and Sihvola, "Philosophical Analysis," 13, 15; see discussion above.

75 E.g., Musonius Rufus 17 (108.7); Arius Didymus 2.7.5k (34–35.1); 2.7.11e (68–69.12–16); Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 31.196. Stoics approved of joy as a good emotion (Engberg-Pedersen, "Paul, Virtues, and Vices," 612; Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 73). It was not, however, a moral "virtue" (Arius Didymus 2.7.5b [10–11.19]; 2.7.5c [28–29.7]; 2.7.5g [32–33.4]); though Paul lists it with virtues that belong to the Spirit's fruit (Gal 5:22–23). Stoics appreciated a "calm pleasure" concerning what was good (Brennan, "Theory," 57).

76 Cicero, *Parad.* 16–19; *Leg.* 1.23.60; *Tusc*. 5.7.19–20; Musonius Rufus 7 (58.13); 17 (108.7); Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 31.196; Seneca, *Lucil.* 23; 27.3–4; 59.10; *Ben*. 7.2.3; *Dial.* 7.16.1–3;

thing as feeling happy: more often the opposite. Like the Platonist, the Stoic insists that in order to achieve real happiness we must learn to distinguish it from transient pleasures, which only *appear* to be related to happiness."[77] In Platonism, as noted above, the gods were always calm, and therefore not subject to joy.[78] God was emotionless in the Platonic tradition (Maximus of Tyre 9.2).

Some moralists condemned frivolous laughter and jesting, emphasizing true joy (χαρά) instead (Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 32.99).[79] Sometimes, it was thought, excessive joy proved so traumatic that it even led to death.[80] (One should note that biblical laughter is not viewed negatively when it is a sign of joy rather than an expression of ridicule or contempt.)[81] Augustine believed that Stoics sought three dispositions of the mind to replace the three disorders of the mind: will versus desire; gladness versus joy; and "caution instead of fear."[82]

The intellectual discourse among such thinkers does not reflect everyday life for most people. For example, Greek religion was typically joyful.[83] Even for the Jewish philosopher Philo, virtue readily abides in peace and joy.[84]

Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.7.9; Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 25.1; Arius Didymus 2.7.6e (40.13–15); 2.7.11g (70.33–73.4); Lucian, *Demon*. 19–20; also Lutz, "Musonius Rufus," 28; Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 73. Self-knowledge also yielded full joy (Cicero, *Tusc*. 5.25.70).

77 Meeks, *Moral World*, 47.

78 Apuleius, *De deo Socr*. 146.

79 Cf. also warnings against excessive laughter or frivolity, e.g., Aristotle, *Eth. nic*. 4.8.1–12, 1127b–1128b (esp. 4.8.3, 1128a); Epictetus, *Ench*. 33.15; Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 7.119; 32.99–100; 33.10; frg. 7 (Stobaeus, 4, 23.60 [Hense, *Anthologium*, in the *Florilegum* section, 588; see also LCL 385]; [Meineke, *Eclogarum*, 74.60]); Aulus Gellius 4.20.4–6 (cf. 4.20.11); Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.10; 17.71; 30.171; 31.196; Porphyry, *Marc*. 19.321–22; Diogenes Laertius, 8.1.20; Pelikan, *Acts*, 148–49 (citing Aristotle, *Eth. nic*. 2.7.11–13, 1108a; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.8); *m. 'Abot* 3:13/14; *t. Ber*. 3:21; *b. Ber*. 30b; perhaps 4Q266 frg. 18 col. 4, lines 12–13; 4Q184 frg. 1, line 2; *Gen. Rab*. 22:6; *Exod. Rab*. 30:21; *Eccl. Rab*. 2:2, §1 (but the rabbis disapproved of only inappropriate laughter; Reines, "Laughter."). For the approval of rhetorical humor so long as dignity is maintained, see e.g., Cicero, *Brut*. 43.158; *Or. Brut*. 26.88–90; Quintilian, *Inst*. 4.3.30–31; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 2.1.4, in *Mor*. 631C.

80 Aulus Gellius 3.15.

81 See Gen 21:6; Eccl 3:4; though cf. the perspective of sages in Eccl 2:2; 7:3; Sir 21:20.

82 Augustine, *City of God* 14.8, first paragraph (translation from Bettenson, *Concerning the city of God*, 558).

83 See Miccoli, "Lo spirito festive"; for Roman festivals, see Rüpke, *Religion*, 15, 89.

84 Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.45. Cf. serenity and gladness as results of proper reason in Musonius Rufus frg. 38 (136.1–3).

Jewish people often connected joy with keeping God's commandments;[85] living according to wisdom (Wis 8:16); prayer (Tob 13:1); worship;[86] and right living (*Let. Aris*. 261).[87] Joy could be associated with public festivals (Neh 8:10–12; Ps 42:4).[88] The association of joy with worship[89] suggests worship as a possible component of the joy here. But Paul often associates the Spirit with joy (e.g., Rom 14:17; 15:13), including in conversion (1 Thess 1:6) and as a normal feature of Christian living (Gal 5:22). Joy seems distinctively pervasive in Paul, where χαρά or χαίρω appear some forty times.[90]

Peace. The fruit of the Spirit is also "peace." Does this fruit refer to inner tranquility, an experience valued by philosophers, or to communal peace?[91] Given differences in wording, Paul's language of "peace" need not correspond to philosophic ideals of "tranquility" or of ending the war of passions, but the association merits consideration. The sort of conflict that some interpreters envision in Gal 5:17 is opposed to inner tranquility.[92] Various philosophies claimed to provide peace and tranquility.[93] Stoics valued tranquility and peace of mind,[94]

85 Ps 19:8; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.189; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 27:2; *b. Yoma* 4b; *p. Pesaḥ*. 10:1; *Lev. Rab*. 16:4 (purportedly from Ben Azzai); *Pesiq. Rab*. 21:2/3; 51:4; Urbach, *Sages*, 1:390–92 (esp. Tannaitic sources on 390); Bonsirven, *Palestinian Judaism*, 95; most fully, G. A. Anderson, "Expression of Joy." In *Song Rab*. 4:11, §1, public teaching of Torah should generate as much joy as wedding guests experience from beholding a bride.

86 Ps 32:11; 33:1, 3; 43:4; 68:3–4; 71:23; 81:1; 90:14; 92:4; 95:1; 98:4; 132:9, 16; *Jub*. 36:6; *Jos. Asen*. 3:4.

87 The Spirit appears with joy in *y. Sukkah* 5, cited in Montefiore and Loewe, *Rabbinic Anthology*, 203; cf. *Tg. Onq*. on Gen 45:27–28.

88 Cf. also, e.g., Halpern-Amaru, "Joy as Piety," on *Jubilees*.

89 E.g., Ps 2:11; 5:11; 20:5; 27:6; 31:7; 32:11; 33:1, 3; 35:9; 42:4; 47:1; 63:7; 67:4; 71:23; 81:1; 84:2; 90:14; 92:4; 95:1; 98:4; 132:9, 16. Joy could also lead to praise (Tob 8:16; 13:1; Jas 5:13; Luke 1:47).

90 For a survey of joy in Paul's letters, see Kampling, "Freude bei Paulus," especially emphasizing joy as eschatological gift of Spirit. In the NT generally, see Elliott, *Faithful Feelings*, 167–81.

91 In this section I particularly follow and develop Keener, "'Fleshly' versus Spirit Perspectives," 222–25; esp. in its form in Keener, *Mind of the Spirit*, 135–38, 140.

92 Especially in the Platonic tradition; see Philo, *Opif.* 81; Iamblichus, *Ep.* 9.4–5, 7, 10 (Stobaeus 2.33.15); Stowers, "Paul and Self-Mastery," 529, 538; Wasserman, "Paul among the Ancient Philosophers," 82. Others could view the divided self as a symptom of unresolved allegiance; see Seneca, *Dial.* 9.2.10; Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 52.

93 On the importance of peace of mind (ἀταραξία) in philosophy, see Hossenfelder, "Ataraxia."

94 Seneca, *Dial.* 4.12.6; 4.13.2; 5.6.1; 9, *passim*; *Lucil.* 75.18; Musonius Rufus frg. 38 (136.1–3); Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.4.1; Arius Didymus, 2.7.5b1 (12.31–33); 2.7.5k (34.1–4); 2.7.11s (100.7).

as did Epicureans[95] and others.[96] For Stoics, following Aristotle, "A virtue is a state (*hexis*) of mind, one that need not always be active but may precisely be activated in the appropriate circumstances."[97] Both Stoics and Epicureans sought tranquility through understanding truth.[98] Not just Stoics but also others warned that ignorance and desire for pleasure caused most mortals to be perturbed in mind.[99]

Consequently, one sign of true philosophers in general was to be their tranquility even in hardship.[100] Granted, philosophers often fell short of this standard;[101] yet they did not believe that this failing negated the value of their ideal. Many averred that uncontrolled negative emotions were harmful,[102] and that philosophy was instrumental in conquering useless emotions.[103] Subduing the passions brought calmness of soul, without the "mental excitement" that stirred anger, wrong desire, and so forth.[104]

Stoics in particular emphasized tranquility and lack of internal disturbance;[105] the ideal wise person was tranquil.[106] For Seneca, "the highest good is harmony of the soul; for where concord and unity are, there must the virtues be."[107] The

95 Lucretius, *Nat.* 5.1198–1206; Cicero, *Fin.* 1.14.47; Lucian, *Alex.* 47; Diogenes Laertius 10.131; 10.144.17. Epicurus's chief goal was peace of mind (in the sense of lack of disturbance; Diogenes Laertius 10.85; cf. 10.144.17).

96 Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.10; cf. Cicero, *Amic.* 22.84; Hossenfelder, "Ataraxia."

97 Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 51, citing Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 2.5.

98 See Bett, "Sceptics and the Emotions," 212, who notes that Sceptics sought the opposite, recognizing that such absolute truth did not exist.

99 Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 13.13.

100 E.g., Seneca, *Nat.* 6.32.4; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.19; Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.10; 32.220; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.23; cf. further Stowers, "Pauline Christianity," 93; Keener, *Acts*, 4:3627–29. Other factors, like friendship, could bring the soul tranquility (Cicero, *Amic.* 22.84).

101 Musonius Rufus 6 (54.35–56.7, esp. 56.2); Aulus Gellius 19.1.4–21; Diogenes Laertius 2.71 (on Aristippus).

102 E.g., Cicero, *Off.* 1.38.136; Diogenes Laertius 7.1.110; Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 32.225. To restrain passions was part of virtue (*Off.* 2.5.18).

103 E.g., Valerius Maximus 3.3. ext. 1.

104 Cicero, *Off.* 1.29.102; 1.38.136.

105 Arius Didymus 2.7.5k (34–45.1–3); at length, Seneca, *Dial.* 9. A virtuous soul was in harmony with itself, lacking contradictory impulses (Arius Didymus 2.7.5b1 [12.31–33]).

106 Arius Didymus 2.7.11s (100.7–10).

107 Seneca, *Dial.* 7.8.6 (LCL 2:121).

reward for disciplining the mind for endurance was tranquility of the soul;[108] this was the opposite of such disturbing passions as anger.[109] Truth liberates from error and fear, hence provides tranquility in the soul.[110] The mind should be as tranquil and restful as the highest heavens.[111] Another Roman Stoic, Musonius Rufus, emphasized that the correct use of reason could lead to serenity and freedom.[112] One achieved serenity by gaining the object of the only desire one could be certain to gain by seeking it exclusively, namely virtue,[113] or by wishing for no more than what actually happens.[114]

Diaspora Jews also spoke of "peace," or tranquility in the soul, even during difficult times.[115] More relevantly, Philo could contrast peace (εἰρήνη) for the mind with war within a passion-stirred soul.[116] Likewise, the wise person's thinking liberates one from wars and internal turmoil, providing calm and peace (εἰρήνη).[117]

Given the context in Gal 5:17, it is not impossible that Paul might intend "peace" to include internal tranquility.[118] Jerome believed that this sense was included here.[119] Nevertheless, Paul's usage elsewhere suggests that it involves more than this; usually Pauline "peace" involves objective non-enmity,

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108 Seneca, *Dial.* 4.12.6. This may be distinguished from simple relaxation, useful as that was (as in Seneca, the Elder *Controv.* 1. preface 15). Seneca the Younger also valued the ability to avoid distraction (Seneca, *Lucil.* 56).

109 Seneca, *Dial.* 4.13.2. For such disturbances of the soul, cf., e.g., Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 13.13.

110 Seneca, *Lucil.* 75.18. For overcoming fear, see also Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.16.11; 2.17.29.

111 Seneca, *Dial.* 5.6.1. On the relation of the mind to the heavens, see Keener, *Mind of the Spirit*, 237–51.

112 Musonius Rufus frg. 38 (136.1–2).

113 Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.4.1, 3.

114 Epictetus, *Ench.* 8.

115 *Let. Aris.* 273. In *T. Sim.* 3:5, the mind is eased when one flees to God and the spirit of envy is driven out. For unmixed peace (cf. Jas 3:17), see Philo, *Fug.* 174.

116 Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.187. Peace and joy accompany virtue in *Alleg. Interp.* 1.45.

117 Philo, *Somn.* 2.229 (cf. also the mind at rest in 2.228).

118 Such a connection need not exclude moral connotations; in *T. Sim.* 3:5, the mind is eased when God expels the spirit of envy. Similarly, in Iamblichus, *Ep.* 9 (Stobaeus 2.33.15), ὁμόνοια (9.1) applies to "cities and homes" (9.3, see Dillon and Polleichtner, *Iamblichus*, 29); but also (9.4–5) to unity with oneself; for (9.7, 10) one "in two minds toward himself . . . is in conflict with himself" and "at war with himself."

119 Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 3.5.22.

non-hostility, reconciliation, or unity (with God or humans).[120] Augustine, therefore, understood the term here relationally.[121]

Indeed, the normal semantic range of the term involves peace with others or wholeness, more than internal tranquility.[122] Some Gentile intellectuals also viewed this sort of peace as part of the polytheistic divine character; contrary to a literal reading of the myths, the gods had peace and tranquility, without strife.[123] In view of the context, Paul's audience would probably primarily envision the relational dimension here: peace naturally contrasts with "biting and devouring" each other (Gal 5:15).[124] Such language sometimes figuratively represented strife,[125] as do eight of the works of the flesh in 5:20–21, vices listed in the still nearer context.

Other virtues, including self-control. Other virtues on the list fit conventional expectations. For example, Stoics often define the virtue of kindness in connection with justice,[126] or as the skill of sharing and giving.[127] It appears in lists of attributes for ideal rulers.[128] The Spirit also produces meekness or humility

120 E.g., with humans, Rom 3:17; 12:18; 14:19; 1 Cor 7:15; 14:33; 16:11; 2 Cor 13:11; with God, Rom 5:1. Even in the sparsely worded Rom 15:33, some of the earliest interpreters found the relational emphasis (Theodoret of Cyr, *Interp. Rom.*; Pelagius, *Comm. Rom.*; cf. Ambrosiaster, *Commentary on Paul's Epistles*; all from Bray, *Romans*). One could argue for the meaning of tranquility in Phil 4:7, though cf. the issue of unity in Phil 4:2–3. The exception may be in his epistolary greetings where, following conventional Jewish well-wishing, he probably implies well-being.

121 Augustine, *Exp. Gal.* 51 (in Edwards, *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians*, 85).

122 Even most of the "tranquility" terms used by various writers cited above involve especially "quietness" or "lack of disturbance."

123 Proclus, *Poet.* Essay 6, Bk. 1, K87.16–17 (εἰρήνη), 21–22; Libanius, *Invective* 7.2. Cf. Oakes, *Galatians*, 176, on *pax*/peace as "the deified virtue representing lack of strife in the empire."

124 See e.g., Moo, *Galatians*, 365; de Boer, *Galatians*, 364.

125 E.g., *m. 'Abot* 3:2; *T. Gad* 2:2; cf. exploitation in Mic 3:2–3; bloodshed in Seneca the Elder, *Controv.* 1.8.16; *1 En.* 103:11, 15; revenge in Musonius Rufus 10 (78.27–28); flattery in Diogenes Laertius 6.1.4; possibly mocking another in Phaedrus 4.8.1–2. Likewise, the envious were consumed by passion; Diogenes Laertius 6.1.5.

126 For Stoics, it is an expression of the virtue of justice (Arius Didymus 2.7.5b2 [14.18–20]) and "is a knowledge which is disposed to do good" (16.14; trans. 17).

127 Arius Didymus 2.7.5 L, (36.6) (hence, generosity).

128 Musonius Rufus 8 (66.11) (εὐεργετικὸς, χρηστὸς, φιλάνθρωπος). Alternatively, virtue encompasses love of humanity, kindness, justice, and benefaction (Musonius Rufus 14 [92.31–33]).

in 1QS 4.3[129] and possibly 1QS 3.8 (especially when taken with 3.7); in Greek sources it was also a virtue, including for leaders, understood not as weakness but as mercy or compassion.[130]

The list of virtues in 5:22–23 climaxes with "self-control" (ἐγκράτεια), which might remind the reader that the fruit of the Spirit is not wholly an exercise in meditative passivity.[131] This last virtue contrasts with most of the vices listed in 5:19–21.[132] The term ἐγκράτεια[133] (and its cognates, which in this case share the same semantic domain) involves restraint of passions or emotions (especially the "baser" ones).[134] Orators included this virtue in their arsenal of potential elements for epideictic speeches.[135]

The usage among philosophers is especially striking.[136] Xenophon reports that Socrates taught his friends to maintain such self-control in eating, drinking, intercourse, sleep, and enduring cold, heat, and work (*Mem*. 2.1.1). Pythagoras is said to have tested prospective disciples regarding self-control, especially of the tongue (Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 17.72). Stoic philosophers also urged self-control of the tongue, belly, and sexual activity (Musonius Rufus 16 [104.18–21]);[137] for them it involved knowledge that kept one's behavior

129 As often noted, e.g., Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 57.

130 See e.g., Musonius Rufus 16 (104.18); Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 32.37; Plutarch, *Brut.* 29.2; *Flatterer/Friend* 28, in *Mor.* 69C; Arius Didymus 2.7.11s (100.4–7); Lucian, *Alex.* 61; Menander Rhetor 2.4, 389.8; esp. discussion in Good, *Jesus the Meek King*.

131 Though it remains a fruit of the Spirit, not a human work; see Oakes, *Galatians*, 177.

132 The discussion on self-control here is adapted from Keener, *Acts*, 4:3434–35.

133 The term could be listed among virtues alongside justice, δικαιοσύνη, as above (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.20). Self-control appears in a eulogy of Alexander (Arrian, *Alex*. 7.28.2)—for whom the claim is incredible. For this emphasis in Greco-Roman and Diaspora Jewish literature (and, in Stowers's view, Paul's letters), see Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 42–82 (mentioning this passage, 79–80).

134 See e.g., Isocrates, *Demon*. 21; Xenophon, *Oec*. 7.27; *Hell.* 4.8.22. Cf. the broad sense of the Latin *temperantia* in Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.8.16.

135 E.g., Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 29.14 (demanding the same of the bereaved, 29.22).

136 For Aristotle, undivided virtue was better than needing self-control for passions, but the latter was better than being uncontrolled (Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 52, citing *Eth. nic*. 1.13.17, 1102b26–28; 7.8.4, 1151a11–20). Cf. also discussion in Stowers, "Paul and Self-Mastery," 525–34 *passim*. For self-control in Plato, see Lodge, *Plato's Theory of Ethics*, 40–42.

137 See also the emphasis on self-control in Cicero, *Fin*. 2.19.60 (a Stoic); Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.10.18; Arius Didymus 2.7.11i (78.13); 2.7.5b2 (14.16); cf. Galen, *Grief* 79b; see also Jewish works influenced by Stoicism (*4 Macc*. 5:34; *Let. Aris*. 278; the more common equivalent in

"in accord with correct reasoning."[138] Even Epicureans praised self-control (*temperantia*), though only because it produced peace of soul (Cicero, *Fin.* 1.14.47). In philosophic literature, this virtue of ἐγκράτεια is closely related to and overlaps substantially with σωφροσύνη[139]—that is, rational moderation, temperance, or sound judgment.[140] Ἐγκράτεια was also important for how rulers or other leaders should conduct themselves;[141] indeed, a ruler ought to have more ἐγκράτεια than anyone else.[142] (Instructions to kings were relevant more widely because philosophers often viewed themselves as ideal rulers.)[143]

5 "Against these there is no Law" (Galatians 5:23)

Paul has already broached the proposed problem of how to have biblical ethics without being subject to the law and has resolved it by the life of Christ at work in one (see Gal 2:16–21). More recently he has noted that love fulfills the law (5:14). He has also observed that if one walks by the Spirit, led by the Spirit, one is not under the law (5:18), because one does not fulfill the lusts that the law had sought to restrain (5:16–24).[144] Serving one another in love (5:13–14,

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4 Maccabees is σωφροσύνη). It is equivalent to wisdom in Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.21.9; Wis 8:21; and (via the law) *4 Macc.* 5:34–35.

138 Arius Didymus 2.7.5b2 (16.1–3).

139 For the relationship, see, e.g., Musonius Rufus 5 (50.22–26); 18A (112.6–7); Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 31.195; *Letter* 3, frg. 5 (Stobaeus 3.5.48; see esp. comments of Dillon and Polleichtner, *Iamblichus*, 66, on Iamblichus's adaptation of Xenophon *Mem.* 1.5.4); Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.20; in moral rhetoric, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 1.56; 23.11; 29.14 (cf. 3.58, where ἐγκράτεια substitutes for σωφροσύνη in the normal formulation); Menander Rhetor 2.3, 385.22–23; 2.10, 416.18–23; cf. also Tit 1:8. See esp. Arius Didymus 2.7.5b2 (14–15.15–16), where ἐγκράτεια is a category of the virtue σωφροσύνη.

140 On which, see Keener, *Acts*, 4:3539–41; more extensively, North, *Sophrosyne*.

141 E.g., Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 3.85; Menander Rhetor 2.10, 416.19.

142 Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 62.7. This statement belongs to Dio's larger discussion (*Or.* 62) of the virtuous versus the pleasure-seeking ruler.

143 E.g., Stoics in Cicero, *Fin.* 3.22.75; Seneca, *Lucil.* 108.13; Musonius Rufus 8 (66.3); Arius Didymus 2.7.11g (74.1); 2.7.11m (88.26–29); 2.7.11m (90.1–6); 2.7.11m (92.18–20); Plutarch *Flatterer/Friend* 16, in *Mor.* 58E; Cynics in Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.22.49; Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 36.5; for Pythagoreans, cf. Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 27.129. This approach is mocked in Horace, *Sat.* 1.3.125; Plutarch *Stories and Poets* 4, in *Mor.* 1058C; Lucian, *Vit. auct.* 20.

144 Cf. Luther, *Second Lectures on Galatians* on 6:13 (in Bray, *Galatians, Ephesians*, 221): "The law cannot be fulfilled without the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit cannot be received without Christ. Until that happens the human spirit remains unclean, and so whatever parts of the law it performs are hypocritical and sinful."

following Jesus' teaching) thus fulfills the law of Christ (6:2). Paul underlines the same point here: the fruit of the Spirit's activity within one fulfills the law; there is no law that contravenes these ethical qualities (5:23).

Paul's language here would be intelligible even to Gentiles, although they traditionally envisioned different laws than did Jesus. As is often noted, Aristotle thought it superfluous to regulate morally excellent persons by law, since their own excellence made them a law for themselves.[145] If everyone was good, others insisted, we would not need written laws.[146] An ideal king was a living law, embodying justice;[147] unwritten laws are more immutable than written ones.[148] Indeed, for the first-century Roman Stoic Seneca, a soul that is virtuous "is virtue itself."[149] A pseudepigraphic letter attributed to the Cynic philosopher Crates insists that philosophy is better than law, since law works by compulsion and philosophy works by teaching one to act willingly.[150] Laws are good, Philo acknowledged, but some achieve this virtue by the unwritten law implanted in one by nature.[151] Likewise, Aristippus reportedly declared concerning philosophers, "Should all laws be repealed, we shall go on living as we do now."[152] Laws were useless, complained Demonax, since virtuous people needed no laws, and laws did not improve the wicked.[153]

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145 Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.8.2, 1284a, cited in Bruce, "All Things to All Men," 90, 98; Betz, *Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, 288n164; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 411; de Boer, *Galatians*, 366. Laws remain necessary to restrain bad persons (Aeschines, *Tim.* 13; Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 38.6; 1 Tim 1:9).

146 Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 76.4. For some different texts about divine law in Dio, see deSilva, *Global Readings*, 246. Anacharsis reportedly complained that laws were like spiders' webs, capturing the weak and poor but not the rich or powerful (Valerius Maximus 7.2. ext. 14; cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 5).

147 Musonius Rufus 8 (64.11–12; and see Lutz's note; cf. also Klassen, "The King as 'Living Law.'" Stoics "say that only the wise man is law-abiding, as he is able to do what is ordered by the law, and that he alone is able to interpret it—hence, he is also learned in the law" (Arius Didymus 2.7.11i [76.32–37]).

148 Seneca the Elder, *Controv.* 1.1.14.

149 Seneca, *Lucil.* 66.6 (LCL 2:7).

150 Crates, *Ep.* 5.

151 Philo, *Abr.* 16. The wise has authority to live as he wants; these matters are lawful, because the wise person is free (Philo, *Prob.* 59). One who follows nature's laws will not stray (Cicero, *Off.* 1.28.100); on natural law, see further Keener, *Acts*, 3:2265–68; cf. Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law*.

152 Diogenes Laertius 2.68 (LCL 1:199).

153 Lucian, *Demon.* 59.

A later Platonist advised grasping the law of nature and thus ascending to the divine law behind it:[154] "With these laws as your point of reference, you need never be concerned about the written law";[155] "For the written laws are laid down for the sake of temperate men, not to keep them from doing wrong but from being wronged."[156]

The idea became such a commonplace that it occurs even in rhetoric; "it is best for the city . . . to observe the laws with exactness, but not to need laws."[157] A truly wise person is free,[158] "fearing no tyrant, constrained by no law, troubled by no constitution."[159] Intellect is the true law, unwritten but legislated by God, that also keeps one free; it renders other laws superfluous.[160] Dio Chrysostom notes that those who refrain from crimes through fear of punishment are not truly virtuous; the virtuous act rightly regardless of external laws.[161] A mythographer also depicted the golden era as one when everyone did what was right without need for a law.[162]

A virtue list would not appear to ancient hearers out of place in connection with a divine law. Thus one first-century Stoic thinker lists various virtues as demands of Zeus's law, which seeks for a person to be good.[163] In Galatians, of course, the chief law in question is divinely given[164] biblical law, but the chief virtue of love (Gal 5:22) fulfills that law (5:14).

Commentators have long noted that Paul is not against the law here (Gal 5:18, 23); instead, he points to a higher source, the very Spirit that inspired the law to begin with. As Rudolf Gwalther noted, "believers have the Spirit to replace the law, by whose power the law is written on their hearts (as the Lord once promised through Jeremiah), so that they voluntarily do what the law

154 Porphyry, *Marc.* 27.420–422.

155 Porphyry, *Marc.* 27.422–423 (translations from Wicker, *Porphyry*, 69).

156 Porphyry, *Marc.* 27.424–425 (ibid.).

157 Menander Rhetor 1.3, 360.12–13 (translation from Russell and Wilson, *Menander Rhetor*, 61). But cf. Polybius 4.47.3–4: when a people's laws are good, the people and state will also be good.

158 Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 36.4 (developing Plato's image of the cave).

159 Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 36.5 (trans. Trapp, *Maximus*, 286), concerning Diogenes.

160 Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 6.5–6.

161 Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 69.8–9.

162 Ovid, *Metam.* 1.89–90; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.26 (noted in Lock, *Pastoral Epistles*, 11–12). Being good (possibly morally) is better than law in Menander, *Karchedonios* frg. 4 (Stobaeus 3.9.16; 4.1.21).

163 Musonius Rufus 16 (104.32–36).

164 *Pace* commentators who view the giver of Gal 3:19 as the angels (depicted there as mediators) rather than God (implied in the presumably divine passive).

cannot require without making severe threats. Yet we must not forget that the law also has its uses. It serves as an instrument for teaching, instruction, exhortation and rebuke."[165]

6 Conclusion

Like many other moral teachers, Paul made use of lists of vices and virtues. For Paul in Gal 5, however, these virtues reflect God's indwelling character rather than studied compliance with an external code. Some of these expressions of divine character, such as joy, include qualities that modern Western readers might classify more as emotions than as virtues. The paramount virtue, however, which sums up the character of all the others (and all the law), is love. Love fulfills the law (Gal 5:14), and no law condemns the life lived by the fruit of the Spirit.

After arguing against dependence on the law for justification (Gal 3–4), Paul shows that the ethical virtues that could be distilled from the law already flow from the life of the Spirit. These virtues transform a person from inside. Those schooled in Greek intellectual thought would have found points of common ground in Paul's portrayal, although Paul's approach is grounded most directly in biblical tradition and in the living experience of the Spirit.

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165 Rudolf Gwalther, *Sermons on Galatians* on 5:23, in Bray, *Galatians, Ephesians*, 200. The Jeremiah reference is Jer 31:33.

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CHAPTER 25

To Incline Another's Heart: The Role of Attitude in Reader Positioning

James D. Dvorak[1]

1 Introduction

In 1993, Wayne Meeks[2] published *The Origins of Christian Morality*, in which he set out "to describe the moral dimensions"—the dimensions of life comprised of a "pervasive and, often, only partly conscious set of value-laden dispositions, inclinations, attitudes, and habits"[3]—"of the subcultures of several varieties of the early Christian movement, seen within the larger complex culture of the Roman Empire."[4] Because of the socially and culturally bounded nature of what he was investigating, he adopted an "ethnographic approach,"[5] which made available to him the etic, descriptive methodologies common to

1 I first met Dr. Stan Porter in the spring of 2005 on a visit to the McMaster Divinity College campus. I was there to learn about their PhD program and to see if it would be a good fit for me. Of course, I had already known about Stan, mainly through his voluminous publications and consistently excellent scholarship, particularly in the area of biblical Greek language and linguistics—the very subject matter I wanted to study. I remember our first meeting vividly. I arrived early for our appointment, and was politely ushered into Stan's office to await his arrival. During my relatively short wait, I grew increasingly anxious as I thought about meeting such an esteemed scholar. My mind was racing: What kinds of things might I ask him? What kinds of things might he ask me? How should I even address him? Moments later he entered the room, walked over to me, and very warmly introduced himself as he shook my hand. He then sat down in his wingback chair, swung his legs over the arm of the chair, and said, "So tell me a little about yourself." When I addressed him as "Dr. Porter" he responded, "Please, call me Stan." In an instant, I became much more calm and relaxed, and so began one of the most meaningful and significant mentorships I have ever experienced. I am grateful for all Stan taught me during my doctoral studies and all that he continues to teach me even now. I am especially grateful that our friendship has continued. *Ich schreibe diesen Aufsatz zu Ehren meines Freundes und Mentors*, Dr. Stanley E. Porter.

2 For more on Wayne Meeks and his contribution to biblical interpretation, see Dvorak, "Edwin Judge and Wayne Meeks."

3 Meeks, *Origins*, 4.

4 Ibid., 10.

5 Ibid.

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ethnography and cultural anthropology. Of course, one cannot do field work among people who are long dead, as Meeks admits, so he focused his attention on the texts that serve as the primary sources of the history of the early Christians, namely the New Testament and other Christian documents from the first and second centuries.[6] His intent was not so much to point to this or that specific moral boundary but to describe as clearly as possible the ways in which the early Christians "developed something like a moral common sense, a set of moral intuitions."[7] These intuitions are not given by nature; rather, they are formed within communities through the interpersonal interactions of the community members.[8] In sociological terms, the initial formation of morals and the values and behaviors attached to them is called "socialization." If someone in the group violates the group's core values or transgresses its moral boundaries—or if someone undergoes conversion[9] and leaves one group to join another—then processes of "resocialization" are enacted.[10]

It is not surprising that resources from any number of semiotic systems may be marshaled for the purposes of socialization and/or resocialization, such as somatic[11] and exo-somatic[12] systems. Yet the primary semiotic system upon which humans draw is language. Part of the ethnographer's work is to "look at the language [the subjects] use[d] to provide explicit action guides for one another."[13] Meeks's inspection along these lines gleans a decent harvest, especially in chapters bearing headings like "The Language of Obligation" and "The Grammar of Christian Practice"[14] (though this latter chapter focuses more on social practices [e.g., rituals] than on language per se).

From the slate of linguistic genres/forms put to work by the early Christians, Meeks discusses the following (from "simpler" to "more complex"): virtue and

6 Ibid., 3, 10.

7 Ibid., 11.

8 Ibid., 8.

9 Ibid., 18–36. See also Nock's now classic work *Conversion*.

10 Resocialization refers to the processes whereby a person willingly sets aside or alters certain beliefs, value positions, and behaviors and accepts new or modified ones as part of some form of social transformation or conversion. See Shaefer and Lamm, *Sociology*, 113; Brim, "Adult Socialization," 556.

11 I.e., systems using some aspect of the body as expression plane, such as gesturing, embracing/hugging, shaking or nodding of the head.

12 I.e., systems using things outside of the body as expression planes, such as art, architecture, various forms of dress.

13 Meeks, *Origins*, 14.

14 See also Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 85 ("The Language of Belonging") and 94 ("The Language of Separation").

vice lists, *chreiai*, precepts and commands, *topoi*/*loci*, epitomes, letters, and testaments.[15] The discussion of each provides excellent insights that certainly do benefit exegesis. For example, in his discussion of vice and virtue lists, Meeks points out that the writers who use them do not typically connect them to an explicit christological reference; instead, the negative or positive traits tend to "stand on their own, as self-evident marks of the wrong or right way to live."[16] He argues further that the selection of vices or virtues to include in such lists "seems to depend more on rhetorical effect than on logical progression."[17] Surely, this observation is worthy of record in the ethnographer's field journal, yet as it stands, its heuristic value is limited, due to a lack of explanation as to *how* or *why* listings of vices and virtues (or any of the other "typical patterns of language"[18] he discusses) might have any kind of rhetorical effect, let alone that of construing the practice or avoidance of certain behaviors as "self-evident" or common sense. Neither does it explain how or why such "common-sensing" might function as a means of persuasion or social influence by which readers are positioned to think, do, believe, or feel one way and not another.

This is the topic I will explore further in this essay. In what follows, I will argue that people are inescapably engaged in the negotiation of values. I contend that people enter into these negotiations not merely to express *that* they adhere to this or that set of values but also to position others such that they are inclined to take up the same values with the hope that community solidarity will be generated around the ideology or ideologies that these value positions reify.[19] Meeks claims as much in his descriptive ethnographic report, but I want to offer a linguistic-critical reading of the kinds of language usage that he noted. Therefore, I will focus on the linguistics of reader positioning.[20] I am specifically interested in the key purveyors of values and ideologies, namely emotions, judgments, appraisals, and the various ways in which writers open up or shut down dialogue with others' value positions. For this reason, I will outline a model of appraisal that will allow for a fuller description of how such

15 See Meeks, *Origins*, 66–84.

16 Ibid., 67.

17 Ibid., 68.

18 Ibid., 66.

19 The expression of values may also be for the purpose convincing oneself or others to *maintain* a level of solidarity that already exists rather than convincing them to take up a new or different set of values. See Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 88–90.

20 Of course, people also use *spoken* language to position others, but since I am dealing with written texts, I refer only to readers throughout this essay.

things as vice and virtue lists, various *gnōmai*, precepts, threats, promises, and the like were employed for the purpose of positioning readers.

2 Theory and Model

2.1 *Theory: Language as a Form of Social Behavior*

I was initially attracted to linguistic criticism as hermeneutic,[21] because I was especially interested in the notion of "doing things with words." I invested much time and energy in studying linguistic pragmatics and speech act theory.[22] Over time, however, I grew increasingly dissatisfied with the assumptions of the logical-philosophical paradigm from which these perspectives were born. The main source of frustration was the persistent "ideal versus actual" bifurcation of language characteristic of these approaches,[23] which consistently results in the preferential treatment of idealized language, sets of rules, and logical presuppositions and a neglect of the "real world" use of language.[24] This dualistic view minimizes the social function of language and its social context of use. It tends to discount the fact that "language is at the heart of social context and gives it voice,"[25] and, further, that "languaging" as a form of context-constrained meaning making, is intended to have some sort of effect on those engaging one another in the colloquia of everyday life.[26] In short, because models from this paradigm tend to focus exaggeratedly on the formal properties of linguistic code, they fail to account satisfactorily for the behavioral functions of language.

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21 See Porter, "Linguistic Criticism."

22 See Levinson, *Pragmatics*; Blum-Kulka, "Discourse Pragmatics"; Yule, *Study of Language*, 127–38; Austin, *Do Things with Words*; Searle, *Expression and Meaning*. For applications in biblical hermeneutics, see Voelz, *What Does This Mean*, 275–92; Thiselton, "Hermeneutics of Self-Involvement."

23 See Halliday, "Language as Code and Language as Behaviour," 4. The Chomskyan variation on this theme is the distinction between "competence" (the ideal) and "performance" (the actual); see Chomsky, *Language and Mind*, 102–4.

24 The classic example of this is Saussure's severance of *langue* (language as system) and *parole* (language as instance), and his subsequent conclusion that the discipline of linguistics should fix its gaze upon *langue*. See Saussure, *Course*, 8–17.

25 Neufeld, "Introduction," 3. See Malina, *Christian Origins*, 3–5; Rohrbaugh, *Cross-Cultural Perspective*, x–xii.

26 Malina, *Christian Origins*, 4.

For this reason, I shifted to an alternative paradigm, one that has been labeled ethnographic-descriptive.[27] As this moniker suggests, perspectives produced from this paradigm emphasize the social nature and functions of language. In fact, the bedrock tenet of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the theory I have found most satisfying, is that language is a *social semiotic*. With this tenet, Halliday rejects the ideal/actual vivisection in favor of modeling language as both system and instance—not as two separate phenomena but as the same phenomenon viewed from two different vantage points along a cline.[28] This makes it possible "to interpret simultaneously both what language 'is' and what language 'does' (or, more realistically, what people do with it)."[29]

From one vantage point on the cline, language may be perceived as a system, but not as a system defined in the Saussurean sense of all possible pairs of signifiers and signifieds. Instead, it is defined as *meaning potential*, which is tied directly to *social action* or *behavior*. It is, as Halliday argues, the "range of possibilities, an open-ended set of options in *behaviour* that are available to the individual in his existence as social man [*sic*]."[30] Expanding this point, he writes:

> If we regard language as social behaviour, therefore, this means we are treating it as a form of behaviour *potential*. It is what the speaker can do.
>
> But "can do" by itself is not a linguistic notion; it encompasses types of behaviour other than linguistic behaviour. If we are to relate the notion of "can do" to the sentences, words, and phrases that the speaker is able to construct in his language—to what he can say, in other words—then we need an intermediate step where the behaviour potential is as it were converted into linguistic potential. This is the concept of what the speaker "can mean."
>
> The potential of language is a meaning potential. This meaning potential is the linguistic realization of the behavioural potential; "can mean" is "can do" when translated into language. The meaning potential is in turn

27 See Halliday, "Language as Code and Language as Behaviour," 4–5.

28 See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Introduction*, 27–30; Halliday, "On Grammar and Grammatics," 412. See also O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 30.

29 Halliday, "Language as Code and Language as Behaviour," 6. See also Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 26.

30 Halliday, *Explorations*, 49 (italics added). See also ibid., 51, 72; Halliday, "Systemic Background," 192–93; Halliday, "Context of Situation," 3–4; Halliday and Matthiessen, *Introduction*, 27.

> realized in the language system as lexicogrammatical potential, which is what the speaker "can say."[31]

When we shift our perspective on language to the instance end of the cline, we see behavior/meaning potential in its *actualized* form or behavior that has been "translated" to (i.e., realized as) meaning (i.e., discourse semantics), which has been further realized as lexicogrammar, and still further as spoken or written text (i.e., phonology or graphology). Text is, thus, not what language users *can* do with words but is what they *are doing* or, at least, are *attempting* to do with words from moment to moment in any given colloquy.

All of this begs the questions, *What behaviors do people try to accomplish with language, why, and how?* As I suggested in the introduction, people are inescapably involved in the negotiation of values and the ideologies they construe. The terms "value" and "ideology" need to be unpacked. I take the term "value" to refer to a

> general quality and direction in life that human beings are expected to embody in their behavior. . . . a general, normative orientation of action in a social system. . . . an emotionally anchored commitment to pursue and support certain directions or types of actions.[32]

Additionally, I take the term "ideology" to refer to

> an integrated system of beliefs, perspectives, assumptions, and values, not necessarily true or false, that reflect the perceived needs and interests of a group or class at a particular time in history; that contain the chief criteria for interpreting social reality; and that serve to define, explain, and legitimate collective wants and needs, interests, values, norms, and organizational goals in a continuous interaction with the material forces of history.[33]

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31 Halliday, *Explorations*, 51.

32 Pilch and Malina, "Introduction," xv. See also Malina, *Christian Origins*, 112; and Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality*, 93–94 (under "legitimation").

33 Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism*, 130. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 87, defines ideology as the "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination." Cf. also Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 2: "The central insight which the concept of ideology tries to sum up is simply this: there are some very

As these definitions suggest, what actually gets negotiated are people's culturally-bound[34] and constrained interpretations of social reality and how that reality ought to be enacted or, more colloquially, "the way things are" (or are not) and "the way things ought to be" (or ought not to be). Of course, not all people interpret "the way things are" in the same way, and perhaps even less so "the way things ought to be," and the resulting differences prompt various manifestations and degrees of struggle and conflict.[35] What is important for the current discussion is that *text as encoded social behavior is one domain in which people and the groups they represent engage one another in these struggles and conflicts.*[36] Further, as the discipline of social semiotics has made clear, people make use of language in order to perform the contradistinctive social

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common meanings we have learned to make, and take for granted as common sense, but which support the power of one social group to dominate another."

34 Generally speaking, "culture" refers to the systems of symbols that humans use to create and to regulate their behaviors and interactions. See Stets and Turner, "Sociology of Emotions," 32. See also Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism*, 128. SFL posits that all social behavior, linguistic and otherwise, is constrained by one's context of culture, and the constraints themselves can vary drastically from culture to culture. Accordingly, this means that both the processes of making and exchanging meanings and the interpretation of the meanings exchanged are culturally constrained. This is one area in which biblical studies has benefitted from the researches of social-scientific criticism, especially with regard to pointing out differences between the culture of the biblical world and that of today's interpreters. See Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism*, and Dvorak, "John H. Elliott's Social-Scientific Criticism" for the basic tenets of social-scientific criticism, its strengths, and its weaknesses. For example, cultural anthropologists have aptly demonstrated that one feature of the culture in which the ancient Christians lived was that of group-orientation or collectivism. This stands over against the highly individualistic Western culture of many contemporary interpreters of the Bible. In regards to hermeneutics, this means that when one considers the different value positions and ideologies promoted or critiqued in biblical texts, she or he must take care not to think that they were, say, Paul's or James's or John's personal values presented over against another's personal values; rather, they were the values of the group to which they belonged and in which they gained their identities.

35 See Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, 3. Note, however, that they explicitly tie struggle and conflict to inequalities of power and goods primarily within the context of a capitalist society (although they add "as in most social formations"). I suggest here, however, that the cause of struggle and conflict is prior to inequalities of power and goods, for the notions of equality/inequality of power or anything else are themselves based upon how they are valued.

36 Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 28.

functions of creating difference and generating solidarity.[37] This is why critical scholars like Fairclough can say that values and ideologies "reside" in texts.[38]

Fairclough is right, however, that one cannot simply "read off" value positions or ideologies from text; rather, texts must be passed through an interpretive model that is able to identify the sociolinguistic features that play a role in creating difference or generating solidarity.[39] But what are these features? Appraisal theory presumes that the key purveyor of values, ideologies, and their structures is *evaluation*.[40] Evaluation refers to one's attitude or stance towards, perspective upon, or feelings about entities, propositions, or basic subject matter under discussion.[41] The model of appraisal presented below organizes along three axes the evaluative resources available in the linguistic system that a person may use to take up stance as part of the negotiation of values and ideologies.[42] The first axis accounts for the linguistic realizations of attitude (i.e., emotions, judgments, and/or appreciations). Investigations along this line include not only explicitly inscribed attitudes, but also linguistic realizations that indirectly evoke or provoke attitude in others. The potential interpersonal effect is attitudinal resonance; that is, that the writer's feelings would resonate with the readers such that the readers adopt the same attitude as the writer. This is called attitudinal positioning.

The second axis accounts for linguistic features that traditionally have been categorized under (epistemic) modality and evidentiality. The model extends these categories beyond writer certainty, commitment, and knowledge to include how a writer engages and positions his or her own voice vis-à-vis other voices.[43] As Martin and White put it, these are the linguistic resources that allow writers "to present themselves as recognizing, answering, ignoring, challenging, rejecting, fending off, anticipating or accommodating actual or

37 See Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, 3, where they describe this principle as a "double and contradictory necessity." As an interesting example, Canavan argues that Paul's use of kinship language served this very purpose: "it defined [the believers'] relationship to each other and also their difference from the greater community." ("Inclusive Language," 3).

38 Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 88. See also Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, 19–20.

39 See Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 89.

40 See Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 3.

41 Hunston and Thompson, *Evaluation in Text*, 5; Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 3.

42 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 4. The next several paragraphs draw heavily upon my dissertation, Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 4–6.

43 "Voice" is a Bakhtinian metaphor for "point of view" (Holquist, *Dialogism*, 164), which tends to be used interchangeably with "value position."

potential interlocutors and the value positions they represent."[44] The potential effects of the meanings made with these resources are referred to as dialogic and intertextual positioning.

The third axis accounts for the linguistic features used for what traditionally has been called intensification, vague language, or hedging. These are the features that allow a writer to raise or lower the force—turn up or turn down the volume, so to speak—of a proposition or proposal. Additionally, these features allow a language user to sharpen or to soften focus with regard to the prototypicality of culturally-bounded categories or phenomena that are not inherently scalable (e.g., "my friends" vs. "my *true* friends"). This third axis works across and with the other two, and the meanings that are made depend upon the one with which it is coupled. When attitudes are scaled, the meanings generally construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity; when engagement is scaled, the meanings generally signal greater or lesser degrees of intensity or investment in the utterance.[45]

2.2 *Model: The Linguistics of Values Negotiation*

I present in this section the basic system network and more detailed descriptions of the three roughly sketched axes. Fig. 25.1 provides an overview of the major systems of *Appraisal*.[46] Reading from left to right, the entry condition is the language user's choice to make evaluative meaning. She or he then makes selections from the three simultaneous subsystems *Attitude*, *Engagement*, and *Graduation*.[47] As more delicate selections are made, the options become binary.[48] For example, when a person selects from *Attitude*, she or he may state the evaluation *either* explicitly (inscribed) *or* implicitly (invoked), but not both. She or he may make further selections from *Affect*, *Judgment*, and *Appreciation*, and these evaluations may be *either* positive *or* negative, but not both.[49]

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44 Martin and White, *Language of Evaluation*, 2.

45 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 6.

46 This figure has been revised and expanded from Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," and appears in Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 94. It does not depict a number of the more delicate choices of each system.

47 Simultaneous systems, which signify the meaning of logical "and," are depicted by rounded brackets.

48 Binary systems, which signify the meaning of logical "or," are depicted by square brackets.

49 See Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 94–95.

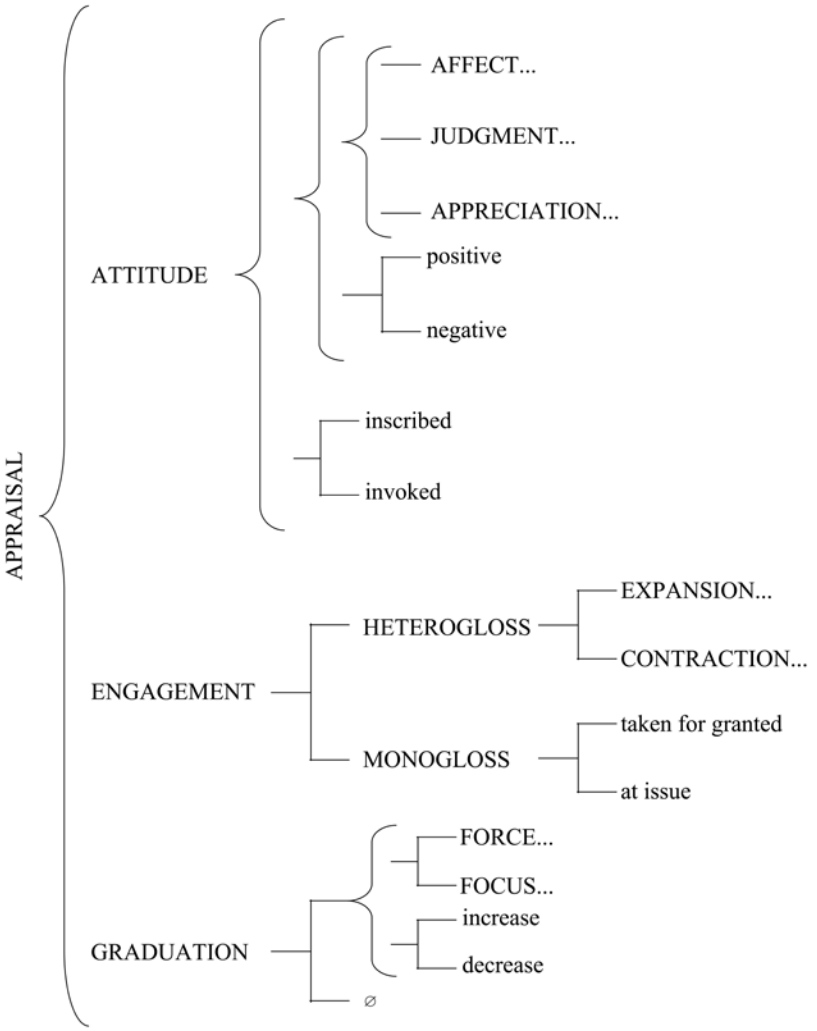


FIGURE 25.1 *An Overview of the Appraisal System Network.*

2.2.1 Attitude[50]

The system of *Attitude* encapsulates the different ways of "translating" the meanings of positive or negative emotions into text. This system is comprised of three subsystems: *Affect*, *Judgment*, and *Appreciation*. Selections from these three systems may be either positive or negative. It should be noted, however,

50 For fuller treatment, see Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 52–75.

that positivity and negativity are highly contextual and must be considered carefully.[51]

Affect describes the encoding of feelings in text with regard to people, things, actions, or states of affair.[52] Typically, the most straightforward realizations of *Affect* are instances of affective lexis,[53] but may also appear as the following:

- modifications of participants (e.g., attribution as in σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου **ὁ ἀγαπητός** [Luke 3:22])
- modifications of processes (e.g., adverbial participle as in ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους αὐτοῦ **χαίρων** [Luke 15:5])
- affective mental processes (e.g., **ἐδάκρυσεν** ὁ Ἰησοῦς [John 11:35])
- affective behavioral processes (e.g., Μάρθα Μάρθα, **μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ** περὶ πολλά [Luke 10:41])
- Grammatical metaphor (e.g., nominalization of qualities as in **ἡ ἀγάπη** μακροθυμεῖ [1 Cor. 13:4], where ἀγαπάω is nominalized and then is modified by predication)

Encoded emotions serve the purpose of attitudinal positioning. They invite the reader to empathize with the writer, to identify with the writer and, thus, to feel the same way. Interpreters must take care, however, to consider the context and co-text in order to determine whether or not the feelings are prompted by and therefore directed at some trigger. Determining this helps one to know if the feelings should be interpreted as betokening *Judgment* or *Appreciation*. For example, at Rev 2:6, the one "who holds the seven stars in his right hand" and "who walks among the seven golden lampstands" praises the church at Ephesus because they "hate [μισεῖς] the deeds of the Nicolaitans." Note that here the trigger and target of the Ephesians' feeling of hate are the *deeds* of the Nicolaitans. The emotion of hate, in this case, betokens *Judgment*, a more particular expression of *Attitude*, to which I now turn.

People draw upon the resources of *Judgment* when they want to praise or blame another on the basis of character or behavior. There are two basic functions of *Judgment*: (1) social esteem, which has to do with admiring (positive)

51 For example, it could be that something that is generally interpreted as negative in culture has a positive interpretation in a specific context of situation.

52 See Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 52; Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 97.

53 See Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, domain 25. However, domain 25 is not the only one in the Louw and Nida model that contains affective lexis. Domain 88, for example, also contains a number of these terms such as μισέω, φθονέω, and ζηλόω. It is unclear why some of these feelings (e.g., μισέω and cognates) are placed in domain 88 instead of domain 25.

or criticizing (negative) another person or group in terms of their normality (how special?), capacity (how capable?), or tenacity (how reliable?); and (2) social sanction, which has to do with praising (positive) or condemning (negative) another person or group in terms of veracity (how truthful?) and propriety (how far above or below reproach?).[54] A clear example of negative judgment is found at 1 John 3:11–12:[55]

> Ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγγελία ἣν ἠκούσατε ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, οὐ καθὼς Κάϊν ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἦν καὶ ἔσφαξεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ χάριν τίνος ἔσφαξεν αὐτόν; ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἦν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκαια.

Here Cain is both severely criticized (social esteem) and outright condemned (social sanction). First, he is said to be "of the evil one" (ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἦν). To Western ears, this may sound like backhanded obloquy, but in the group-oriented, kin-centric culture of the writer, characterizing one's parentage was a forceful way to admire or to criticize. Here, because Cain is identified as the progeny of the evil one, it is a vehement criticism.[56] Second, he is said to have "slain" (ἔσφαξεν) his brother. Murder, especially in ancient Israelite tradition, was viewed negatively, and those who committed the act were judged harshly (Exod 20:13; 21:12). Thus, that Cain committed murder betokens a negative judgment of Cain's ethics (propriety). Moreover, that he murdered his own kin compounds the negativity of the judgment, since the expected ethos within the kin group was mutual benefaction and love.[57] Finally, as if the writer has not already said enough, he claims that Cain committed this act "because his deeds were evil," which is a straightforward negative judgment of Cain, again with regard to propriety. The writer uses all of this negative judgment as a means of motivating the readers to act in a manner opposite of Cain, namely to show love to their siblings in the fictive kin group of believers.[58]

The system of options for encoding positive or negative feelings about objects, artifacts, processes, states of affair, ideas, relationships, beauty, and people (but not behavior) is called *Appreciation*.[59] Attitudes expressed in this region may be divided into three basic categories.[60] The first, reaction, refers

54 Martin and White, *Language of Evaluation*, 52; Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 65–67.

55 See Dvorak, "Not Like Cain."

56 See deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 187–88.

57 See ibid., 213–14.

58 See Dvorak, "Not Like Cain."

59 See Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 68.

60 Ibid., 69.

to the impact of something or someone on one's attention. The second area is composition, which encompasses feelings about such things as order or balance. The third category, value, includes considered opinions about the social significance of something or someone. An example of *Appreciation* occurs in Paul's appeal to Philemon with regard to Onesimus: παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου . . . Ὀνήσιμον, τόν ποτέ σοι **ἄχρηστον** νυνὶ δὲ [καὶ] σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ **εὔχρηστον** . . . The antonyms ἄχρηστος and εὔχρηστος, in this context, are negative and positive appreciations in regards to Onesimus's value (Louw and Nida domain 65). They are not judgments because no specific character trait or behavior is named. If, however, Paul had evaluated Onesimus's reliability, perhaps with forms of ἀπιστία (Louw and Nida 31.89) and πιστός (Louw and Nida domain 31.87), then they would have been judgments of Onesimus's tenacity. As one can see, the boundary between realizations of *Judgment* and *Appreciation* can sometimes be fuzzy. Again, context and co-text must be considered carefully.

2.2.2 Engagement[61]

In line with the discussion above regarding language as social behavior, the present model follows Bakhtin in presuming that all texts are produced and interpreted in light of other "voices" or value positions on the same theme.[62] Bakhtin refers to this as "heteroglossia," which he defines as "specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific worldview, each characterized by its own objects, meanings, and values" that "may all be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another, and be interrelated dialogically."[63] Selections from *Engagement* realize a writer's interaction with these other voices. There are a range of options from which to choose, depending upon how and to what extent the writer wishes to interact with these voices. The fundamental semantic differentiation in this region is between *Heterogloss*, choosing to engage in dialogue with other value positions, and *Monogloss*, choosing not to engage in dialogue.

Monogloss typically gets realized as bare or categorical assertion. These "undialogized" assertions are presented as absolute and authoritative in that moment of the colloquy.[64] These serve a "common-sensing" function; that is, they ignore all other dialogistic alternatives so that the proposition is assumed or taken for granted. However, not all bare assertions are monoglossic, as

61 For a fuller treatment, see ibid., 75–93.

62 Ibid., 75.

63 Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 291–92. See also Dvorak, "Not Like Cain."

64 Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 427. See also Martin and White, *Language of Evaluation*, 99.

Martin and White cogently point out: "One key distinction within monoglossic assertions turns on whether the disposition of the text is such that the proposition is presented as taken-for-granted or whether, alternatively, it is presented as currently at issue or up for discussion"[65] (see the options for *Monogloss* in Fig. 25.1). If the former is the case, then the locution is interpreted as an instance of *Monogloss*; if the latter is the case, then it is interpreted as *Heterogloss*, but of the kind that contracts dialogue rather than expands it (see below).

Examples of *Monogloss* are common in opening sections of many of the (deutero-)Pauline letters. For example, in the lengthy eulogy at the beginning of Ephesians (1:3–14), the writer praises God for all of the things that he has accomplished "in Christ." These are stated monoglossically and are taken for granted without further argument as to whether or not they are, indeed, the case: he blessed us in Christ (v. 3); chose us in Christ (v. 4); destined us for adoption in Christ (v. 5); bestowed grace on us in Christ (v. 6); in Christ we have redemption (v. 7); and so on. However, the undialogized assertion at Eph 2:8a, τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσῳσμένοι διὰ πίστεως, is followed immediately by additional statements in support of the proposition (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἵνα μή τις καυχήσηται [2:8b–9]). This indicates that the asserted proposition is a focal point in the writer's argument; therefore, it would be categorized as an instance of *Heterogloss*, but such that it is intended to contract dialogue.

As has already been noted, when a writer chooses to engage in dialogue with other voices, he or she makes choices from the system of *Heterogloss*. A more delicate selection in this system depends upon whether the writer wishes to engage the other voices in further dialogue or wishes to squelch them. He or she may *Expand* dialogue by means of consideration or attribution. Considerations[66] open dialogic space by bringing into the colloquy any entertainments of others' propositions or proposals. These are typically realized via verbal mood (including future forms),[67] modal adjuncts, and some mental process projections.[68] Considerations are also realized as expository questions. These are open questions that are not negated with with οὐ or μή (i.e., indicating that they expect a positive or negative response; these would be leading questions, a form of dialogic contraction, of which see discussion below). For example, in Mark's account of Jesus's trial before the high priest

65 Martin and White, *Language of Evaluation*, 100.

66 Martin and White call this "entertain(ment)," as did I in my dissertation (see Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 85–87). I have since changed the term to "consideration" in order to communicate that the alternative position is up for consideration in the colloquy.

67 See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 177–78.

68 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 85.

and other representatives of official Judaism (14:53–65), the high priest asks Jesus, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; by asking the question, dialogic space is opened for alternative points of view on the topic. Of course, the question is directed to Jesus with the hope of getting a positive response, so that he may be charged with blasphemy—and that is exactly the result (14:63–65).

Attributions, as the name suggests, are references to some other source. Whereas with endorsements (see below) writers tend to adopt the voice of the referenced text as their own, the voices carried by attributions are left to stand on their own.[69] These are commonly realized in the text of the New Testament as direct quotations, usually with an introductory formula (e.g., γέγραπται). At Rom 3:9, Paul asserts that both Jews and Greeks are under the control of sin.[70] To support this conclusion, he links together several texts from the Hebrew Bible into a single "quotation," which he introduces with γέγραπται.[71] By doing so, Paul garners support from the voice of tradition, with the result that any rejection of the assertion that all are under sin would be tantamount to rejecting not just Paul but the teachings of God through Scripture and tradition.[72]

Dialogic contraction can be accomplished via proclamation and disclamation.[73] Proclamations are expressed in three possible ways. First, one may concur with a particular voice or point of view. In the lexicogrammar, concurrence may manifest as concessive participles (e.g., φάσκοντες in Rom 1:22) or certain kinds of particles that express concession such as εἰ καί (as in οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων εἰ καὶ οὐδέν εἰμι [2 Cor 12:11]).[74]

Second, proclamations may be expressed through endorsements. Like attribution (described above), endorsements draw upon others' propositions or proposals, but unlike attributions, endorsements do not typically dissociate the writer's voice from the sourced voice.[75] These often manifest as indirect speech and so-called "allusions" and "echoes."[76] In response to the Corinthians' accepting a man who has his father's wife (γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν [1 Cor 5:1]), Paul proposes that they should instead "hand this man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh" (παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς

69 However, this does not take away from the fact that the quotations are used by the writers for their own rhetorical purposes. See Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, 9–74; Stamps, "Use of the Old Testament," 23–36.

70 See Porter, *Romans*, 88.

71 See ibid., 88–90.

72 See Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 101–2.

73 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 77–84; Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 99–101.

74 See Porter, *Idioms*, 209.

75 Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 100.

76 For definitions of allusion and echo, see Porter, "Allusions and Echoes."

σαρκός [5:5]). He concludes his discussion of the issue with ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, an apparent use of Deut 17:7 LXX.[77] Without the customary "it is written," however, the voice of Deuteronomy is subsumed by the voice of Paul.

Finally, proclamations can occur as pronouncements. These are locutions that "involve authorial emphases or explicit interventions and interpolations."[78] Often these emphases imply some level of resistance against which the writer asserts him- or herself. In the midst of defending his claim to the Galatians that the gospel he proclaimed is not from humans (Gal 1:11—2:21), Paul makes the pronouncement ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι (1:20), which is signaled primarily by the oath formula (ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ). This asseveration is Paul's way of raising his voice over the alternative point of view that he is lying.

The second way dialogic space is contracted is by disclamation, and, as the "dis-" prefix implies, the two types of disclamation typically invoke negative polarity: denial and countering. Denials are explicit engagements with other voices for the sole purpose of rejecting them, as in οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι· κύριε κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (Matt 7:21a). Here the stance that everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will enter into the kingdom of the heavens is invoked, but it is rejected with negative polarity (οὐ). Counters function similarly, except they are typically paired with some point that has been conceded by the writer that the writer then wants to supplant. Romans 8:26 provides an illustration: τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὸ δεῖ οὐκ οἴδαμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις. Here, the conceded point that "we do not know how we ought to pray" is supplanted by the counterpoint that with inexpressible groans the Spirit intercedes for those who are praying.

2.2.3 Graduation[79]

The final subsystem in *Appraisal*, is *Graduation*, which describes the resources for up- or down-scaling the meanings made from *Attitude* and *Engagement*.[80] Martin and White point out that:

> . . . a defining property of all attitudinal meanings is their gradability. It is a general property of values of affect, judgment, and appreciation that they construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity. . . . Gradability is also generally a feature of the engagement system [where

77 See Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 191.

78 Martin and White, *Language of Evaluation*, 127; Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 81.

79 For fuller treatment, see Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 93–104.

80 Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 102.

> meaning scales] more broadly for the degree of the [writer's] intensity or the degree of investment in the utterance.[81]

This system is quite delicate, but here I will cover the two fundamental options, namely *Force* and *Focus*. *Force* provides options for increasing (positive) or decreasing (negative) the intensity of attitudes or engagement strategies. There are a number of ways to increase force.[82] One way to increase force is by repetition, which includes the "piling up" of semantically related lexical items. Vice and virtue lists are an example of this. The intent of such lists is not to enumerate every positive trait to emulate or every evil trait to avoid; rather, they are meant to *emphasize* the kinds of behavior or character to cultivate or to avoid.[83] At Col 3:12–13, Paul assembles a long string of positive traits that emphatically communicates the kind of people believers ought to be: Ἐνδύσασθε . . . σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ χρηστότητα ταπεινοφροσύνην πραΰτητα μακροθυμίαν, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων καὶ χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς.

Focus provides options for grading things that, from an ideational point of view, are clearly bounded, either-or categories and are, therefore, not inherently gradable.[84] For example, one cannot be more or less a "widow" (χήρα); however, Paul, by sharpening focus, does make a distinction between widows and *real* (ὄντως) widows: χήρας τίμα τὰς ὄντως χήρας (1 Tim 5:3; see also 5:5, 16).[85] In order to indicate a more marginal membership in the group, focus may be blurred or softened, as in ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν, where τι (some sort of) blurs slightly the boundaries of χάρισμα and avoids specificity.

3 Application: The Model at Work

To illustrate the model at work, I will apply it to the short text of 3 John.[86] Stowers categorizes 3 John as a letter of recommendation,[87] in which the elder

81 Martin and White, *Language of Evaluation*, 135–36.

82 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 98–103.

83 Meeks, *Origins*, 68–69; Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 102.

84 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 96.

85 OpenText.org correctly identifies ὄντως as a definer of the second instance of χήρας in the clause (see "Word Group Annotation of 1 Timothy 5," OpenText.org, accessed April 22, 2016, http://www.opentext.org/texts/NT/1Tim/view/wordgroup-ch5.vo.html).

86 All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

87 Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 156. See also Kruse, *Letters of John*, 219.

recommends that Demetrius be granted hospitality, but he is commended not to Diotrephes but to Gaius, since Diotrephes, it appears, is not showing hospitality to anyone sent from the elder.[88] Watson says the letter is a combination of recommendation, advice, encouragement, and vituperation.[89] In general, he classifies the letter as a whole as epideictic rhetoric because, he argues, it is intended to confirm values that Gaius already holds.[90] Yet he does admit that the persuasive elements common to what typically gets classified as deliberative rhetoric do appear in the letter. I have contended elsewhere that rhetorical analyses such as these do not sufficiently describe the linguistic features of a text (i.e., rhetorical descriptions are not detailed enough to sufficiently describe *how* writers are positioning readers).[91] I presume Watson experienced this struggle, which is likely why, even though he classifies the letter as epideictic, he is careful to point out that these other features are mixed in.

The analysis below shows that the letter is, indeed, mixed, because the elder wants to position readers away from some values and towards others. To do this, he vacillates between positive and negative attitudinal evaluations, and exercises certain engagement strategies in order to steer the readers (primarily Gaius, but others in the assembly as well) in the direction he wants them to go.

3.1 *Attitudinal Analysis*

In line with the philophronetic nature of letter openings,[92] the letter begins with the writer positively evaluating Gaius, mostly with positive affect (e.g., Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ; ὃν ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ; ἀγαπητέ; ἐχάρην: To Gaius the beloved, whom I love in truth; you love; I rejoice), along with a few tokens of positive judgment in regards to Gaius's ethics (e.g., ἐρχομένων ἀδελφῶν καὶ μαρτυρούντων σου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ; τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ περιπατοῦντα: when the brothers came and testified about you in truth; my children walking in truth). This is not all that unusual, but what happens in the next two units (vv. 5–10 and 11–12) warrants attention.

Starting at verse 5, selections from *Judgment* take center stage. First, the writer praises Gaius for doing a faithful deed for the brothers and sisters who visit (πιστὸν ποιεῖς ὃ ἐὰν ἐργάσῃ εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς). On the heels of this, the writer tells how these brothers and sisters also praise Gaius for his love, and they do

88 On hospitality, see Malina, "Received View," 181–83.

89 Watson, "Rhetorical Analysis," 482–85.

90 Ibid., 484–85.

91 Dvorak, "Interpersonal Metafunction," 50–51.

92 See Stamps, "Literary-Rhetorical Reading," 236–37.

so before the entire assembly (οἳ ἐμαρτύρησάν σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας). This, then, is followed by three tokens of positive appreciation of the ἀδελφοί:

- Gaius should send them out "worthy of God" (οὓς καλῶς ποιήσεις προπέμψας ἀξίως τοῦ θεου)
- they have gone out "on behalf of the name," taking nothing from the heathen (ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐξῆλθον μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνικῶν)
- "we" are obliged to support them (ὀφείλομεν ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους)

All of this generates positive prosody thus far in the unit,[93] which makes the remainder of the unit stand out.

The writer turns his attention to Diotrephes, and nothing but betokened negative judgment comes from the tip of his reed:

- he is labeled as one who loves to be first (ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων) over the members of the assembly
- he does not show hospitality to the elder or his emissaries (Διοτρέφης οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς), even though the elder came to him only by letter
- his deeds are described in terms of evil, prattling, slanderous speech (αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖ λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς) about the elder and his emissaries
- he does not extend hospitality to the traveling brothers and sisters (οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδέχεται τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς)
- he expels from the assembly those who do want to show hospitality to the traveling brothers and sisters (τοὺς βουλομένους κωλύει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει)

With these negative judgments, the writer essentially vilifies Diotrephes and portrays his behavior as something to be avoided. In fact, immediately following, he tells Gaius not to imitate what is bad (τὸ κακὸν, v. 11), presumably referring to deeds like those of Diotrephes (a negative appreciation of the value of such behavior).

The next two judgments serve as a sort of conclusion to the negative judgments aimed at Diotrephes and an introduction to a positive exemplar, Demetrius. The elder writes ὁ ἀγαθοποιῶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν· ὁ κακοποιῶν οὐχ ἑώρακεν τὸν θεόν. "Zooming out" through the use of the third person (ὁ ἀγαθοποιῶν and ὁ κακοποιῶν), the writer creates the kind of dualistic point

93 On prosody, see Dvorak, "Prodding with Prosody," 103–7.

of view common to the Johannine corpus. Diotrephes clearly falls into the latter category (evildoers who have not seen God). Demetrius, who is introduced subsequently, is an exemplar of the former (doers of good who are God's progeny). Demetrius garners these positive appreciations:

- he is spoken well of by all (μεμαρτύρηται ὑπὸ πάντων)
- he is spoken well of by truth itself (καὶ [μεμαρτύρηται] ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας)
- he is spoken well of by the elder and his associates (καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μαρτυροῦμεν)

The elder's value position is, then, that the behavior of Demetrius is worthy of imitation, but that of Diotrephes is to be eschewed. The closing of the letter, not surprisingly, is dominated by selections of *Affect*. A number of instances express the elder's desire to visit Gaius, while the other instances reflect the affection of the elder and of the φιλοί toward Gaius.

Through the elder's selections of positive and negative *Attitude*, the values being negotiated become apparent. Among these are: living in accordance with the truth; acknowledging and accepting those who are associated with the truth; supporting those who have gone out on behalf of the name; leadership that does not exhibit "love of being in the first rank"; and maintaining an honorable existence among the believers.

3.2 *Engagement Analysis*

Engagement analysis shows that the body of the letter is nearly entirely heteroglossic, which means the elder perceived himself as engaging in dialogue. It becomes apparent, however, that the dialogue is largely one-sided. Of course, this is due in part to the fact that the text is a letter, but analysis shows that the elder does engage with points of view other than his own. The one-sided feel of the conversation is due in large part to the amount of dialogic contraction he employs.

Even when he does bring in other voices, those that he chooses to reference seem to be very strategic. In the body of the letter, three times he explicitly references via attribution (the evaluation of the external voice is allowed to stand on its own) the testimony of others, twice with regard to Gaius and once with regard to Demetrius. As regards Gaius, at v. 3 the elder claims to have been greatly filled with joy "when the brothers and sisters came and testified to [Gaius's] truth." At v. 6, another evaluation of Gaius is attributed to the brothers and sisters, but this time they "testified about [Gaius's] love." The third attribution, as mentioned, is pointed at Demetrius: he is "spoken well of by all and by the truth itself." Here the two sources attributed reflect the group-oriented,

dyadic culture in which the letter was produced (spoken well of *by all*) and of the so-called Johannine circle (by the *truth itself*).[94] These external voices are then followed up with the elder's (along with his cohorts') endorsement: "and we also testify, and our testimony is true." Clearly, the elder both praises Gaius and commends Demetrius, and the linguistics of engagement position anyone else reading this letter to do the same.

The elder attempts a significant amount of reader positioning through dialogic contraction. A few pronouncements are made in relation to Gaius, and they all naturalize a positive evaluation of him on the basis of his behavior, as in:

- I do not have greater joy than this, that I hear about my children walking in the truth (v. 4)
- Beloved, you do a faithful thing (i.e., you demonstrate loyalty)[95] (v. 5)

However, things become more interestingly complex when the elder positions readers in regards to Diotrephes. At v. 9 he states that he has written something to the church (i.e., he sent a communique, likely via emissary, that he wanted read to the assembly), but with an instance of disclaim and counter he denies the point of view that Diotrephes accepted it. He then entertains (consideration [expands dialogue]) what he would do should he visit the addressees in person: he expects to call to mind (ὑπομνήσω, a future form [expands dialogue]) his deeds, namely what he did (proclaim: pronounce [contracts dialogue]) by slandering (i.e., challenging the honor) the elder with prattling speech (v. 10). The elder also denies that Diotrephes accepted the brothers and sisters (disclaim: deny [contracts dialogue]), and that, additionally, he hindered those who wanted to (proclaim: pronounce [contracts dialogue]), and even expelled them from the assembly (proclaim: pronounce [contracts dialogue]). This prompts a prohibition to imitate what is bad (μὴ μιμοῦ τὸ κακὸν, a denial of a behavior) which is followed by a counter to do what is good (ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθόν).

From a reader-positioning perspective, the elder naturalizes a point of view of Gaius and of Demetrius as upholding the values of faithfulness, good deeds, and good standing in the eyes of others. Diotrephes, on the other hand, exemplifies the exact opposite: he opposes the elder (and by extension, the truth), does not show hospitality to those who come bearing the truth (which implies

94 "Truth" in the Johannine epistles refers both to a proper Christology and to behavior that aligns with the Christology. See Brown, *Epistles of John*, 705–6.

95 See ibid., 707–8.

that he does not know the truth), and treats other members who do what they should (do the truth) as if they are deviants. The heavy use of contractive features creates this narrow vision of Diotrephes, and, along with negative attitude, portrays him as someone who should himself be avoided and perhaps even expelled from the assembly.

4 Conclusion

I began this work by drawing attention to the work of Wayne Meeks and his explanation of how the early Christians established core values and related moral boundaries. He points out in his work that certain ways of using text (e.g., text types, genres, etc.) were employed to accomplish these purposes. What I set out to do was to show how the addition of a model of appraisal would allow for a more delicate and critical reading of the kinds of texts he discussed. I have argued above that moral boundaries, whether codified or not, are the outgrowth of the group's core values. These are the values that are negotiated in text, as the early Christian writers struggled to differentiate themselves from the world and other "religious" groups while at the same time building solidarity around their core values. This is the process of generating stance.

Particular stances (i.e., values and the ideologies they reify) may be gleaned from a text through an analysis of the evaluations that are realized in that text. A model based on SFL-grounded appraisal theory offers a way to identify these evaluations, and it provides a way to think about how the biblical writers engaged in the social behavior of positioning readers to take up the core values of the group of Jesus followers. The model was applied to 3 John, which showed how the values of good behavior/deeds, faithfulness to the group and its leaders, and adherence to truth (defined as a specific Christology) were of paramount importance in the Johannine community.

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CHAPTER 26

"Think" and "Do" Like the Role Models: Paul's Teaching on the Christian Life in Philippians[1]

Jae Hyun Lee

1 Introduction

The letter to the Philippians has several characteristics. First, Philippians was not written to a specific person, such as Timothy or Titus in the Pastoral Epistles, or Philemon in the letter bearing his name.[2] This means that the content of this letter is primarily for the entire Christian congregation in Philippi.

Second, this letter does not focus on leading sinners to Christ. Romans and Galatians, for example, allow much space for explaining the salvation process between God and sinful humans. Ephesians and Colossians also deal with the change in church members who move from their past sinful status under God's wrath to receiving God's grace and salvation (Eph 2:1–11; Col 1:13–14, 21–22; 2:11–15). In Philippians, Paul never mentions human sinfulness in the process of salvation by using words like ἁμαρτία ("sin") and its cognates. The only passage referring to such a process is Phil 3:9: "not having a righteousness of my own that comes from the law, but one that comes through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God based on faith" (NRSV). This passage is delivered through participial clauses inserted in the purpose clause. This means that this description is not the main flow of the argument in Phil 3:1–18, although it is an important aspect in the process of salvation. Thus, Paul's major concern in Philippians is not how one can become a Christian, but how one can live as a Christian.

1 I happily dedicate this paper to Dr. Stanly E. Porter, who is one of my excellent role models in academics and Christian life.

2 Even though Paul mentions other persons, such as Apphia, Archippus, and the church members gathered in Philemon's home as the co-recipients of the letter, and uses the second person plural reference in the opening and closing (x4), the extensive use of the second person singular reference (personal pronoun: x20; verbal form: x9) throughout the letter demonstrates that Paul's main conversation partner is Philemon. See Dunn, *Colossians and Philemon*, 300–301; Moo, *Colossians and Philemon*, 361–62.

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Third, Philippians does not really set out to give doctrinal teaching. For instance, in Rom 1–8, Paul introduces the content of the gospel, and in Ephesians, he focuses on God's ministry in salvation and on the role and nature of the church. In 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians, he also deals with eschatological teaching. In Philippians, however, Paul does not focus on any specific doctrine. This is not to say that Philippians does not contain theological concepts[3] but only that there is no main focus on doctrinal teaching in the letter. Sometimes Phil 2:6–11 is seen as an example of doctrinal teaching because it has numerous theological themes regarding Christology.[4] However, Phil 2:5 should be considered an exhortation to "Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus" (NRSV). This is an important link between Phil 2:6–11 and Phil 2:1–4 and shows that Paul's purpose in Phil 2:6–11 is not to give a doctrinal lesson per se, but to state clearly the basis of his ethical exhortation.[5] In this sense Philippians does not focus on doctrinal teaching.

The above characteristics of Philippians lead us to conclude that in this letter to the Christian public, Paul focuses more on Christian life than on the process of conversion or on the doctrinal teaching itself.[6] This also leads us to notice threading principles or patterns that Paul has in mind in relation to the theme of Christian life that he wants to deliver to his readers. The goal of this essay is to identify the principles of Paul's ethical teaching in Philippians. In order to achieve this aim, let us begin with several clues that show Paul's intentions and strategy in his teaching.

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3 Fee lists several theological contributions of Philippians: the gospel, the Trinity as the theological key, the central role of Christ, eschatological framework, and Christian life (*Philippians*, 46–53). For more on theological teachings in Philippians, see Fowl, *Philippians*, 205–35; I. H. Marshall, "Theology of Philippians."

4 Bockmuehl states, "Verse 5 introduces a paragraph which, from the perspectives of Christian theology and the 'effective history' of Philippians, is the easily the most important in this letter. . . . It also . . . happens to be a passages which in the twentieth century has been the subject of an uncontainable deluge of scholarly debate, quite possibly more so than any other New Testament text" (*Philippians*, 115). For a detailed bibliography on this passages, see Reumann, *Philippians*, 377–83.

5 Fowl warns us that "the Christological richness of this passage should not lead us to forget that Paul is ultimately concerned with the shape of the common life of the Philippian church" (*Philippians*, 105).

6 In addition, to express heartful thanks to the readers is surely one of the important topics in Paul's letter to the Philippians. Aune considers Philippians "a letter of gratitude and paraenesis" (*New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 210).

2 Clues to the Identification of Principles in Paul's Ethical Teaching

In Philippians, Paul delivers his ethical teaching with several devices that help the readers to understand his intentions. Here I suggest three things to consider.

The first clue to Paul's rhetorical intention is the introductory matters in the letter. Introductions in Paul's letters usually consist of the epistolary prescript, thanksgiving, and prayer. At the surface level, the fundamental function of the epistolary prescript, which is "A to B, Greeting," is to maintain or enhance the relationship between the sender and recipients by providing specific information.[7] In many cases Paul opens his letters with rhetorical intentions. These are often used to foreshadow the content of the body of the letter or to lay a foundation for the arguments. In Galatians, for example, Paul introduces himself as an apostle and the churches in Galatia as the recipients of his letter. However, he adds other information in this epistolary prescript. One is about his apostleship derived from divine origin, and the other is about the works of God and Jesus, which are the divine side of the salvation process in the gospel.[8] This added information implies that Paul's main arguments in Galatians are related to the content of the true gospel and his authority regarding that gospel. Likewise, the epistolary prescript in Philippians can be an important clue to the understanding of Paul's intention in the letter. His thanksgiving and prayer also include rhetorical intentions.[9] The prayer is especially significant, in that what Paul prays for his readers are the things that he wants God to accomplish in their lives. Moreover, the fact that Paul makes the content of his prayer known to the readers implies that he also wants his readers to realize how important prayer is in their lives.[10] Therefore, examining the introductory matters of the letter is important for identifying Paul's ethical teaching.

The second clue for finding the principles of Paul's ethical teaching are the commands and prohibitions. While doctrinal lessons are delivered in a series of statements, practical suggestions for life situations are expressed by

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7 White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 198; Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 29.

8 God's work: "who raised him from the dead" (NRSV; Gal 1:1); and Jesus' work: "who gave himself for our sins to set us free from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father" (NRSV; Gal 1:3).

9 As to the thanksgiving part of the letter, see O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings*; O'Brien, "Thanksgiving."

10 Fee points out the nature of Paul's prayer in Philippians: "the prayer is not 'in general,' but rather is full of items that anticipate the content of the letter" (*Philippians*, 97).

commands and prohibitions. Philippians does not intend to give doctrinal teachings *per se* but to provide practical suggestions to the readers, so examining the pattern and content of the commands sheds much light on Paul's ethical principles. Two factors are clear in the analysis of commands and prohibitions. First, the commands and prohibitions are realized through the use of various grammatical and syntactical forms. Although the imperative is a major way to express commands and prohibitions, they are also delivered in other grammatical forms such as the subjunctive, optative, future, participle, infinitive, and ἵνα clause.[11] Paul's style does not rely on a single grammatical form (imperative) for delivering his ethical exhortations. Second, the content of the commands and prohibitions as well as the various contextual elements are important. The semantics of the commands and prohibitions are the most important key to understanding Paul's ethical exhortation. For a clearer understanding of his intention, however, other contextual components need to be considered. As Brown and Yule comment, "The more the analyst knows about the features of context, the more likely he [*sic*] is to be able to predict what is likely to be said."[12] In fact, it is difficult to determine the importance of a certain command solely by its semantic aspect. Other components need to be considered: the repetitive pattern and frequency of a certain command or prohibition, the ground and result of the command, the combination of other emphatic expressions, and the position of the command in a given context.

The third clue to an ethical pattern is the people that Paul refers to in the course of an argument or explanation. Paul speaks of various people in Philippians, and they are related to the message he wants to deliver to the readers. Among them, some people are introduced as exemplary models for the lives of the readers.

With these clues in mind, I will examine the text of Philippians in the next section in order to identify the principles of Paul's ethical exhortation.

3 Paul's Ethical Principles in Philippians

3.1 *Philippians 1:1–11*

This section can be divided into two according to the epistolary form: vv. 1–2 and vv. 3–11. In each part, he delivers his ethical principles to the readers in a carefully planned way.

The first part (Phil 1:1–2) is a salutation consisting of the information about the sender and recipients and expressing greetings to the readers. Paul's

11 For this, see Porter, *Idioms*, 220–29; Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 713–25.

12 Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, 40.

intention can be identified by three features of his introduction to the letter, which are also unique in comparison to his other letters. The first is its brevity. Except for 1 and 2 Thessalonians, which give no information about the senders except the bare names, Philippians has the shortest information about the sender. It means that Paul does not need to open a letter with a long introduction of himself. This reflects the closeness between the sender and his recipients. The second feature is that Paul does not assert his apostleship but designates himself a slave of Christ Jesus. The third feature is Paul's depiction of Timothy. Using the plural form δοῦλοι ("slaves"), he introduces Timothy as a co-sender having the same status as "slave" of Christ.[13] Even though Timothy appears as a co-sender in six letters (2 Corinthians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, and Philemon), he is never introduced as having the same status as Paul except in 1 and 2 Thessalonians. Among these unique features, the last two are relevant to what follows. As for the second feature, the term "slave" reappears in the body when Paul describes Jesus' humility in Phil 2:7. This indicates why Paul uses "slave" in Phil 1:1; he introduces himself as an example of humble service, who follows the real model, Jesus. In the third feature, Timothy is also introduced as a model whom the readers should contemplate because Paul commends him later for his attitude and work in Christ (Phil 2:19–23). Thus, from the beginning, Paul presents two excellent models for his ethical exhortation. The content of his teaching is not yet revealed.

The second part (Phil 1:3–11) is Paul's thanksgiving and intercessory prayer, where he also shows his ethical principles. Two kinds of evidence need to be considered. One is the structure that Paul delivers in his intercessory prayer. He begins to speak of his intercessory prayer in Phil 1:3, but he does not mention its actual content until Phil 1:9. Instead, he gives a long reason for his prayer in Phil 1:5–8, focusing on his love toward the readers and their partnership in the gospel. This structure conveys the sincerity of Paul's prayer for them and helps the reader focus on its significance. The other evidence in Paul's prayer is in Phil 1:9–11. He prays that the love of his readers may overflow with knowledge and full insight in order for them to be pure and blameless until the day of Christ.[14] Here, love does not refer just to an emotional state toward others, but focuses on the behavioral values in Christian life. In fact, Paul anticipates the actual result of such abundant love in Phil 1:11: "having produced the harvest

13 However, this does not mean that Timothy is also the real author. Instead, the predominant first person singular references (57 pronouns and 66 verbs) indicate that Paul is the author (Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 184–85).

14 Porter (*Idioms*, 223) regards the first ἵνα clause (ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ) as a command, in the sense that it depends on a perception verb (thinking, saying, and the like).

of righteousness that comes through Jesus Christ" (NRSV). He articulates that this aspect of love should be accompanied by the cognitive aspects of knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) and discernment (αἴσθησις) so that one may determine what is best. Paul's intercessory prayer indicates that the combination of the behavioral aspect (love) and the cognitive aspects (knowledge and discernment) is an indispensable principle for successful Christian life.

In sum, Paul's intention in relation to the Christian lives of his readers shown in Phil 1:1–11 is two-fold: one is to recommend role models for the readers, and the other is to exhort them to live fruitful Christian lives by strengthening behavioral love and godly cognitive processes.

3.2 *Philippians 1:12–26*

Philippians 1:12–26 is the beginning of the body of the letter, and Paul opens it with the information about his recent condition using a disclosure formula ("I want you to know . . .") in Phil 1:12.[15] This section can be divided into two by noting the participants: Phil 1:12–18a and 18b–26. Each paragraph is related to Paul's imprisonment on account of the gospel and has his application of the ethical principles mentioned in Phil 1:9–11.

The first paragraph is Phil 1:12–18a. The main participants are those who preach the gospel in relation to the imprisoned condition of Paul. Some take a negative attitude, such as envy, rivalry, and selfish ambition; and others preach the gospel out of love in order to participate in Paul's ministry of the gospel. In his response to their preaching, Paul rejoices. Here, we can infer an important principle of Paul's thought: discerning what is best for Christ and his gospel should precede a behavioral or attitudinal response to the outer situation or problem. Paul weighs spreading the gospel of Christ against the motives of the two groups and the resulting impact on himself. After evaluating these two, he replies to the situation with joy, as he regards the spreading of the gospel of Christ as the more important of the two factors.

The second paragraph is Phil 1:18b–26, where the main participant is Paul himself. He confesses that he does not know whether he will be released or die. In either case, he continues to evaluate his situation in order to determine what is best in Christ. To die and go to live with Christ is the best choice personally (Phil 1:23); yet for him to be freed from prison will be a great joy to the Philippian church (Phil 1:24–25). These two options are not easy to choose from, but Paul leans toward the latter because he considers the

15 Hansen, *Philippians*, 64; Mullins, "Disclosure, 46–49; White, *Body of the Greek Letter*, 1–2, 73.

community benefit is higher than the personal one (Phil 1:24–26). This is a clear expression of Paul's love for his readers in Philippi.[16]

In short, although Phil 1:12–26 is not about the life situation of the church members in Philippi, it contains a significant principle that Paul uses in relation to his present situation: to discern (cognitive area) what is best in Christ and to act accordingly (behavioral aspect). For him, the progress of the gospel of Christ and love for others are the important values in evaluating various options and determining what is the best. This principle is reflected in the content of his intercessory prayer in Phil 1:9–11. Thus, Phil 1:12–26 can be viewed as an example of how a Christian should approach and deal with various life circumstances by discerning what is best in Christ.[17]

3.3 *Philippians 1:27—2:18*

Using second person plural references and the imperative in Phil 1:27, Paul shifts his topical interest to his readers. This section is divided into five units according to the participants and the imperative, and each unit bears Paul's ethical teaching and its principles.

The first unit is Phil 1:27–30. This part begins with an imperative verb πολιτεύεσθε, which means literally, "live as citizens,"[18] and the major issue is the external opposition from society. Several indicators help us to understand the circumstances of the readers. The contrast between "your salvation" and "their destruction" (Phil 1:28) hints that those who are hostile to the readers in Philippi are non-Christians.[19] The word πολιτεύεσθε is also helpful. As many commentators point out,[20] the use of this term seems to be intentional, since the imperative of περιπατέω ("to walk") is the typical word that Paul uses to command his readers to live as Christians. Moreover, the use of πολίτευμα ("citizenship") in Phil 3:20 also supports the fact that πολιτεύεσθε in Phil 1:27 "preserves its semantic overtones of the conduct expected of citizens in a state."[21] The political sense of this word indicates that there is a conflict between the

16 Fee, *Philippians*, 107. He also suggests other connections with thanksgiving and prayer: the advance of the gospel (Phil 1:22; cf. Phil 1:5, 7), Paul in chains (Phil 1:13, 14, 17; cf. Phil 1:7), and the defense of the gospel (Phil 1:16; cf. Phil 1:7).

17 Cf. O'Brien, *Philippians*, 88; Bockmuehl, *Philippians*, 73. Both authors also think that this part is a paradigm for the following teaching from Phil 1:27 onward.

18 BDAG, 846.

19 Keown, *Congregational Evangelism*, 117–18.

20 For example, Fee, *Philippians*, 161; O'Brien, *Philippians*, 146.

21 Silva, *Philippians*, 80. Even though most English versions translate Phil 1:27a without "citizenship" (e.g., NASB, RSV, NRSV, NIV, and NET), probably, the more proper translation is

Christians whose citizenship is in heaven (cf. Phil 3:20) and the non-Christians who have earthly citizenship. Because of the gospel of Christ, the Philippian congregation suffers from the threat (πτυρόμενοι) and opposition (ἀντικειμένων) of those who are faithful to their Roman citizenship.[22] In this situation, Paul teaches and encourages his readers to live properly as Christians.

Paul's teaching in Phil 1:27–30 holds several clues to the identification of his practical principles for Christian life. The first one is the use of πολιτεύεσθε. This imperative orders the readers to perform the behavioral aspect of their Christian lives.[23] The choice of this word also instructs his readers to use the cognitive process, and it is in the sense that this imperative needs the process of comparing the two kinds of citizenship and discerning what is best by evaluating the two. The second clue is the use of causal clauses in Phil 1:29. Paul says that the purpose of God's grace is for the readers to believe in Jesus and to suffer for Jesus' sake (Phil 1:29). As a doctrinal basis for Paul's teaching, these clauses function to support the main argument by supplying a conceptual ground. This addition tells the readers that they should follow Paul's command related to the behavioral element of their lives with the conceptual or cognitive element. The third clue is the statement of Paul's struggle for the spreading of the gospel in Phil 1:30. Identifying the hardship of his imprisoned situation with that of his readers, Paul exhorts them indirectly to stick to his command, "live as heavenly citizens." He suggests that his case is an exemplary model through which the readers should be encouraged in living Christian lives. The observations above lead to one conclusion: with regard to the problem of Christian life in a hostile environment, Paul delivers his teaching with the elements of behavioral action and cognitive grounding, together with a practical model. Here, all are related to the gospel of Christ.

The second part of this section is Phil 2:1–4, and the conditional structure with the imperative (πληρώσατε "make complete") in Phil 2:1–2 signifies a shift to a new unit. Whereas the topical participants in Phil 1:27–30 are insider church members and non-Christian outsiders, those in Phil 2:1–4 are only the Philippian congregation. Paul deals with the internal tension, which

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"Whatever happens, as citizens of heaven live in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ" (TNIV).

22 We cannot pin down the exact nature of the persecution in Philippians. However, the repetition of the term "gospel" in the command and result clauses in Phil 1:27 may imply that the conflict of the two parties is related to the gospel (cf. Keown, *Congregational Evangelism*, 118–19). For a brief summary of various suggestions on this issue, see ibid., 118.

23 According to Louw and Nida's lexicon, this word belongs to the semantic domain 41C ("Particular Patterns of Behavior"). Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 508.

is probably connected to the rivalry between Euodia and Syntyche mentioned in Phil 4:2–3. The Philippian situation is not as serious as that described in Corinthians, however, because Paul's exhortation is not harsh. Paul orders the church to be in unity by abandoning a self-centered lifestyle.

There are two things to be noted in Paul's appeal in order to identify his ethical principles. First, even though the overall issue of his command is about the readers, he describes himself as a primary beneficiary of the command πληρώσατε in Phil 2:2: "make my joy complete." This expression gives the impression to the readers that since their problem is connected to Paul, their unity through the change in their lifestyle will also bring joy to him. Paul's appeal is obviously from his pastoral heart. Second, the content of Paul's appeal in Phil 2:1–4 focuses on the cognitive process. His command consists of both attitudinal or behavioral (e.g., the same love) and cognitive aspects. Yet, the most frequent semantic domain is the cognitive (φρονέω "to think," x2 in Phil 2:2, and ἡγέομαι "to regard" in Phil 2:3).[24] Even though this cognitive aspect is not separated from outward attitude or behavior, Paul's major focus here is on the cognitive aspect. His stress on the behavioral aspect appears in Phil 2:12–18. It implies that Paul wants to correct their lifestyle from the area of thinking first.

The third part of Phil 1:27—2:18 is Phil 2:5–11. The use of the imperative (φρονεῖτε "think") and the mention of Jesus as a new topical participant in Phil 2:5 work as a boundary marker. Just as in the previous parts, this unit contains Paul's ethical principles for his readers. Two things need to be considered.

One is the way Paul describes Jesus' story. It reveals his emphasis on the use of behavioral and cognitive aspects of Christian lives. In connection to Phil 2:1–4, he moves to the story of Jesus with the cognitive process of thinking (φρονεῖτε) in Phil 2:5 and urges his readers to have the same mindset that Jesus had. According to him, the life of Jesus had three stages: pre-existence, incarnation, and exaltation.[25] The first stage began cognitively, "[he] did not regard (ἡγήσατο) equality with God as something to be exploited" (Phil 2:6; NRSV). Even though the meaning of this expression is still debated, one thing is sure: this is a clear indication of the humility of Jesus in the cognitive area.[26] This

24 These words belong to the semantic domain 31 ("Hold a View, Believe, Trust") in Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 364.

25 Contra Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 114–21.

26 Fowl surveys the current studies on the meaning of ἁρπαγμός and concludes, "Athough this term has generated a long scholarly debate, it now appears that there is a consensus emerging, which is that in contexts such as this one we should understand the word indicating something that is used for one's own advantage" (*Philippians*, 94). For

inward aspect of Jesus' humility is expressed outwardly through the behavioral aspect in his incarnation and his sacrificial death on the cross (Phil 2:7–8). The humble nature of these acts is delivered through the semantics of his choices (e.g., "emptied himself," "the form of a slave," "humbled himself," and "obedient") and a rhetorical contrast between the image of God (μορφῇ θεοῦ) and the likeness of men (ὡς ἄνθρωπος). In addition, the double use of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτὸν ("himself") describes the voluntary nature of Jesus' obedience. Thus, Paul describes the humility of Jesus in the process of salvation with the combination of Jesus' cognitive thinking and his behavioral action.

The other thing to be considered for the ethical principles of Paul is the reason Paul introduces Jesus here. This part is not just a theological treatise on Christ or salvation. Its function is to support his exhortation to the Philippian congregation. The cognitive aspect of Jesus' story is linked to the previous part (Phil 2:1–4) by words in the same semantic domain, and the behavioral aspect is likewise connected to the following parts (Phil 2:12–18) as we will see. This indicates that Paul wants to introduce the humility of Jesus as an excellent example for the readers to follow, especially in relation to the use of behavioral and cognitive aspects of one's life.[27]

The fourth part of this section is Phil 2:12–13, where Paul returns to the case of his readers using another imperative (κατεργάζεσθε "work out") and vocative (ἀγαπητοί μου "my beloved"). In connection with the previous story of Jesus, he begins to conclude how the readers should live as saved people in a congregation. His emphasis is on the behavioral aspect of the readers' lives. There are two kinds of evidence for this conclusion. One is the use of ὑπηκούσατε ("you obeyed") in Phil 2:12. As a cognate of ὑπήκοος ("obedient") in Phil 2:8, this word links Paul's command to the behavioral aspect of Jesus. The other evidence is that the semantic domain of the main imperative, κατεργάζεσθε, in Phil 2:12 is about one's action. Thus, based on the story of Jesus, Paul urges his readers to work out their salvation by following the behavioral aspects of Jesus' example.

The last part of this section is Phil 2:14–18. It begins and ends with the imperatives (ποιεῖτε "do" in Phil 2:14, and συγχαίρετε "rejoice with" in Phil 2:18).

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various issues in Phil 2:6, see Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 81–85; O'Brien, *Philippians*, 205–16; Fee, *Philippians*, 202–9; Hansen, *Philippians*, 133–46; Moule, "Further Reflexions"; Hoover, "Harpagmos Enigma"; Wright, "Jesus Christ Is the Lord"; Hawthorne, "In the Form of God," etc.

27 Even though the story of Jesus is a great reservoir of theological information, as Fowl rightly comments, "the Christological richness of this passage should not lead us to forget that Paul is ultimately concerned with the shape of the common life of the Philippian church" (*Philippians*, 105).

This part deals with both the lifestyle of the readers with respect to the outside world and the attitude of Paul toward the Philippian church. In relation to Paul's ethical principles, this part emphasizes the behavioral aspect because he exhorts his readers to live as lights in the hostile world using an imperative verb about acts as in Phil 2:14. It demonstrates that the connection of Jesus' behavioral aspect is also extended to Phil 2:14–18.

In sum, according to the participants and the use of the imperative, Phil 1:27—2:18 shows an inverted structure: A (about "you" and outsiders)—B (about "you")—C (about Jesus)—B' (about "you")—A' (about "you" and outsiders).[28] The first and the last part deal with the problem caused by those outside, the non-Christians, and B and B' are about the internal tensions within the Philippian congregation. The story of Jesus is used to support Paul's appeal to the readers. In this structure, Paul exhorts his readers to overcome their problems with this threading principle: live just like Jesus, the primary model, who has lived using proper cognitive thinking and behavioral acts. Here the content of thinking and doing is related to the gospel and the selfless lifestyle of Jesus.

3.4 *Philippians 2:19–30*

After dealing with the internal and external matters of the congregation, Paul mentions two men, Timothy and Epaphroditus, whom he will send to his readers before his visit. He describes Timothy as one who has deep concerns for the Philippian congregation (Phil 2:20) and is a qualified minister of the gospel of Christ (Phil 2:21–22). This introduction reflects his intention. The use of ἰσόψυχος ("equal souled") in Phil 2:20 implies that, just like Paul who loves the readers with the heart of Jesus (Phil 1:8), Timothy also has the same mind and love for them. In addition, σὺν ἐμοὶ ("with me") and ἐδούλευσεν ("worked as a servant") in Phil 2:22 signify that Paul and Timothy are co-slaves of Jesus and co-workers in the ministry of the gospel. Reminding the readers of Paul's description in Phil 1:1, this expression delivers Paul's desire for the congregation to welcome Timothy warmly.

The introduction of Timothy has another function. Paul wants to describe him as a role model for the readers. The term ἐδούλευσεν describing the service of Timothy is linked with the humility of Jesus in Phil 2:7–8. Timothy is a faithful follower of Jesus.[29] More strongly, in the depiction of Timothy in Phil 2:21, Paul contrasts him with those who do not seek Jesus but only follow their own interests. The attitude of Timothy's counterparts is similar to that of the

28 Fee, *Philippians*, 156–57.

29 Hansen, *Philippians*, 192.

enemies of the cross in Phil 3:18–19. They are not waiting for Jesus from heaven, but set their minds only on earthly things. Consequently, Timothy is also described in a way that contrasts him to the enemies of the cross of Christ. This means that he is one of the models mentioned in Phil 3:17, someone the readers should observe and follow. Thus, Paul's depiction of Timothy reflects the desire to present him as a good role model for the Philippian church members.[30]

The same intention of Paul is also shown in the case of Epaphroditus. In Phil 2:25 he speaks of his plan to send Epaphroditus, who was previously ill but has now recovered, back to the readers to do the work of Christ. The primary reason is to relieve their anxieties and give them joy, since the Philippian congregation has been long worried about the illness of Epaphroditus (Phil 2:28).[31] Actually, this return will also be a joy to Epaphroditus and Paul, because they too have been concerned about the sorrow of the congregation resulting from the knowledge of Epaphroditus's illness (Phil 2:26, 28). For this reason, Paul sends him and commands his readers to welcome (προσδέχεσθε) him with joy (Phil 2:29a). However, this is not the only command. Paul adds another imperative in Phil 2:29b, "honor such people" (NRSV). This reflects another intention of Paul; he wants to present Epaphroditus as a positive model for those who live for Christ. This inference is supported by the praise of Paul for Epaphroditus in Phil 2:25–27.[32] Moreover, the following causal clause in Phil 2:30 ("because he came close to death for the work of Christ")[33] shows that the attitude and behavior of Epaphroditus are contrasted with those of the enemies of the cross in Phil 3:18–19. Therefore, just as in the case of Timothy, Paul's depiction of Epaphroditus also contains an indirect exhortation: the readers should regard Epaphroditus as an exemplary Christian, and should live for Christ alone just as he does. M. J. Keown summarizes this attitude:

> Paul wants the Philippians to be as selfless as their own Epaphroditus who was committed to care for Paul notwithstanding great personal cost,

30 Cf. ibid.

31 Several speculations have been offered for understanding Paul's hidden motive for sending Epaphroditus back with a strong endorsement (for a list, see Reumann, *Philippians*, 447). However, there is in this part no hint of the inner problem of the community or tension between Paul and the church. Thus, as Fee concludes, "rather than read ulterior motives into words of affection, we should take them at face value" (*Philippians*, 273).

32 Keown, *Congregational Evangelism*, 161–85.

33 Probably, the work of Christ refers to Epaphroditus's bringing a gift from the congregation to Paul, who is in prison. However, as Fee comments, "Since Paul's imprisonment is directly related to the 'work of Christ,' any gift brought to him by fellow believers in this way would be seen as participating in the gospel, as 1:5 suggests" (*Philippians*, 283).

who longed for the Philippians selflessly, who was more concerned for their grief at his illness than his own suffering and who risked his life for Paul and the mission.[34]

3.5 *Philippians 3:1—4:3*

In this section Paul returns to the affairs of the readers. He continues to teach them using the imperative, with a change of personal references and temporal order. The first division (Phil 3:1–3) begins with a vocative (ἀδελφοί μου "my brothers and sisters") and the imperative (χαίρετε "rejoice"). The repetition of the second person plural dative case (ὑμῖν "to you") in Phil 3:1 signifies the shift of topical interest to the matters of his readers. This shift is followed by the threefold imperative (βλέπετε "be aware of" x3) and the contrast between "they" and "we" in Phil 3:2–3. Here, Paul commands his readers not to follow the harmful teachers who focus on physical circumcision and doing the law,[35] because Paul and his readers, who worship in the Holy Spirit and boast only in Christ, have the true circumcision.

Starting from Phil 3:4, Paul provides his own story, and it works to support his exhortation in Phil 3:1–3, giving a counter example to the belief of the false teachers. Paul unfolds his story in temporal order. At the outset, he describes his past status and zeal before he encountered Jesus. He claims that he was perfect in four areas of Jewishness: the identifying markers of his Jewishness (i.e., physical circumcision, his bloodline, and language), zeal for Judaism, the law, and the righteousness based on the law. From Phil 3:7, however, he overturns his former conviction by putting Christ at the center of his life. For him Christ is so important that he renounces what he had before being a Christian, and pursues having Christ and being found in him. This process of renunciation and pursuit is still ongoing in Paul's life. He confesses that he will

34 Keown, *Congregational Evangelism*, 185. Also, Fee, *Philippians*, 273; Hansen, *Philippians*, 201.

35 With regard to the false teachers, two issues have been raised. One is about their identity: are they Jews (so Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 125; Garland, "Composition and Unity," 167) or local Gentile Judaizers (i.e., non-Christians; so Bateman, "Opponents at Philippi"), or Judaizers (e.g., Fee, *Philippians*, 302; Hansen, *Philippians*, 217)? The other issue is the location of the false teachers: are they in the Philippian congregation (Silva, *Philippians*, 173), or around the place of Paul's imprisonment (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 143), or wherever Paul performed his mission (Bockmuehl, *Philippians*, 180)? Probably they are Judaizers against Paul's theology, and not in the Philippian congregation, because Paul's polemical attitude is much milder than in other letters such as the one to the Galatians. Nonetheless, it is clear that their potential to destroy the community is so serious that Paul needs to warn the readers against their influence.

not stop until he wins the prize of the heavenly call from God in Christ Jesus (Phil 3:12–14).

Then, he invites his readers to have the same lifestyle, with the first person plural and the second person plural references in Phil 3:15–16. His invitation becomes more explicit with the command that the readers should join in following his example and contemplate those who live as Paul does (Phil 3:17). He stresses these commands by adding two causal statements. One is a negative example: a life pattern totally different from that of Paul and his companions (Phil 3:18–19). The other is about the true identity and hope of Christians. This is related to Christ in heaven and concludes with a description of their redeemed bodies (Phil 3:20–21). These contrasted additions work to give ground for why the readers should live a different life from the enemies of the cross in this world.

The last segment of this section begins with another imperative στήκετε ("stand firm") and a conjunction ὥστε ("therefore" [NRSV]) in Phil 4:1. Philippians 4:1–3 functions as "the case-specific wrap up both of the earlier exhortation in Phil 1:27 and of both hortatory sections of the letter (Phil 1:27—2:18; 3:1–21)."[36] There are three kinds of evidence for this. First, the inferential conjunction signifies that the content here is directly based on the true identity and eschatological hope mentioned in Phil 3:20–21, whether it is a consequence of Phil 3:2–21[37] or of only vv. 17–21.[38] Second, the imperative στήκετε is reminiscent of Paul's exhortation about external hardship in Phil 1:27. Last, Paul's appeal to make unity between Euodia and Syntyche is directly linked to that in Phil 2:1–4.[39]

In the flow of Paul's teaching in Phil 3:1—4:3, the combination of cognitive thinking and behavioral acts also appears as an overarching framework for his ethical exhortation. The first instance of this combination is shown in Phil 3:4, when Paul gives his own story as supporting material for his warning against the potential influence of the false teachers. What he points out first is the foolishness of their way of thinking (δοκεῖ): "If others think they have reason to have confidence in the flesh . . ." After depicting his past status and zeal in Judaism, he explains his change to Christ, starting in Phil 3:7. Here also, the starting point of his change is a cognitive act of thinking. He expresses it in Phil 3:7–8 with the threefold use of ἡγοῦμαι ("to think") in relation to his rejection of

36 Fee, *Philippians*, 386.

37 Bockmuehl, *Philippians*, 237.

38 O'Brien, *Philippians*, 475.

39 Even though Paul does not use the imperative in Phil 4:2–3, the expression παρακαλῶ ("I urge") and the infinitive (φρονεῖν "to think") can be viewed as a command.

what he had been before. Such repetition should be viewed as a way of emphasis. Moreover, the fact that all three are indicatives (finite verbs) signifies that the change in his thinking is the main line of his story until Phil 3:12.[40] Yet, this inner change is not the final stage in Paul's story. He articulates that such change drives him to pursue (διώκω) Christ Jesus in actual life (Phil 3:12). Also, he presents the combination of the cognitive renouncement and behavioral pursuit as the conclusion of his story in Phil 3:13–14: "Brothers and sisters, I do not consider (λογίζομαι) myself . . . I press on (διώκω) toward the goal . . ."

The combination of these two aspects also appears when Paul invites his readers to take the same lifestyle in Phil 3:15–16. Here, he exhorts them with cognitive (φρονῶμεν "let us think") and behavioral language (στοιχεῖν "to behave in accordance with") to have the same mindset and live in accordance with such cognitive thinking. When he commands his readers to follow his example in Phil 3:17–21, his interest in this combination is revealed. Even though the main verb in the description of the negative models in Phil 3:18–19 is about their action (περιπατοῦσιν "to walk, live"), Paul does not neglect to point out their hidden cognitive intention and adds the expression "who set their minds (φρονοῦντες) on earthly things." Moreover, what he mentions about the true identity and the hope of the Christians in Phil 3:20–21 is related to the cognitive perspective, and this is also directly linked to the behavioral command (στήκετε) in Phil 4:1. Lastly, when Paul deals with the problem of Euodia and Synthyche, he deals with their way of thinking (φρονεῖν). Thus, Phil 3:1—4:3 shows a consistent pattern of Paul's exhortation: to combine correct cognitive thinking and proper outward behavioral expression is crucial for the Philippian readers.

However, another important factor in Paul's exhortation should not be overlooked. This is the model that the readers should follow. With regard to the potential influence of the false teachers, Paul provides himself as the true model and commands them to follow him. Also, in Phil 3:17 he encourages the readers to observe and follow those who live as Paul does.[41] This factor is in line with his exhortations in previous parts of the letter.

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40 Even though Paul writes a lengthy explanation of his goal to gain Christ and to be found in him in Phil 3:8d–11, this explanation is in a subordinate clause with ἵνα. Therefore, its function is to support the cognitive change that Paul mentioned in Phil 3:7–8.

41 Some insist that Paul's command to the church to imitate him functions to fortify his apostleship (e.g., Reinhartz, "Meaning of the Pauline Exhortation") or the hierarchical structure of Christ-Paul-Christians (Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 96). However, the focus of this letter is not related to Paul's apostleship but to exhorting the readers to be humble as Jesus was (Hansen, *Philippians*, 262).

3.6 *Philippians 4:4–23*

This section begins with the double use of χαίρετε in Phil 4:4, and consists of three units. The first one is Phil 4:4–9, and it delivers the final exhortations with a series of seven imperatives. The second (Phil 4:10–20) and third (Phil 4:21–23) parts are Paul's thank-you for the gift of the Philippian church and his final greetings respectively. Among these three parts, the first one is directly relevant to Paul's ethical teaching. He also sets forth the same principles for Christian life as he mentioned in the previous parts of the letter.

The first principle is to use correct cognitive thinking leading to correct behavioral action in living a Christian life. When Paul concludes ethical teaching in Phil 4:8–9, he presents these two elements with the imperatives λογίζεσθε ("think") and πράσσετε ("perform"). With regard to the cognitive thinking, he lists six adjectives (what is true, noble, right, pure, lovely, and admirable) as the content of right thinking, and summarizes this with two nouns (what has excellence and praise) in a conditional structure. With respect to the behavioral acts, Paul commands the readers to do what they have learned, received, heard, and seen from him. Considering that this part is the conclusion of his whole ethical teaching in this letter, this principle can be viewed as a key concept in Paul's teaching about Christian life.

The second principle is to use a role model in his exhortation. With the prepositional phrase ἐν ἐμοί ("in me') in Phil 4:9, Paul presents himself not only as the source of the true teaching upon which the readers should stand, but also as a role model whom they should follow: "Keep on doing the things that you have learned and received and heard and seen in me" (NRSV). Just as the first principle above, this pattern also appears as a consistent principle in this letter.

4 Summary and Conclusion

From the observations above, we can identify three consistent patterns that Paul uses in delivering his ethical teachings in Philippians.

First, he distinguishes internal cognitive thinking from external behavior in the Christian life. Paul constantly and intentionally distinguishes these two, beginning from his prayer for the readers in Phil 1:3–11 to the last exhortation in Phil 4:8–9. When he explains the exemplary case of Jesus in Phil 2:5–11, he distinguishes between Jesus' cognitive thinking and his acts. The use of the imperative also reveals this tendency. In many cases Paul gives separate commands according to these two aspects. It signals that Paul wants to deal with the Christian life in accordance with these two aspects.

Second, Paul exhorts his readers to combine both cognitive thinking and behavioral action. He usually mentions the cognitive aspect first, implying that this area works as the basis or ground upon which the Christian life is established. This aspect encompasses the embracing of various values in this world, the discernment of what is best in Christ, and the determination of doing what is best. Paul mentions several values for such a cognitive process, including the progress of the gospel, the centrality of Christ, the eschatological hope, and love for others. By juxtaposing cognitive and behavioral aspects he also stresses the fact that cognitive thinking should be expressed by outward behavior. Therefore, what Paul wants to teach his readers is to change their way of thinking and to make them live properly according to the changed mindset.

Third, Paul uses role models in exhorting his readers. From the beginning of the letter (Phil 1:1) he presents himself as a model for the Christian life of the Philippian congregation.[42] Yet he is not the only role model in this letter. He introduces also Timothy and Epaphroditus as role models to follow. Moreover, he even uses negative examples in order to contrast them with the true models. Above all, the ultimate model is Jesus Christ, whose way of cognitive thinking (e.g., a humble mind) and behavioral acts (e.g., acting in love, obedience, and suffering for what is the best) are examples not only for the readers, but also for Paul, Timothy, and Epaphroditus. The reason for presenting such role models is for the readers to live as good Christians until the day of Christ by using cognitive aspects and behavioral acts properly.

The fact that these patterns of ethical teaching permeate the letter to the Philippians tells us that Paul wants to offer them as practical principles for dealing with real-life situations. At the time Paul wrote the letter, the Philippian congregation was faced with both internal tension between two leaders and external threat from a hostile society, together with the dangers of false teaching. The Philippians were also worrying about Paul's imprisonment. In all these situations, Paul approached the issues according to these principles and presented them as important steps in handling problems. Such teaching is not just hypothetical theory but a very practical way for Christians to live in this world. Did, then, the Philippian church members really live a successful Christian life according to these principles? We do not know. From this study, however, we can know how Paul tried to live as a Christian and what he expected to see in the life of his fellow Christians: they must "think" and "do" just like the role models.

42 See J. W. Marshall, "Paul's Ethical Appeal."

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CHAPTER 27

Postcolonial Perspectives on Paul's "Jew-Gentile Problem"

Christopher D. Stanley

1 Introduction

In 2008, Stanley Porter edited a volume of essays titled *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman*. In his introduction to the volume he presents a brief summary of the evidence for viewing the apostle Paul as simultaneously a Jew, a Greek, and a Roman.[1] Near the end of his summary he makes the following observation.

> It is not enough, however, to define the three different spheres of Paul's existence. When the three areas are brought together, there are a number of different ways that the pieces can fit together, depending upon the particular issue at stake.[2]

The present essay aims to illustrate this point by showing how the method that we use can shape the way we understand the interplay between these three ethno-cultural spheres in the lives of Paul and the members of his congregations. In particular, it explores the potential benefits of a methodological approach that Dr. Porter has not to my knowledge employed in his prodigious scholarly output, i.e., postcolonial studies. I offer it here not as a finished product but rather as a travelogue narrating my ongoing efforts to sort out the relevance and implications of postcolonial theory for a broader research project that I am currently pursuing. In this I follow the footsteps of Stanley Porter, who has made methodological explorations one of the hallmarks of his career. The field is certainly richer for his many contributions.

1 Porter, "Paul as Jew, Greek, and Roman: An Introduction."

2 Ibid., 4.

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2 Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες

For the last several years I have been working on a monograph that explores the social background of Paul's sporadic references to Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες (usually translated as "Jews" and "Greeks") in his letters. At the heart of the book lies an effort to explain (a) how these terms might have been understood by Paul and his audiences, and (b) how this information might affect our reading of Paul's comments regarding the "ethnic" implications of his gospel.

Until recently, few commentators saw anything worth exploring in these terms: everyone agreed that Ἰουδαῖοι referred to people who follow the religion of Judaism, while Ἕλληνες is a meaningless stylistic variant for the more common term ἔθνη, universally rendered as "Gentiles." In recent years, however, a number of studies have appeared arguing that (a) Ἰουδαῖοι should be read primarily as an ethnic reference (and translated as "Judeans") and (b) Ἕλληνες (or "Greeks) was likewise a well-known ethnic designation in the Mediterranean world that no one would have taken as a synonym for ἔθνη.[3]

These observations, if they are correct, raise new questions about what Paul meant (and what he was doing rhetorically) when he used such terms and how the recipients of his letters would have understood him. When they encountered the term Ἰουδαῖοι, would Paul's audiences have thought that he was referring to (a) a contemporary people-group that lived in the land of Judea (Ἰουδαία); (b) an ethno-religious group in their own city that followed unusual cultural and religious practices; (c) the biblical "people of God" who had failed to acknowledge Jesus as their Messiah; or (d) some combination of these ideas? When they ran across the term Ἕλληνες in his letters, would they have associated it with (a) the residents of ancient Greece (Ἑλλας); (b) the descendants of settlers from Greece (or Greek colonies) who made up the citizen-body of the local πόλις; (c) the Hellenized members of the local elite class, regardless of ancestry; or (d) some other meaning? What would they have made of Paul's sudden and unexplained references to "Greeks" in the middle of an abstract theological argument (Rom 1:16; 2:9–10; 3:9; 10:12; 1 Cor 10:32; 12:13; Gal 3:28; cf. Col 3:11)? Would they have been puzzled by his omission of other well-known people-groups such as the Phrygians, the Syrians, or even the Romans?

The failure of most scholars to even raise these questions highlights how abstract and disembodied the discussions of Paul's "Jew-Gentile problem" have become over the years. Even proponents of the so-called "New Perspective,"

3 Helpful surveys of the debate can be found in three recent articles by David Marvin Miller in *Currents in Biblical Research*: "Meaning of Ioudaios"; "Ethnicity Comes of Age," and "Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of Ioudaios."

who have made a serious attempt to relate Paul's language to the broader history of social relations between "Jews" and "Gentiles" in the ancient world, have limited their attention to the effects of Jewish "boundary markers" and said little or nothing about the readily observable ethnic diversity and complexity that lies concealed behind the term "Gentiles." Few have noted that there was no actual social entity in the ancient world that corresponded to the label "Gentiles" (τὰ ἔθνη). The term is an ethnic black hole that carries meaning only as the negation of another ethnic category: τὰ ἔθνη are non-Ἰουδαῖοι (or non-*Romanoi*). Individuals can be socialized to embrace such a negative category of identity, but they do not come by it naturally. Those whom Paul called "Gentiles" would have referred to themselves as "Greeks," "Romans," "Galatians," "Phrygians," or members of one of the many other people-groups that served as reference points for identity-formation in the Greco-Roman world. By ignoring this fact and speaking of "Gentiles" as a monolithic counterpart to "Jews," scholars have vastly oversimplified (and significantly misrepresented) the nature of the problem that Paul had to address.

To address this problem, we need a methodology that includes tools for analyzing inter-ethnic relations in a historical context. I laid out the broad parameters of such an approach in a 1996 article titled "Neither Jew nor Greek: Ethnic Conflict in Graeco-Roman Society." Since that time, my thinking has changed significantly as a result of my growing familiarity with the quasi-field of postcolonial studies. The remainder of this essay is dedicated to exploring the potential contributions of postcolonial theory to our understanding of Paul's "ethnic rhetoric."

3 Neither Jew nor Greek

In my 1996 article I called attention to the long history of social conflict between people in the Greco-Roman world who self-identified as Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες.[4] Drawing primarily on Josephus and Philo but also using materials from Roman writers, I identified four periods when these conflicts were particularly intense: (a) the middle decades of the first century BCE, when a series of disputes arose over efforts by several cities in western Asia Minor to limit the activities of the local community of Ἰουδαῖοι; (b) the years around 40 CE, when heated conflicts erupted in Babylonia, Syrian Antioch, several sites in Israel/Palestine, and the Egyptian city of Alexandria; (c) the period of the Jewish Revolt, when

4 For references on this point and others included in the summary, see Stanley, "Neither Jew nor Greek."

Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες clashed heatedly not only in the ethnically mixed cities of Israel/Palestine but also in Damascus, Syrian Antioch, Alexandria, and Cyrene; and (d) the so-called "Diaspora Revolt" of 115–17 CE, when Ἰουδαῖοι in Mesopotamia and North Africa (including Egypt) rose up against their Greek and Roman overlords and endured horrible abuse when the revolt was put down.

The bulk of the article consisted of a careful investigation of the reasons for these clashes. After acknowledging how many Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες harbored negative views of one another due to their widely disparate beliefs and practices, I pointed out that these attitudes alone were insufficient to explain the conflicts. Not only were there many Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες who held neutral or positive opinions of the other group, including members of the elite who could have intervened to mitigate the effects of local disputes, but Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες lived together in cities across the Mediterranean world for generations without their differences erupting into open social conflict. Some kind of spark was needed to set the kindling of ethnic prejudice ablaze.

Turning to a series of Roman edicts that Josephus cites from the early conflicts in Asia Minor, I noted that many of the disputes centered on issues of local jurisdiction where the civic officials of a Greek πόλις were seeking to eliminate (or refusing to grant) legal protections that exempted the Ἰουδαῖοι from complying with various local requirements. Several of the edicts speak rather vaguely about permitting the Ἰουδαῖοι to "live according to the customs of their forefathers," which in modern terms would mean following the laws of their ethnic community in cases where they ran counter to the laws of the πόλις. Areas of tension that appear repeatedly in the edicts include the rights of Ἰουδαῖοι to create or maintain kosher markets; assemble on the Sabbath; be excused from appearing in court on the Sabbath; avoid military service; and forward their half-shekel temple tax to Jerusalem. All of these issues have an economic and/or political component; none involve purely "religious" matters. From the standpoint of the "Greeks" who administered the city, the Ἰουδαῖοι were seeking to be exempted from some of the ordinary and necessary terms of life in the πόλις. In view of the strong sense of loyalty that most "Greeks" felt toward their πόλις, it is no wonder that such requests led to tensions and conflicts.

The two issues that are mentioned most often in the edicts are exemption from military service (for Jews who are Roman citizens) and the right to send the temple-tax to Jerusalem. As I demonstrated in my article, both of these issues relate directly to the conditions of the Roman civil wars, when many of these edicts were issued. Both soldiers and hard currency were in short supply during this period as various Roman generals combed the cities of western

Asia Minor for military recruits and taxes to support their armies. The fact that the local community of Ἰουδαῖοι requested (and was granted) exemptions from military service while simultaneously depriving the local economy of precious coinage subjected them to charges of disloyalty and made them a ready target for anti-Roman anger, since it was Roman officials who had guaranteed them these privileges. In such an environment, conflicts between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες were inevitable. Similar political issues can be identified behind most of the later conflicts.

In view of the broad geographic range of these controversies (from western Asia Minor to Babylonia to Palestine to Egypt to Cyrene) and their sporadic recurrence over a period of nearly two hundred years, I suggested toward the end of my article that relations between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες would have been characterized by varying degrees of tension and suspicion in virtually every Greek πόλις in Paul's day, including the cities where Paul lived and traveled. Neither Paul nor the Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in his congregations could have escaped the influence of such a pervasive strain of interethnic prejudice, and there is no reason to suppose that becoming Christ-followers would have put an immediate end to a lifetime of negative attitudes, stereotypes, and suspicions. A thorough awareness of this history will reshape the way we read Paul's references to Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες, as well as many other texts in his letters where intragroup relations are addressed. Instead of relegating such statements to the realm of abstract theological reflection or generic parenesis, we should train ourselves to hear in these texts a concerted rhetorical effort to counter the potentially corrosive effects of interethnic prejudice between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in Paul's house churches. How exactly this might affect our reading of Paul's letters is one of the concerns of my broader research project.

4 Adding a Postcolonial Frame

In the twenty years that have passed since I penned this article, I have come to recognize that my original analysis, while not incorrect, oversimplified the tensions that prevailed between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in the Greek cities. Two developments in particular have led me to this conclusion: (a) my growing engagement with the quasi-field of postcolonial studies, an interest that has deepened my appreciation of the complex imbrication of colonial rule and ethnicity, and (b) my exposure to a broader range of anthropological and sociological case studies that address the effects of colonialism on ethnic identity and ethnic conflict in various cultures. Many of the studies in the latter group have been influenced by postcolonial scholarship, so the two sources can be treated as one for the purposes of this paper.

In the remainder of this essay I will lay out some of the ways in which my thinking on the issues addressed in my 1996 article has been both problematized and enhanced by what I have learned from postcolonial studies, including some possible implications for our understanding of Paul's "Jew-Gentile problem." I will not be offering a coherent postcolonial reading of either the ancient historical situation or Paul's letters; that will have to await my broader research project. But my comments should at least provide a glimpse of where I am going with that project.

Since postcolonial theory has only recently begun making inroads into the field of New Testament studies, I will begin with a brief introduction to the subject for the sake of anyone who has not yet dipped a toe into the complex and sometimes arcane world of postcolonial literature.[5]

The overarching goal of postcolonial studies is to identify and counteract the many and diverse ways in which the apparatus of modern Western imperialism and colonial rule affected (and continues to affect) both the ruling authorities and those over whom they seek to exercise control.[6] According to postcolonial theorists, the effects of colonialism extend to every area of life, from economic and political institutions to social and cultural practices to literary and artistic products to the individual psyche. Neither the colonizers nor the colonized can escape the transformative influence of their mutual but unequal relationship.

Questions of power and identity lie at the heart of postcolonial studies. According to postcolonial scholars, colonial authorities invariably construct negative images of the people whom they colonize, defining them as the barbarian "other" who must be tamed and civilized by the good graces (and military might) of the "enlightened" and "beneficent" forces of empire. The purpose of these binary constructions is not merely to salve the consciences of the colonizers but also to enable them to establish psychological control over the inhabitants of the colonized territory by instilling in them a negative image of their own history and identity so that they will embrace colonial rule as a natural and positive development.

In reality, things do not work out as the colonial rulers plan. Years of close contact and interaction lead to changes in the identity and culture of both

5 Helpful introductions to postcolonial theory include Childs and Williams, *Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*; Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*; Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*; McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*; and Young, *Postcolonialism*.

6 Some postcolonial theorists use the terms "imperialism" and "colonialism" as virtual synonyms, while others apply the former term to systems in which the dominant party exercises power from its home base and the latter to settings in which members of the dominant party settle in the homeland of the dominated party.

the colonizers and the colonized. The effect is most obvious in the case of the colonial subjects, since they are forced to deal with the intrusive presence of an outside authority that challenges their sense of identity and disrupts their culture and institutions. Some embrace the culture of their colonizers as a path to success while others seek to hold onto (or revitalize) their traditional culture, but all become "hybridized" to a greater or lesser extent. This hybridized identity is simultaneously compliant and resistant: from law-abiding citizens to the most stubborn revolutionaries, no one can wholly escape the influence of the colonizer's discourse and culture. The presence of hybridity is particularly evident in the behavior known as "mimicry," in which the colonized subject adopts enough of the colonizer's language and practices to get along in the colonial system while tweaking the adopted elements in a way that converts them into a subtle form of mockery. The process of hybridization undermines the dichotomizing discourse of the colonizers while also challenging their claims to superiority and their right to rule.

Colonial domination invariably disrupts relations between ethnic groups as the governing authorities seek to reinforce their control by creating new groups to simplify their administration, playing existing groups against one another to undermine resistance, or co-opting one group to serve as their agents in enforcing their rule over others. Western powers usually prefer lighter-skinned natives over those with darker skins, leading to the inscription of Western forms of racism onto non-Western cultures. Similar disruptive effects can be seen on the economic side, where the capitalist preference for marketable goods invariably conflicts with traditional ways of life and modes of production. Colonial domination has especially deleterious effects on women, since they typically become victims of "double colonization" under the patriarchal gaze of both the colonial rulers and the men of their own culture.

Postcolonial analysis does not end, however, with cataloguing the negative effects of imperialism and colonialism. Postcolonial critics are also concerned to reverse these negative patterns by exposing and changing patterns of thought and social relations that keep people in positions of domination and subjection long after the official instruments of colonial rule have been dismantled. This includes calling attention to the many ways in which Western culture (including the writings of Western academic scholars and intellectuals) continues to perpetuate the assumptions and thought-patterns of colonialism. Some have also made a serious effort to retrieve the lost or suppressed voices of colonized peoples, especially those on the bottom rungs of the social ladder, whether by telling their stories, honoring their accomplishments, or simply creating social and literary spaces where their voices can be

heard. Many have joined political movements working for social change, and a few have gone as far as to participate in violent revolutions. Though they may differ over strategy, postcolonial critics agree that the gradual winding down of the formal era of Western colonization has not put an end to the influence of colonialism and imperialism in our postmodern, "postcolonial" world.

Whether and how far the insights of postcolonial criticism can be applied to the study of pre-modern colonial powers like the Greeks or the Romans has been a source of disagreement among postcolonial scholars. Some have claimed that modern forms of colonialism differ too greatly from earlier versions to allow for valid comparisons, since modern colonial discourse is so intimately tied to Western capitalism and racism. Others have argued that the operations and ideologies of colonial systems are similar enough across different cultures to allow the results of postcolonial analysis to be generalized to other times and places. My own research inclines me toward the latter view, with the vital caveat that postcolonial criticism is not a "method" that can be used to analyze a set of data but rather a source of heuristic insights that can help us to pose questions to the historical materials that we might not have asked otherwise and to organize the data into a more meaningful whole. I also believe that insights derived from postcolonial theory should be tested by comparing them with social-scientific case studies of colonial systems that resemble the ones that we are studying in order to limit the temptation to squeeze the historical data into a theoretical Procrustean bed.

5 Postcolonial Perspectives

With this reading of postcolonial theory in mind, I will now describe briefly some of the ways in which postcolonial perspectives have affected my thinking about the historical, social, and ideological background of Paul's language about Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες.

1. Since the idea of "hybridity" is central to virtually all postcolonial analysis, I will begin with a few comments about the salience of this concept for our understanding of Paul's language about Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες. In my 1996 article I treated Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες as distinctive ethnic groups that held little in common, and I sometimes spoke as if everyone who identified with one or the other of the groups shared a common mindset and advocated a single course of action. This is a common mistake in treatments of "Jew-Greek conflicts" in the ancient world. If postcolonial scholars like Homi Bhabha are correct, people from different backgrounds who share the kind of physical and

cultural proximity offered by the Greek πόλις will invariably adopt elements of one another's culture and thereby produce a variety of "hybridized" cultures.[7] This is exactly what we see in the historical record. "Hellenism" was in fact a conglomeration of influences from different cultures and not some "pure" form of Greek culture imported from the homeland, while Ἰουδαῖοι in the Diaspora were invariably influenced by the social, cultural, and political realities of the πόλις regardless of their stated attitudes toward Hellenism. Many elite Ἰουδαῖοι drank at the well of Greek philosophy and made regular use of Greek rhetorical and literary forms, while a significant number of Ἕλληνες (and not a few Romans) admired the beliefs and practices of the Ἰουδαῖοι and even adopted some of their ways. Both groups had porous boundaries—one could become a Ἰουδαῖος or a Ἕλλην by adopting key practices of the group and affiliating with others who shared that identity. Those who made this transition did not leave their old selves behind, but created new "hybridized" identities. To speak of Ἰουδαῖοι or Ἕλληνες as if they were homogeneous communities is to ignore historical reality.[8]

These facts help to explain why communities of Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες were able to live together peaceably for long periods of time despite their differences. Many social scientists have pointed out that cultural differences in themselves are not enough to provoke interethnic conflict; other factors are required to turn these differences into flashpoints for conflict.[9] If therefore we wish to understand the very real tensions that existed between certain communities of Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in the ancient world, we must begin by asking what

7 A number of Bhabha's most important essays have been collected into a volume titled *The Location of Culture*.

8 For more on these points, see Stanley, "Ethnic Context of Paul's Letters," and Stanley, "Paul the Ethnic Hybrid," and the many sources cited in both articles.

9 Comparative studies have shown that that interethnic *cooperation* is more likely in contexts where interactions between groups are highly structured; where groups occupy different (and/or complementary) socioeconomic or territorial niches; where political power is distributed in a mutually acceptable (though not necessarily equal) manner; where groups have equally long histories of residence in the same area; and where they share a common language and worldview and a similar set of values. Ethnic *conflict* is more likely in settings where groups are competing for scarce social, economic, or territorial resources; where there are discrepancies or changes in the size or political power of competing groups; where one group has migrated into the territory of another; where there is a prior history of conflict between groups; or where groups in the same geographic area possess discordant systems of personal and social values. For more information, see the classic discussions in Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 19–21; LeVine and Campbell, *Ethnocentrism*, 36–40, 216–23; and Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations*, 40–43, 68–73, 77–83, 238–42.

specific social factors led to the creation (and apparent success) of a binary discourse that framed relations between the two groups in oppositional terms while ignoring the many other forces that bound them together. The real-world pattern of relations between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες was certainly more complex and interconnected than this dichotomized discourse would suggest.

2. A number of studies in the last thirty years or so have sought to identify the kinds of social conditions that lead people to emphasize their ethnic identity and engage in conflict with others who differ from them. Malcolm Cross has identified a number of situational factors that serve to heighten the salience of ethnic identity in a colonial society and so increase the level of interethnic tension: declining economic growth; changes in the political situation; migration of one group into the territory of another; and upward social mobility by members of one group into the domain of another. Such tensions are more likely to escalate into ethnic-based conflict when those who identify with a particular ethnic group see themselves as having a common interest in redressing perceived inequalities between their group and others.[10]

Robin Williams subsequently developed a broader list of factors that are commonly associated with ethnic conflict: a strong sense of ethnic boundaries; a clear set of grievances in which one group claims to have been treated unfairly or unequally by another; the availability of societal structures that provide channels for group action; and effective group leadership that can mobilize people to act.[11] According to Williams, the potential for conflict is greatest when the disagreement concerns collective goods such as "language rights, religious beliefs and symbols, civil and political rights and privileges, regional-ethnic power, or regional-ethnic parity in the economy."[12]

David Horowitz offers a different model that focuses on the effects of structured relationships among ethnic groups within a society.[13] He distinguishes between colonial societies in which ethnic groups are "ranked" (i.e., one group holds a position above the others across the societal spectrum) and "unranked" (i.e., members of all groups contain people from every level of society, so that social rank does not coincide with ethnicity). In ranked contexts, relationships between groups are clearly defined, producing a strong degree of ethnic cohesion among their members. Both ideology and coercion are used by the dominant group to maintain the status quo. When conflict arises, it is usually led by aspiring elites who seek to debunk the reigning ideology and overthrow the

10 Cross, "Colonialism and Ethnicity."

11 Williams, "Sociology of Ethnic Conflicts," 73; cf. 59, 72.

12 Ibid., 59.

13 Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*.

existing social system. In societies where ethnic groups are unranked, on the other hand, intergroup relations are less clearly defined and more contentious, leading to greater social instability and more frequent conflict. Unranked groups have their own elites who represent them to the elites of other groups, and many develop ideologies that affirm the superiority of their own group over others. Conflicts center on issues of inclusion and exclusion, with one or more groups seeking to exclude others from a share of power, often in pursuit of "an idealized, ethnically homogeneous status quo ante."[14]

So where do the historical conflicts between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες that I noted in my 1996 article fit into these models? In brief, the insights offered by Cross and Williams provide a solid theoretical framework for my earlier observations about the role of economic and political factors in the conflicts, while Horowitz's model raises broader questions about the nature of the political relationships between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in the ancient Greek πόλις. In particular, Horowitz's analysis suggests that conflicts between the two groups might be explained at least partially by the fact that the Ἕλληνες viewed relations between the two groups in ranked terms (since the πόλις was, after all, a "Greek" institution), while the Ἰουδαῖοι thought of themselves as members of an unranked system in which they occupied an equal (or even superior) status to the Ἕλληνες under Roman imperial rule.

3. Another insight from postcolonial studies that can be helpful for analyzing relations between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in antiquity concerns the propensity for colonial authorities to manipulate relations between ethnic groups in order to mitigate potential resistance and maintain control over their territories. Roman authorities were certainly aware of the potential for ethnic-based resistance, as they fought numerous wars against groups that used ethnicity as a tool for mobilization. To address this problem, they used not only military might but also a pervasive system of propaganda that emphasized the futility of resistance to Rome and the benefits of the Pax Romana, which they claimed had brought peace and unity to all the peoples in their empire. At the societal level, the Romans entrusted authority to local aristocrats who were expected to maintain control over other groups on their behalf. In the case of the Greek πόλεις, this meant giving precedence to the leaders of the Ἕλληνες over both the indigenous population and immigrant communities like the Ἰουδαῖοι.

At the same time, the Romans had political reasons for intervening to protect the rights of Ἰουδαῖοι against incursions by Ἕλληνες and others. Josephus cites a number of edicts in which Caesar honors the high priest Hyrcanus for services and loyalty rendered to him and the Roman people, including

14 Ibid., 31.

military support for his invasion of Egypt.[15] Several of these edicts mention Hyrcanus's services as the reason for granting special privileges to Ἰουδαῖοι in both Palestine and the Diaspora and appointing Hyrcanus and his descendants as protectors of those rights.[16] Apparently Hyrcanus took this duty seriously, as a number of the edicts mention him sending messengers to intervene in the affairs of distant Greek πόλεις where the rights of Ἰουδαῖοι were being abridged.[17] Several others refer to the Ἰουδαῖοι as Rome's allies (σύμμαχοι) when calling for an end to discrimination against them by the leaders of a Greek πόλις.[18]

These accounts accord well with the observations of postcolonial authors regarding the ways in which colonizers typically relate to native diasporas. William Safran,[19] James Clifford,[20] and Pnina Werbner[21] have described how continuing ties between diasporic ethnic communities and their ancestral homeland can complicate relations with both the local community, where they are often regarded as a "foreign body" and stigmatized as disloyal, and the colonial authorities, whose concern for promoting interethnic peace and political stability at the local level can stand in tension with their need to maintain positive relations with the diaspora group's home territory. Both of these factors affected relations between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες in the Greek πόλεις under Roman rule. Both groups maintained significant ideological and practical ties with a homeland that influenced their self-understanding and the way they related to people outside of their group, and both relied heavily on their people's status as "friends" of Rome to protect them in times of conflict. Yet neither of these factors has received any significant attention from scholars seeking to make sense of Paul's "ethnic rhetoric." The addition of a postcolonial lens calls our attention to the influence of broader geopolitical realities on relations between Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες at the local level while also raising questions about how local ethnic leaders (including Paul) tried to address, manage, or manipulate those realities.

4. Yet another way in which postcolonial studies can enhance our understanding of the ethnic context of Paul's letters is by highlighting the existence

15 Josephus, *Ant.* 14.190–212; cf. 14.252–253, 16.162. On Hyrcanus's participation in the invasion of Egypt, see also 14.252–253.

16 Josephus, *Ant.* 14.195–196, 204, 208, 248–250.

17 Josephus, *Ant.* 14.223–230, 241–242, 248–255.

18 Josephus, *Ant.* 14.213–216, 242, 247, 249, 257.

19 Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies."

20 Clifford, "Diasporas."

21 Werbner, "The Place Which Is Diaspora."

of indigenous populations. Paul could not have traveled as widely as he did without interacting regularly with individuals who were neither Ἰουδαῖοι nor Ἕλληνες. Yet he never mentions them in his letters—his ethnic world consists only of Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἕλληνες, and τὰ ἔθνη, the latter a blanket term for all non-Ἰουδαῖοι. The closest that he comes to any recognition of local ethnic identities is when he speaks briefly about "foolish Galatians" in Gal 3:1 and "Macedonians" in 2 Cor 9:2 (cf. Rom 15:26, where "Macedonia" is personified).[22] In this he echoes the common Greek practice of dividing the world into "Greeks" and "barbarians," a division that he also cites on a couple of occasions (Rom 1:14; 1 Cor 14:11; cf. Col 3:11).

Postcolonial scholars have frequently remarked on the ambivalent attitudes of colonial rulers toward indigenous peoples. More often than not, their identities are demeaned and their diversity occluded by the discourse of colonial authority. The invisibility of indigenous people in the ethnic language of Ἰουδαῖοι like Paul and Ἕλληνες in general suggests the influence of a colonial mindset.[23] The reason for this is obvious in the case of the Ἕλληνες: they were in fact a colonial power before they were displaced by the Romans. As for the Ἰουδαῖοι, I have argued elsewhere that the practice of bifurcating humanity into Ἰουδαῖοι and τὰ ἔθνη developed under Greek influence, that is, they were simply transposing and reinscribing the linguistic practices of their former colonial masters.[24] In both cases a familiarity with postcolonial theory compels us to ask about the reasons for the absence of native peoples from the discourse of both Ἰουδαῖοι (including Paul) and Ἕλληνες.

5. The final way in which postcolonial theory has reshaped my thinking about interethnic relations in antiquity is by posing questions about the effectiveness of Paul's social and rhetorical program for combining Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες (and others) into a cooperative community that meets periodically in the homes of its members. Postcolonial scholars and anthropologists have identified a number of strategies that have proved successful in promoting interethnic peace and cooperation in colonial or postcolonial settings.

22 "Scythians" could also be added to the list if Colossians is credited to Paul (Col 3:11).

23 While it is common to posit that Jews routinely divided humanity into Ἰουδαῖοι and τὰ ἔθνη, studies of other Jewish writers besides Paul show that this was not the case. Philip Esler lists over forty people-groups to which Josephus refers in his treatise *Against Apion* (*Conflict and Identity in Romans*, 59), while both Josephus and Philo describe social conflicts that pitted people whom they label as "Egyptians" or "Syrians" against *Ioudaioi* and/or *Hellēnes* (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.9.9; 20.8.7; 20.8.9; *J.W.* 1.4.3; 2.13.7; 2.18.2; 7.8.7; Philo, *Leg.* 166, 200–201, 205). Paul, by contrast, consistently uses binary terms when speaking of human diversity. Why he does this will be addressed in my forthcoming monograph.

24 Stanley, "Paul the Ethnic Hybrid," 124–25.

Ashutosh Varshney, in a careful study of social factors that contributed to the peaceful resolution of conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in postcolonial India, found that two factors accounted for most of the successes: (a) the presence of formal or informal networks that promoted communication among people of different ethnic groups, and (b) the existence of non-ethnic associations that brought together people of diverse ethnicities to work for a common goal.[25] Syed Aljunied, who has studied the politics of ethnic identity in postcolonial Singapore, describes how a resurgence of Malay identity in the 1980s stirred up fears that the Malays' loyalty to Islam might trump their loyalty to their home city. Instead of responding defensively, the Singapore government began promoting a definition of "Malayness" that emphasized the deep roots of Malays in the city's history and their equal rights with other groups in the city. In response to this program, the Malay elites began encouraging their followers to refrain from mixing religion and politics, a strategy that helped to mitigate the fears of outsiders and promoted social harmony.[26] In a more theoretical vein, Jacqueline Knörr has investigated how the process of "creolization" leads to the formation of new ethnic groups that value openness and heterogeneity over the discourse of homogeneity that typifies so many traditional ethnic identities. Her field studies in Indonesia and Sierra Leone demonstrate how such groups can become living examples of "unity in diversity" that can help to overcome the effects of ethnic conflict in particular societies.[27] These and similar studies provide us with a database of strategies for interethnic peacemaking that can be used to evaluate the potential effectiveness of Paul's efforts to promote interethnic cooperation in his churches.

These examples should be sufficient to show some of the ways in which postcolonial theory, when combined with social-scientific field work, can enrich our analysis of the social context of Paul's "Jew-Gentile problem" and Paul's response to it. Rather than simply parsing the meaning of Paul's language, postcolonial theory forces us to ask hard questions about the ideologies and assumptions that lie embedded in Paul's ethnic discourse and the discourses to which he is responding. It also calls us to examine the impacts of colonial rule on the psyches and social relations of both dominant and subordinate parties in the colonial context, including the apostle Paul and his audiences. In the process, it undermines recent efforts to present Paul as a consistent opponent of Roman colonial/imperial rule, since postcolonial theory insists that even the most resistant colonial subjects cannot avoid reproducing

25 Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society."

26 Aljunied, "Ethnic Resurgence."

27 Knörr, "Contemporary Creoleness."

elements of the dominant culture in their language and practice. Viewed as a whole, postcolonial theory offers a powerful theoretical tool for uncovering hidden links between Paul's social position as a colonial subject, his ethnic self-understanding, and his strategies for dealing with the ethnic diversity of his congregations.

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CHAPTER 28

A Reexamination of Paul's Opponents in Colossians

David L. Mathewson

1 Introduction

Though Stanley E. Porter is perhaps best known for his scholarly contributions to the field of Greek grammar and linguistics,[1] he has also made important and ground-breaking contributions to other areas of NT studies. One such area is the study of Paul's opponents. Porter himself edited and contributed to a volume devoted to Paul's opponents,[2] and he included an insightful essay in a recent volume on linguistic analysis of NT Greek where he advances methodologically the question of how we talk about opponents in Paul's letters.[3] It is the purpose of this essay to consider further this important, though often neglected, area of research. In particular, I will revisit the issue of the identity of the opponents in the letter to the Colossians.

There have probably been more proposals for identifying Paul's opponents in Colossians than for any of his other letters. The amount and diversity of evidence in Colossians, as well as the different methodologies (or lack of) employed by scholars, account for the plethora of proposals.[4] In fact, the discussion seems to have reached a stalemate. This essay will not provide a survey of all the problems and various proposals, as this has been done elsewhere.[5] Instead, I will consider one particular proposal for the identity of the opponents, while attempting to keep in mind some of the recent methodological developments by Porter and Jerry L. Sumney.[6]

1 Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, and more recently, *Linguistic Analysis*.

2 Porter, *Paul and His Opponents*.

3 Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, ch. 17.

4 Ibid., 334.

5 Cf. Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 19–38.

6 Ibid., ch. 17; Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, ch. 6.

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2 Methodological Developments

While there has been much discussion on Paul's opponents in Colossae, there has been comparatively little discussion of methodological issues. The stark exception to this is the work of Jerry Sumney.[7] In his work, Sumney argues that we cannot assume the letters of Paul all had the same opponents in view. He has also proposed that we avoid simply focusing on verbal parallels with other letters or outside sources, since words can be used in different ways by different authors. As he says, "[E]ach letter must be allowed to speak for itself as clearly as possible without imposing opponents from outside."[8] Therefore, the evidence for the opponents must come from the letters themselves. There is always the danger of the reconstruction of the situation becoming the object of exegesis rather than the text itself. Further, Sumney develops a classification for evidence for false teachers found in the letters. Evidence from the text can be ranked according to (1) how certain we can be that a statement refers to opponents; (2) how fairly the statement represents the opponents.[9] Sumney wisely suggests that not all statements in a letter are about opponents. For the first means of ranking, Sumney proposes three categories: explicit statements about the opponents, allusions to the opponents, and affirmations that seem to address the opponents. Explicit statements provide the clearest evidence, followed by allusions, when they address an issue found in explicit statements. Affirmations are of the least value, according to Sumney. The second means of ranking is according to how reliable the statement is, or whether it fairly represents the opponents. Statements addressing the opponents can be divided according to four types of contexts in which they appear in the letter: polemical, apologetic, didactic, and conversational (epistolary periods, such as Thanksgivings, greetings, etc.) contexts. Sumney finds statements in polemical and apologetic contexts more problematic and less reliable, since the author is likely to make exaggerated claims about the opponents.[10] Didactic contexts are the most reliable since the author is trying to teach rather than attack the opponents. Within the last category (conversational) Sumney thinks that statements in the Thanksgiving section are most reliable.

Sumney has certainly provided a most thorough methodology for analyzing ostensible statements about the opponents in Paul's letters, and we would do

7 Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents*; Sumney, *Servants of Satan*; Sumney, "Studying Paul's Opponents."

8 Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 22.

9 Ibid., 23.

10 Ibid., 23–24.

well to keep his categories in mind. It is crucial that the interpreter starts with the data of the text itself, rather than relying too heavily on outside sources to construct a portrait of the opponents, which is then forced on the data of the text.

Porter has also advanced discussion of methodology.[11] As a way forward in the discussion, he relies on Karl Bühler's organon model of language and communication.[12] According to this model, there are four important entities that must be taken into account when thinking about language: the objects and states of affairs themselves, the sender of the message, the receiver of the message, and the language phenomenon itself. The sender produces a message, while the hearer (or reader) receives the sender's signal by means of language signs. "The objects or state of affairs are represented by the discourse as a coordinated representation."[13] With reference to Colossians, Porter finds that the author expresses his position in relation to language in four important types of expressions: frame or structural comments (Paul's mention of Epaphras, his mention of his own suffering, the shift semantically from description to direction, the closing greeting from Aristarchus and Epaphras); theological statements (the major tenants of Christian content that Paul presents as in conflict with another philosophy);[14] a paraenetic section aimed at the readers; directives aimed at issues such as food, drink and festivals, self-abasement and worship of angels, decrees regarding abstention, etc. that are called into question or corrected.[15] With regard to the readers, Paul's language anticipates a response from the readers. By linking their behavior to his ministry, mediated by Epaphras, Paul signals that he is monitoring their behavior. Further, the theological instruction is meant to expand their knowledge of Christ, while the paraenetic section is particular and specific.[16] Concerning the objects and states of affairs, Porter notes that the evidence is complicated, but that "the general tenor of Paul's content is to differentiate the earthly from the heavenly, and to endorse Christ as the one who bridges the gap."[17] Christ fulfills the upper level, while earthly things and behavior belong to the human level and threaten believers. For Colossians, the beliefs of the readers are of less concern for Paul than behavioral issues. Porter then asks, "Does this match any

11 Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, ch. 17.

12 See Bühler, *Theory of Language*.

13 Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, 319.

14 Ibid., 334–35.

15 See ibid., 335, for a more complete list.

16 Ibid., 335.

17 Ibid., 336.

particular oppositional group?"[18] Porter concludes that one should not force a synthesis of the evidence, but should "leave the Pauline opposition as one that is, at the least, multifaceted and perhaps, at the most, several different opponents"[19] (Porter's objects and state of affairs).

Sumney proposes that the opponents are "ascetic visionaries."[20] Textually they exhibit the following characteristics: (1) asceticism, including restrictions on food and drink, and keeping of holy days and Sabbaths; (2) visions, where they observe and probably participate in angelic humility and worship; (3) the practice of angels becomes a model for their own ascetic regulations and self-imposed worship.[21] Porter and Sumney have summarized the main contours textually of the opponents in Colossians. The question I still want to raise is whether "these opponents fit into any known groups of the first century."[22]

3 Recent Developments on the Identity of the Colossians Opponents

Though proposals for the identity of the Colossian opponents (the objects and states of affairs represented by the discourse) have run the gambit from pagan philosophical movements (e.g., Gnosticism, Cynics), to movements within Judaism, to a syncretism of pagan and Jewish elements, there has recently been a swing toward seeing the Colossian opponents as predominately or even exclusively Jewish in makeup.[23] One of the more compelling arguments for the Jewish nature of the Colossian opponents is that they seem to be associated with the major identity badges of Judaism: Sabbath, food laws, and circumcision.[24] The clearest references come in the section that is usually deemed to contain some of the most important reference to the opponents: Col 2:16–23 (see below). Most significant is the reference to Sabbaths (v. 16),

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 338.

20 Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 211.

21 Ibid., 202.

22 Ibid., 213. Sumney answers the question in the negative: "So there is no wider group within which they can be securely placed." While rightly exercising needed caution, perhaps he has given up the struggle too quickly.

23 Evans, "Colossian Mystics"; Sappington, *Revelation and Redemption*; Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance*; Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae"; Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*; see also Wright, *Colossians and Philemon*, 23–30; Dunn, *Colossians and Philemon*, 23–35; W. Wilson, *Hope of Glory*, 35–40. Roberts, "Jewish Mystical Experience," 163–64 also notes this move toward the Jewish origins of Paul's opponents in Colossians.

24 See particularly Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance.*

an undisputed identity badge of Judaism. The reference to σαββάτων is found here in combination with feasts (ἑορτῆς) and new moons (νεομηνίας). Forms of this three-fold reference are found in OT and Jewish literature (1 Chron 23:31; 2 Chron 2:4; 31:3; Neh 10:33; Isa 1:13–14; Ezek 45:17; Hos 2:11; 1 Macc 10:34; *Jub* 1.14; 1 QM 2.4).

The reference to food and drink in v. 16 reflects the dietary laws of Torah, particularly the food laws (e.g., Lev 3:17; 7:26–27; 11; 17:10–14), while the reference to drink might reflect the avoidance of drink poured out as a libation to pagan gods (e.g., Dan 1:3–16; 10:3; *Add Esth* 14:17; *T. Reu.* 1.10; *T. Jud.* 15.4; *Jos. Asen.* 8.4–5). The prohibitions "do not touch, do not taste, do not handle," rather than being a reference to pagan ascetic practices, further reflect Jewish purity and food laws (e.g., *T. Mos.* 7.9–10; *Mak.* 3.7). The conclusion of Stettler for 2:16–17 should also be extended to vv. 21–23: "It is the most natural and straightforward solution to read Col 2.16–17a as referring to the Torah of Moses."[25]

The third significant identity badge, circumcision, is reflected in the reference to circumcision in 2:11, 13. Paul's usage of περιτομῇ here is clearly metaphoric, and may have no reference whatsoever to the opponents. Yet the fact that the author depicts it as a circumcision "not made by human hands" (ἀχειροποιήτῳ) suggests that he contrasts it with a circumcision that is done by hands.[26] In 3:11 the author uses circumcision to distinguish Jew and Gentile: "Here there is no Gentile or Jew, circumsized (περιτομή) or uncircumsized (ἀκροβυστία)." This suggests that circumcision is more than just a convenient metaphor, but rather in the context of the other identity markers probably contrasts with the exclusive claims of the opponents.[27] All of this makes the criticism that Paul does not have in mind primarily Jewish opponents because he does not use the term νόμος irrelevant.[28]

Two other features from the text that support the Jewish identity of the opponents are the reference to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20) and the reference to the teaching of the opponents as "human traditions" (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων 2:8) and "human commands and teachings" (τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων 2:22). My purpose is not to solve the issue of the meaning of the enigmatic phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, but here only to note that the only other place where this phrase is used in Pauline literature is in Galatians (4:3, 9), where it is used in connection with the OT law.[29] This is no

25 Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 182.

26 Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance*, 65.

27 Dunn, "Colossian Philosophy," 160–62.

28 Contra, e.g., Moo, *Colossians and Philemon*, 57; Pao, *Colossians and Philemon*, 28.

29 Dunn, "Colossian Philosophy," 169.

guarantee that it refers to the same thing in Colossians, but given the evidence we have seen so far, the parallel with the usage in Galatians is too strong to overlook.[30] Further, the references to the opponents' teaching as "human traditions" and "human commandments and teachings" are also likely to be understood in the context of Torah. The first finds a parallel in Mark 7:8 where Jesus castigates the Pharisees for leaving the commandments of God and following "human traditions" (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων), which refer to the dietary and purity regulations that go beyond the OT prescriptions. In Colossians, "The opponents were certainly prescribing ascetic rigors and traditions which went beyond anything written in the Mosaic Law (2:23)."[31] The previous verse, Mark 7:7, quotes from Isa 29:13, which refers to ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας (LXX). This same OT text lies behind the statement in Col 2:22 (τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων). It is possible that these two statements reflect early Christian language used to critique the misuse of the Torah by Judaism that went beyond what was prescribed in the OT law. In any case, the preceding texts point sufficiently to the strongly Jewish nature of the opponents in Colossae.[32] The question is still whether it is possible to identify a specific group within Judaism that fits the textual data of the letter.

Thomas Sappington suggests that the opponents belong to "a type of Jewish/Gentile Christianity that was strongly oriented toward the ascetic-mystical piety of Jewish apocalypticism."[33] Alan Bevere, following James Dunn, sees the group as essentially Jewish and associated with the synagogue, while Ian K. Smith sees them as "a group of Jewish mystics" that "could have conflated Jewish mystical ideas with Christianity."[34] Finally, Christian Stettler thinks they were "Torah-observant Jews with an interest in asceticism, mystic experience and wisdom."[35] However, I would like to resurface and reexamine another option that was proposed by a number of older works: almost all of the features attributed to the opponents in Colossae can be accounted for in the Qumran documents. That is, the opponents may reflect a type of Judaism reflected in the Qumran literature (though not all the works surveyed below drew this conclusion).

30 Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance*, 98–100.

31 Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*, 215.

32 For other examples see Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance*.

33 Sappington, *Revelation and Redemption*, 225. Cf. Roberts, "Jewish Mystical Experience."

34 Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 70.

35 Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 196.

Early on, J. B. Lightfoot suggested that the opponents were to be identified as Essenes combined with features of Gnosticism.[36] Later, Stanislas Lyonnet pointed out the similarities between the opposition in Colossians and the Qumran documents: the revelation of hidden knowledge, interest in the calendar and observation of the Sabbath, and preoccupation with angels.[37] More recently, W. D. Davies has noted the following points of contact between the Colossian opponents and the Qumran scrolls: calendrical niceties (e.g., CD 3.13–16), emphasis on the Sabbath (CD 10.13–11.18), distinctions between meats and drinks (CD 6.18), asceticism, the claim to a special wisdom and knowledge (1QS 3.13ff.), and angelology (1 QM 10.10–11).[38] E. W. Saunders found that the opponents in Colossae paralleled the Qumran texts in three areas: (1) the concepts of mystery, wisdom, knowledge, and perfection (e.g., 1 QH 2.13–14); (2) the doctrine of angels (e.g., 1 QS 11.8); (3) ritual and ascetic practices (e.g., 1 QS 7.19–20).[39] However, Saunders stopped short of postulating an identification between the opponents in Colossae and the thought and practice of the Qumran documents.[40] Following Lightfoot, Pierre Benoit concludes that "the error combatted by the epistle to the Colossians appears to be tainted with Essenism. A return to the Mosaic Law by circumcision, rigid observance concerning diet and the calendar, speculation about the angelic powers; all this is part and parcel of the doctrines of Qumran."[41] According to Andrew J. Bandstra, the Qumran literature testifies to a Jewish mysticism, where the community and angels are incorporated into one fellowship, who stand in God's presence without the need of a mediator.[42] He refers to the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* fragments (see below) as evidence of this perspective.

The purpose of this article is to revisit this suggestion, providing further evidence for the plausibility of this identity for the opponents in Colossians with

36 Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*.

37 Lyonnet, "Paul's Adversaries in Colossae," 150–53. (A version of this article appeared earlier as "L'étude du milieu littéraire et l'exégèse du Nouveau Testament," *Bib* 37 [1956], 27–38).

38 Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 167. See also Davies, *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 156–60.

39 Saunders, "Colossian Heresy," 135–41.

40 Ibid, 142: "No identity of origin can be documented between the Colossian heresy and Qumran heterodoxy." In the end he thinks it testifies to a syncretistic Judaism.

41 Benoit, "Qumran and the New Testament," 17.

42 Bandstra, "Colossians Errorists," 333–35. He also includes *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in his analysis.

a Qumran-type of Judaism.[43] It will be shown that, assuming a unified opponent, all of the characteristic features of the opponents derived from the text of Colossians can at least be accounted for in what one finds in the Qumran documents.

4 The Opponents in Colossians

There is virtual unanimity that the most important section in Colossians for formulating an understanding of the opponents' identity is 2:16–23. Sumney labels this a polemical section, and therefore we must be aware of the fact that it may contain the author's own evaluation of the opponents, not what they were necessarily teaching or claiming. Moreover, the text must take priority over the reconstruction. This essay will focus on the explicit statements in 2:16–23 due to the central role it has played in reconstructions of the opponents and due to the limits of this essay. Sumney summarized the opponents textually in the following manner, based on explicit statements in 2:16–23:

> [T]hey are ascetic visionaries whose asceticism includes regulations about food and drink and the observance of holy days, including new moons and Sabbaths. The angelic humility they observe in their visions sets the pattern for their ascetic manner of life. . . . In these visions where the opponents observe angelic worship, they probably also participate in it. Thus they take on the additional burden of cultic practices. . . . These cultic practices may extend to recreating the angelic worship they see in their visions.[44]

It is my contention that all of the features of this description of the opponents can at least be accounted for in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

4.1 *Explicit Statements in 2:16–23*

Verses 16–17: Though mention of food and drink by itself does not require a Jewish background, in the context of the very next statement (see below) they clearly reflect a context within Judaism. The mention of food recalls the diet restrictions in the OT, though the reference to drink has no close parallels. While most find the latter's background in the Jewish avoidance of wine

43 I do not intend to delve into the question of the precise identity of the Qumran community (i.e., whether they are to be identified as Essenes).

44 Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 202.

offered to idols,[45] it is interesting that the Qumran texts have much to say about regulations regarding food and drink. Davies already noted the possible connection to the pure food and drink in which only the initiate was to participate.[46] In 1 QS 6.16 the initiate is not to touch the pure food before he has been examined, and then may not touch the pure drink until further examination (6.20). See 7.19–20; 8.17, 24; 4Q265 2.5–9. Moreover, in a text like 11QT 49 there is an express concern over clean and unclean food and drink. In 4Q514 1 eating food and drinking while unclean due to sexual uncleanliness is to be avoided, and in 4Q274 1.2 and 2.1 an unclean person is to avoid the pure food and drink so as not to defile it. So it is possible that v. 17 has in mind something similar to such regulations.

Colossians 2:17 also mentions rituals that play a crucial role in a Jewish context. As already seen above, the Sabbath was a key identity marker within Judaism. Furthermore, the trifold "festivals, new moons, and Sabbath" occurs (in various orders) within the OT. However, the threefold reference is also found in the Qumran texts, 1 QM 2.4: "their festivals, new moons, and Sabbaths." 4Q405 23.i.3 refers to "Sabbaths and new moons." 4Q286.1.2.9–11 mentions holy weeks, months, seasons, and Sabbaths (cf. CD 3.13–14; 6.18; 4Q284 1.1.2–4; 1 QS 10.1–8). According to Samuel Thomas, in many texts from Qumran there is a "marked interest in issues of calendar, cosmology, the proper observance of festivals, purity laws, and practices of atonement."[47] Little needs to be said about the importance of Sabbath at Qumran. CD 10.14–11.18 (4Q270) contains detailed instructions for keeping the Sabbath (see also 4Q251 frag 1; 4Q265 frag 7.1–2; 4Q512.4). Therefore, while not exclusively the provenance of Qumran texts, the references to dietary restrictions, as well as the calendar and special days including Sabbath, play a conspicuous role in the Qumran documents.

Verse 18: Francis notes, "The interpretation of nearly every word or phrase has been disputed."[48] I will not survey all the options, but simply suggest what I think is the most reasonable understanding of the issues. First, the word translated "humiliation" (ταπεινοφροσύνη) has sometimes been understood as referring to "fasting," perhaps in preparation for a vision.[49] While this is possible, the grammar discussed below, which suggests this is part of what the

45 Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 180.

46 Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 167. See also Lyonnet, "Paul's Adversaries in Colossae," 151.

47 Thomas, *"Mysteries" of Qumran*, 235. Cf. also 4Q166 2.15–16 (quoting Hos 2:11); 4Q409; 4Q512 4.1–2; 4Q317.

48 Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship," 163.

49 Cf. Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 121–22.

opponents claim to have seen, suggests that it could also refer to acts of humiliation in worship. Perhaps the most disputed issue is the phrase θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων ("worship of angels"). The genitive τῶν ἀγγέλων is frequently understood as an objective genitive ("to worship angels"), so that the readers are being encouraged by the opponents to engage in angel worship.[50] Clinton Arnold argues that all other examples of θρησκεία followed by a divine being or typical object of worship (e.g., an idol) in the genitive function objectively.[51] However, as others have pointed out, it is strange that Paul does not more strongly react to such a practice.[52] Furthermore, Arnold prejudices his case by considering only typical objects of worship, begs the question of what is a typical object of worship, and gives no examples of "angels" in the genitive. Most importantly, understanding the genitive objectively does not fit the syntax of ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων, which indicates that θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων is something the opponents observed in a vision (see below). Therefore, it is likely that we should understand τῶν ἀγγέλων subjectively and take the phrase as referring to the angels worshiping.[53] Furthermore, it is probable that the one preposition ἐν governs both nouns ταπεινοφροσύνη and θρησκεία connected by καί. This suggests that the genitive τῶν ἀγγέλων governs both "humiliation" and "worship," and therefore it likely stands in the same relationship to both humiliation and worship.[54] The angels are humiliating themselves and worshiping.

The construction ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων likewise contains grammatical and lexical difficulties.[55] First, how are we to understand the neuter relative ἃ syntactically? While it is common to take it as introducing a clause that functions as the direct object of ἐμβατεύων, so that it should be translated "going into detail about *what he has seen*" (cf. NIV; NRSV: "dwelling on visions")[56] it is more likely that the relative pronoun should be seen as the object of ἑόρακεν so that ἃ has as its antecedent at least θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων in the previous clause,

50 Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 118n36.

51 Arnold, *Colossian Syncretism*, 91–93.

52 Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 125.

53 Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship," 176–81; Bandstra, "Colossian Errorists," 331, Rowland, "Apocalyptic Visions," 75, Evans, "Colossian Mystics," 197–98, Dunn, "Colossian Philosophy," 174–75, Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 184–87, Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 126–27, Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 200; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 142–43.

54 Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 200–201.

55 Sappington calls it "an interpretive challenge of the highest order" (*Revelation and Redemption*, 153).

56 Campbell, *Colossians and Philemon*, 44; R. McL. Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, 224.

and probably the entire expression ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων.[57] This finds support in the fact that all other examples of the neuter relative pronoun in this context function to point back to an antecedent (2:17, 22, 23; cf. 3:6). This would also suggest that ταπεινοφροσύνη here is not a reference to fasting in preparation for a vision, but something that the opponents see the angels do.

Despite previous suggestions that the participle ἐμβατεύων was a technical term for initiation into a mystical religion,[58] no one seems to have improved on the insight of Fred Francis that the term simply means "to enter."[59] The participle indicates when they saw the vision: "upon entering," probably referring to entering heaven during a visionary experience.[60] Putting this all together, it appears that Paul says the opponents were claiming to have a visionary experience, where they saw the humiliation and worship of the angels (angels worshiping) when they entered the heavenly realm in a visionary-type experience (though ἐμβατεύων is not given an object).

Are there any correspondences to such a picture? Smith points to Jewish mysticism, particularly Merkabah mysticism, where certain individuals undergo a visionary ascent and witness angelic activity (e.g., Ezek 1; *1 Enoch*).[61] While Smith provides a compelling case, I would argue that a closer correspondence can be found in the Qumran literature. I want to focus on a number of texts that point to a person or persons taking their place in heaven alongside the angels, often joining them in worship. The important role that angels play in the Qumran texts is well known, in the form of a close association between the members of the community and the angels in heaven.[62] Several texts seem to assume that certain members of the earthly community can enter into communion with the angels in heaven, often to worship alongside them. For example, in 1QSb 4.24–28 (*Priestly Blessing*) the priest, who is "like (כ) an angel of the presence," serves in the holy dwelling (במעון קודש) of the heavenly realm and

57 Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 199; Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 186; Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 130; Sappington, *Revelation and Redemption*, 157–59; Evans, "Colossian Mystics," 195–96; Rowland, "Apocalyptic Visions," 76; see the translation in O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 135; Pokorný, *Colossians*, 146.

58 Dibelius, "Isis Initiation."

59 Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship," 171–76, followed by Evans, "Colossian Mystics," 197–98; Sappington, *Revelation and Redemption*, 154–56, Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 187–88, Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 129.

60 Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*, 129; Evans, "Colossian Mystics," 197–98; Rowland, "Apocalyptic Visions," 76, Dunn, "Colossian Philosophy," 177–78; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 144–45.

61 Sappington, *Revelation and Redemption*; Smith, *Heavenly Perspective*.

62 See Wassen, "Angels and Humans."

casts lots in the presence of the angels and the community. The reference to "raise up the head" in line 23 is taken by both Crispin Fletcher-Louis and Joseph Angel as a reference to an ascension to the heavenly realm.[63] 1 QM 10.8–11 says of the community: they "have heard the voice of majesty and have seen the angels of holiness." This phrase, according to Rowland, "looks remarkably like the kind of visions of the heavenly world familiar to us from the apocalypses."[64] In 1QH[a] 11.19–23 the speaker takes his stand "with the host of the holy ones" and "enter[s] together with the congregation of the sons of heaven." This results in praising God's name. The council of the community shares in the lot with the angels of the presence in 1 QH[a] 14.16–18.

In an extraordinary text known as the *Self-glorification Hymn*, there is an apparent reference to an individual who ascends into heaven where he takes his seat among the angelic beings, then boasts about his experience. This text exists in two recensions (Recension A: 4Q427; 1 QH[a] 25.34–27.3; 4Q471b + 4Q431 I; and Recension B: 4Q491 11.i).[65]

> . . . eternal, a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods (בעדת אלים). None of the ancient kings shall sit on it, and their nobles [shall] not [. . . There are no]ne comparable [to me in] glory, no one shall be exalted besides me; none shall associate with me. For I dwelt in the [. . .] heavens, and there is no one [. . .]. I am reckoned with the gods and my abode is in the holy congregation (בעדת קודשׁ). [My] desi[re] is not according to the flesh, and everything precious to me is in the glory [of] the holy [habit] ation. [Wh]om have I considered contemptible? Who is comparable to me in my glory? Who of those who sail the seas shall return telling [of] my equal? (4Q491 11.1.12–15)[66]

Though there has been dispute regarding the identity of the individual referred to, it is likely that he is an exalted human, a priestly figure.[67] According to Angel, "He should be considered eschatological only inasmuch as the liturgical experience allowed him to escape linear historical time and take a seat among

63 Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 152; Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 116.

64 Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 116.

65 Angel, "Liturgical-Eschatological Priest," 585–87.

66 Translation is from Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

67 Angel, "Liturgical-Eschatological Priest"; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 213; Thomas, *"Mysteries" of Qumran*, 218n73. Martin Abegg, Jr. thinks that the figure may be the Teacher of Righteousness ("Who Ascended to Heaven.")

the angels."[68] In these texts the speaker is enthroned in heaven among the angels and appears to undergo an angelic type transformation ("No one can compare to my glory"; 4Q491 11.1.12–13).[69] This text is about the closest there is in the sectarian texts to an ascent by a human being to heaven. It is not clear whether this refers to anyone another than an individual priestly figure, so it can be questioned whether this experience would have been replicated in the community.[70] In 4Q427 7 (Recension B) the community is summoned to praise God in the holy dwelling (7.1.20 במעון הקודש). Thus, "The speaker, by summoning the community to worship, is evidently leading them to an experience of heavenly glorification comparable to his own."[71] Further, this text does not say that the exalted member sees anything. However, it does testify to the idea of an ascent to heaven in the presence of the angels, an experience that causes him to boast (see Col 2:18c).

Perhaps one of the most significant texts for our purposes is the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (*sss*) (4Q400–407; 11Q 17, Masada fragment), a text apparently important at Qumran due to the number of copies found there.[72] Written for the Maskil (למשכיל) to instruct the angels to worship in the heavenly temple, the *sss* consists of thirteen songs to be sung on the first 13 Sabbaths (quarter) of the year. In it we find references to angels who serve in the heavenly sanctuary, but also who worship and praise the glory of the chariot throne in the twelfth Song, which seems to be the climax of the songs. The heavenly temple appears to be divided into seven sanctuaries (*debirim*) that the songs move through. Moreover, as Carol Newsom has argued, the description of the celestial temple in songs 9–13 is modeled after Ezek 40–48,[73] though Ezek 1 and 10 also play a role. Important for our consideration is the twelfth song, where in 4Q405 23 1.8–10 the angelic beings "enter" the sanctuary.

The precise function of these songs is debated. It appears that the *sss* served to unite the earthly community with the angelic and heavenly world in worship in the celestial temple.[74] As to the nature of the experience, J. Davila

68 Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 142.

69 Thomas, *"Mysteries" of Qumran*, 220.

70 Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 147.

71 Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 145.

72 See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Arnold denies that these texts can account for the "worship of angels" in Col 2:18, but only because he incorrectly thinks that "angels" must be an objective genitive (*Colossian Syncretism*, 96–98). None of Arnold's eight objections to such a background (97–98) are compelling, and some are simply misguided.

73 See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 52–58.

74 In a sense the Songs are an answer to the question posed in Song 2 (4Q400 2.6–7) where angelic and human praise are contrasted: "How shall we be reckoned among them? And

and Fletcher-Louis think that it has similarities with apocalypses containing otherworldly journeys.[75] However, though there are links between these texts and the later merkabah and hehkalot traditions,[76] it is not clear that the community or its priests undergo an ascent as one finds in the apocalypses, though it does appear almost to give one a virtual "tour" of the heavenly sanctuary.[77] At the same time, the detailed description of the heavenly temple and the throne, which relies on Ezek 1, 40–48, a book that played an important role in apocalyptic visions and merkabah and hekhalot speculation, suggests that the experience is a mystical and visual one. Newsom describes the phenomenon as a "communal mysticism" and concludes that the songs lead the community "gradually . . . through the spiritually animate temple until the worshippers experience the holiness of the merkabah and of the Sabbath sacrifice as it is conducted by the high priests and angels."[78] The recitation of the songs, then, evoke "a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of the angelic priests and worshippers."[79] According to Cecilia Wassen, "The songs may thus be seen as reflecting mystical practices that induced in the participants the experience of transcending the human realm and being united with the angels in worship."[80] Though it is still difficult to determine the precise nature of the experience, it appears that it is a type of mystical visionary experience achieved communally through liturgy, and results in a sort of transformation as the earthly community witnesses the angelic worship in the heavenly sanctuary and joins with them in the vision of the merkabah and in worship.[81] Further, if it was seen as a substitute for worship in the Jerusalem temple, "the participants could enter into the heavenly sanctuary by taking part in a worship that went far beyond anything they could possibly hope to experience by officiating in the Jerusalem temple."[82] The *sss* are important for understanding Col 2:18 for two reasons: (1) the theme of entering the temple

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what (is) our priesthood in their habitation? How shall our holiness be compared with their holiness? What is the praise of our mortal tongue alongside their divine knowledge?" These questions demonstrate the aspiration of human worshipers to be with the angels. See Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 140–41.

75 Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 87; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 382.

76 For connections between Qumran literature and merkabah mysticism, see Davila, "Dead Sea Scrolls"; Elior, "Mystical Traditions."

77 Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 87.

78 Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 19.

79 Ibid., 17.

80 Wassen, "Angels and Humans," 529.

81 Cf. Scott, "Throne-Chariot Mysticism," 104.

82 Wassen, "Angels and Humans," 529.

(4Q405 23.1.8–10) through a mystical, visual type experience, is important in both texts (nothing in Col 2:18 requires an ascent or full-blown apocalyptic-type visionary experience); (2) unlike apocalyptic ascents and other visionary literature, which focus on the experience of an individual figure, the *sss* testify to a communal experience, unless one wants to claim that in Col 2:18 only one of the opponents has this experience.

Verses 21–23: The statements in 2:20–23 conclude Paul's polemical section in 2:16–23.[83] It contains a description of the opponents' regulations, which centers around three "do not" statements in v. 21: μὴ ἅψῃ μηδὲ γεύσῃ μηδὲ θίγῃς ("do not touch, do not taste, do not handle"). According to Sumney, these "are examples of the types of regulations that the opponents impose and are either quotations of the opponents or irony and caricature of their demands."[84] Most have pointed to this text as an example of the group's ascetic tendencies. However, the Qumran texts reveal a concern for purity that could be characterized as ascetic. The Qumran obsession with purity is well-known.[85] This was wrapped up with their self-understanding as a temple. For the sectarians, "purity functioned . . . in a way very similar to its role in the temple—as a sign of greater sanctity and closeness to the divine."[86] Cf. 11Q 47; 4Q400 1.1.14. Purity is also required, due to the presence of the angels (1QSa 2.8–9), a connection that may be reflected in the mention of angels in Col 2:18. Therefore, the sectarians required a stringent process of purification for admission into the community.[87] Thus, an initiate is not to *touch* the pure food and drink until after being examined (1 QS 6.16, 20; 7.20). Members of the community are commanded *not to touch* certain things that would transfer impurity (4Q274; 4Q284 2.1–2; cf. also the Purification ritual in 4Q512). In the Temple Scroll we find detailed instructions for what to avoid or *not to eat* or *touch* in order to avoid impurity (11Q 48–50). Thus, the scrolls give evidence of a kind of Judaism that is meticulous about its keeping of the law and concern for purity and that may very well be reflected in the regulations summarized in Col 2:21. The three-fold ἐθελοθρησκία καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ ἀφειδία σώματος in v. 23, then, may reflect the opponents' imitation of the angels from v. 18 and their ascetic practices, which Paul describes as "severe treatment of the body" (ἀφειδία σώματος).

83 Sumney, *Servants of Satan*, 192.

84 Ibid., 192–93.

85 Newton, *Concept of Purity*, 10–26. See Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 256–69.

86 Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 258–59.

87 Newton, *Concept of Purity*, 25.

5 Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to resurface and reexamine a previous suggestion for a potential identification of Paul's opponents in Colossians. I have tried to show that all the elements usually identified as referring to these opponents in the key section in Col 2:16–23 have parallels in the literature from Qumran. Both exemplified a movement that followed strict observance of the law, the calendar and Sabbath, and matters of purity, and prided itself in heavenly visions where they entered the heavenly realm and saw (and participated with) the angels worshipping. I want to conclude this study by drawing attention to a couple of cautions and then a couple of implications of such an identification. First, the above conclusions cannot reach the level of anything more than a hypothesis, though I think it is a much stronger one than it has been given credit for. As both Sumney and Porter have cautioned, given the evidence it would be wrong to force any reconstruction on the text, and even worse to allow it to determine one's exegesis of Colossians. There is still the possibility that more than one opponent makes up the objects and state of affairs. Second, these conclusions are not meant to suggest that there were members of the Qumran sect in Colossae, since it is impossible to determine the nature and extent of Jewish existence in Colossae, though there was probably some level of Jewish presence there.[88] The most that can be claimed is that we find in the Dead Sea Scrolls a type of Judaism that at least accounts for all the data in Col 2:16–23 in Paul's polemic against the (probably Jewish) opponents.

However, there are several implications of such an identification. First, such a reconstruction makes it unnecessary (and unlikely) to propose a syncretistic movement. Second, though it has sometimes been concluded that the opponents had a deviant Christology that Paul found necessary to correct, such a reconstruction as argued above would suggest that the opponents did not necessarily have a Christology at all. Rather, the Christological emphasis throughout Colossians is Paul's own response to the opponents, where he reminds his readers what they have already been taught (1:7; 2:6) and expands on this. Third, the reference to the rulers and powers in 1:18 and 2:10 need not be part of the opponents' teaching or be identified with the angels in 2:18. Such an unwarranted "mirror reading" only assumes this connection. Fourth, this construction may also mean that the opponents are not inside the church or claiming to be Christian.[89] They are a "non-messianic" Jewish movement that

88 See Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 5–36, 167–90; Dunn, *Colossians and Philemon*, 22 (who thinks that 2000–3000 Jews lived in Colossae); Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 194.

89 Roberts, "Jewish Mystical Experience," 171–75.

claims the rights of the people of God for themselves, and judge those outside (2:8, 16, 20) who do not conform to their teaching and experiences. This may account for the way Paul handles this situation, over against the situation in Galatia.[90] In any case, in the face of a teaching that judges and disqualifies the church in Colossae for not participating in its ascetic and mystical experiences, Paul reminds them that they have everything they need in Christ for salvation and behavioral transformation, and they are true heirs of the promises made to Israel.

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90 Stettler, "Opponents at Colossae," 174–75.

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CHAPTER 29

First Timothy 5:18 and Early Canon Consciousness: Reconsidering a Problematic Text

Michael J. Kruger

When it comes to tracing the development of the New Testament canon, there are few issues more central than determining when early Christians began to view their own writings as Scripture on a par with the Old Testament.[1] Apparently this was happening by the middle of the second century, as Justin Martyr tells us that "memoirs of the apostles" were being read alongside the Old Testament books in public worship.[2] Given that Justin Martyr does not seem to be describing an innovation in his own day, we are not surprised to see hints of this practice even in the time of the Apostolic Fathers.[3] And, of course, 2 Pet 3:16 reveals that some New Testament writings even viewed other New Testament writings (like Paul's letters) as Scripture equal to the Old Testament.[4]

Looming in the background of such discussions is a passage that could have substantial implications for when Christians regarded their own books as Scripture. In 1 Tim 5:18 we find a curious double citation: λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, Βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις, καὶ· Ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ ("For the Scripture says, 'You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain,' and 'The laborer deserves his wages.'"). This passage is quite promising simply because it cites an Old Testament text (Deut 25:4) alongside what might be a Christian text (Luke 10:7?) and seems to regard both as Scripture. And yet, despite the possible significance of a passage like this, 1 Tim 5:18 has been widely neglected in

1 The classic debate over the "date" of the New Testament canon was between Theodor Zahn and Adolf von Harnack: Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*; Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*. For analysis of the debate, see Barton, *Spirit and the Letter*, 1–34.

2 Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 67.3. Elsewhere Justin uses the standard formula *citandi* ("it is written") when he cites the Gospels; e.g., *Dial.* 100.1; 103.6–8; 104.1; 105.6; 106.3–4; and 107.1.

3 E.g., Papias (as cited in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15–16); *Barn.* 4.14; Ign. *Eph.* 12.2; Pol. *Phil.* 12.1; *1 Clem.* 47.1–3. For a fuller discussion of these passages, see Kruger, *Question of Canon*, 155–203.

4 The significance of 2 Pet 3:16 is dependent on its authorship and date. For those who regard 2 Peter as pseudonymous, dates typically range from the end of the first century to the early second; e.g. Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 237; Cranfield, *I & II Peter and Jude*, 149; Mayor, *St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter*, cxxvii; Harrington, *Jude and 2 Peter*, 237.

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most major studies of the New Testament canon.[5] Indeed, many do not even mention it all.[6] And the reasons for this are not difficult to find. Not only are there substantial doubts about the source of the second citation, but there are doubts about the date of 1 Timothy (and each set of doubts exacerbates the other).

The purpose of this chapter is to open a fresh discussion of this neglected passage, reconsidering its possibilities and challenges. It is my hope that such an article will be a fitting tribute to my friend Stan Porter who has written extensively in the areas of text and canon.[7] This subject matter has allowed our paths to cross at numerous points over the years. He was kind enough to include my volume on the apocryphal Gospel P.Oxy. 840[8] as the first installment in the *Texts and Editions for New Testament Studies* series he edits for Brill, and together we co-founded (and for years have co-chaired) the New Testament Canon, Textual Criticism, and Apocryphal Literature study group for the Evangelical Theological Society. His steady, careful, and prolific (!) scholarship over many years has been a great example and encouragement to all in the guild of biblical studies.

1 Preliminary Considerations

There is little doubt that the primary (and most controversial) issue in 1 Tim 5:18 is the source of the second citation. However, before we can adequately address that important question, a number of preliminary issues need to be considered.

1.1 *Does the Term "Scripture" Refer to Both Citations?*

There is little doubt that when the author uses the term γραφή he is referring to more than just general, non-authoritative writing. After all, he applies this

5 E.g., the following are significant works on canon and yet only Bruce addresses 1 Tim 5:18 (and only in a few sentences): Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*; Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*; Gamble, *New Testament Canon*; McDonald, *Biblical Canon*; Patzia, *Making of the New Testament*.

6 E.g., McDonald and Sanders, *Canon Debate*, which is over 600 pages, never even mentions the verse once. Even Michael Bird's excellent book, *Gospel of the Lord*, which traces how Jesus tradition developed into Gospels, never mentions 1 Tim 5:18.

7 A few examples include, Porter, "Pauline Authorship and the Pastoral Epistles"; McDonald and Porter, *Early Christianity*; Porter, "When and How"; Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*.

8 Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*.

word directly to a citation from the Old Testament,[9] a pattern very common throughout other Pauline writings.[10] But, there is the additional question of whether the author meant to apply the term to the *second* citation.[11] Is it possible he only meant it for the first? While such an option cannot be ruled out entirely, the text itself provides little reason to think it is preferable. The second citation follows immediately after the first and the two are joined by the simple καί, suggesting that "Scripture" applies to both. Moreover, the practice of double citations of Scripture is evident in a number of other New Testament passages—e.g., Matt 5:4; Mark 7:10; Acts 1:20; 1 Pet 2:6–7—all of which use the simple conjunction καί.[12] Even so, some scholars have appealed to possible counter examples:

2 Pet 2:22. This passage quotes scriptural and non-scriptural material side by side, and is thus presented as a proof that the same may be happening in 1 Tim 5:18.[13] However, in the case of 2 Pet 2:22, the citations are not introduced with the term "Scripture" but are introduced as a "proverb"—thus it is decidedly *not* an instance where the word "Scripture" introduces both scriptural and unscriptural material. Moreover, it is worth noting that the word "proverb" applies to *both* citations, providing further evidence that introductory formulas normally apply to both halves of double citations.[14]

Mark 1:2–3. Some have argued that "Scripture" need not apply to the second citation in 1 Tim 5:18 because of a passage like Mark 1:2–3, which cites multiple Old Testament texts as coming from Isaiah when only the first actually comes from Isaiah.[15] However, there are doubts about whether this passage constitutes a genuine parallel with 1 Tim 5:18. Most notably, Mark 1:2–3 is simply not an example of the word "Scripture" (or, in this case, "it is written") introducing both scriptural and non-scriptural material. On the contrary, this citation in Mark 1:2–3 is drawn entirely from Scripture. The fact that Mark 1:2–3 lumps

9 Although there is debate about whether some Old Testament books were regarded as "Scripture" during the first century, there is a general consensus that the Pentateuch (and thus Deuteronomy) was firmly established as scriptural. For an up-to-date discussion of the Old Testament canon, see Lim, *Formation of the Jewish Canon*.

10 E.g., Rom 4:3; 9:17; 10:11; 11:2; and Gal 4:30. All use the same construction as 1 Tim 5:18.

11 Scholars arguing that "Scripture" does not apply to the second citation include Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 126; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 79; and Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 134.

12 Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 234. For further discussion, see Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 49–51.

13 Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 311.

14 See discussion in Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 279–80.

15 Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 311.

all the citations under "Isaiah" is simply due to the fact that it was a *composite* Old Testament quotation—namely it was not three separate quotes from the Old Testament, but a single quote with portions drawn from different parts of the Old Testament (with Isaiah as the centerpiece).[16] In contrast, 1 Tim 5:18 is dealing with two distinct quotes (separated by καί,) and thus should be compared with other double citations in the New Testament that were discussed above (all of which apply Scripture to *both* quotations).

1 Cor 15:45. This passage cites Gen 2:7, followed by the statement, "the last Adam became a life-giving Spirit." This is purported to be another example of a scriptural and non-scriptural citation side by side. But there are doubts about whether this is really intended to be a double citation at all. The two statements are not joined by the standard καί—as most of the other double citations are, including 1 Tim 5:18—and the latter statement matches no known source.[17] Thus, rather than a citation, it is more likely that the second statement is simply Paul's own words[18]—a theological reflection, or even an instance of him offering a christological explanation, designed to show how Gen 2:7 is completed in Christ as the second Adam.[19] It is also possible that all of 1 Cor 15:45 is an instance of Paul offering a rabbinic-style citation of the Old Testament, a loose and free rendition of Gen 2:7 shaped to fit his christological point.[20] But even under this scenario we would still not have a parallel with 1 Tim 5:18, since 1 Cor 15:45 would be regarded as a *single* citation from the Old Testament (albeit with Paul's creative additions mixed in).[21]

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16 Lane, *Mark*, 45–47.

17 Kreitzer, "Christ and Second Adam," 73, states, "This is unlikely to be Paul's quoting of any popular Jewish exposition of the passage . . . As far as we are able to detect it is original with Paul."

18 Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 374; Lenski, *Corinthians*, 718. This has even been a common view throughout the history of the church; e.g., Calvin states that the second statement is where "the apostle now begins to make his own independent contrast of Christ with Adam" (Calvin, *Corinthians*, 52).

19 Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 209n99; Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 33–37. See the helpful summary of Paul's use of the Old Testament in Silva, "Old Testament in Paul." Chrysostom writes: "Paul modified the expression [Gen 2:7] according to the issue of events: as he is wont continually to do: and indeed is the way of every prophet" (*Hom.* 41.6).

20 Hultgren, "Two Adams," 361; Dunn, "1 Corinthians 15:45," 130.

21 Hultgren, "Two Adams," 361. In addition, Hultgren argues that "the term πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν is Paul's own" and thus is not a second citation from some *other* source (353). Burney, *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 46, suggests the possibility that Paul may be drawing on a collection of Old Testament *testimonia* that included a midrashic expansion of Gen 2:7. Regardless, 1 Cor 15:45 would still be regarded as a single (expanded) Old Testament

Matt 2:23; 1 Cor 2:9; Jas 4:5 (*cf. Eph 4:8; 5:14*). These passages use the standard introductory formulas for citing Scripture (though the Ephesians texts are not clear in this regard), but the citations themselves do not match a known Old Testament text.[22] Thus, some have suggested there is a parallel here to 1 Tim 5:18 (inasmuch as "Scripture" is used for passages outside the Old Testament). However, it is not at all clear that these passages are citing passages outside the Old Testament—some of these passages are likely citations of paraphrased Old Testament passages or amalgams of Old Testament passages.[23] And even if these texts are citing extra-biblical material, it seems that the author still regards this material as scriptural. Thus, again, there is little reason to think these verses should change our understanding of 1 Tim 5:18.

For all these reasons, Quinn and Wacker conclude that the authors make "no differentiation" between the two citations and thus the second one "is apparently to be read as *hē graphē*."[24] Likewise, Scott affirms that the two sayings "are both quoted as scripture."[25] Roloff agrees, "Daß diese sich auf beide Teile des Doppelzitates bezieht und somit auch das Jesuslogion umgreift, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein."[26]

1.2 *Can the Second Citation Be Explained by an Appeal to Oral Tradition?*

Given the difficulties associated with the second citation, it is not unusual for scholars to suggest that the author is merely drawing upon the plenteous sayings of Jesus that circulated orally within early Christianity.[27] If so, it is argued, then 1 Tim 5:18 has little to do with the emergence of the canon but is merely another example of the way early Christians preferred oral tradition over the written word.[28] While it is certainly true that oral tradition continued to play

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citation, whether from Paul or drawn from another source. In contrast, Rawlinson, *New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, argues, "It is equally possible that S. Paul in rabbinical fashion is making his *own* midrash upon the text" (131, emphasis mine). See also the discussion in Kister, "'First Adam' and 'Second Adam.'"

22 See the discussion in Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background of the New Testament*, 14–15; and Silva, "Old Testament in Paul."

23 Beale and Carson, *New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 10–11; 701; 819–25; 1006–7.

24 Quinn and Wacker, *Letters to Timothy*, 462.

25 Scott, *Pastoral Epistles*, 65.

26 Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus*, 309.

27 E.g., Oberlinner, *Kommentar zum ersten Timotheusbrief*, 254.

28 For general treatments of oral tradition during this time period, see Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*; Bailey, "Informal Controlled Oral Tradition"; Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*; Byrskog, *Story as History*; Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*; Wansbrough, *Jesus*

a significant role during this time period, there are few reasons to think it has much explanatory value in this particular situation. After all, we must observe again that the author applies the word "Scripture" to both citations, implying that they must be *written* documents of some sort. As Schrenk points out, the word γραφή, at its core, simply refers to "writing" or to "written characters."[29] And when the word γραφή is used in a context where it refers to an established biblical text like Deuteronomy—as is the case in 1Tim 5:18—then it is quite difficult to see how it could refer to anything other than written Scripture. Even if one might surmise that the author intended "Scripture" to mean a written text when referring to Deut 25:4 and to mean only oral tradition when referring to the second citation (which would make for a highly unusual construction, to be sure), one could hardly fault the average reader if they failed to track with this distinction. It is worth noting that Gregory and Tuckett make a similar argument for *2 Clem* 2.4 when it uses the term "Scripture" to refer to Jesus tradition. They argue that the use of γραφή "at the very least suggests that 'Clement' is taking his quotation here from a written source, and hence *not from free floating oral tradition.*"[30]

1.3 *Could the Author Have Simply Made a Mistake about the Origins of the Second Citation?*

Some scholars have argued that the author mistakenly thought that the second citation came from the Old Testament when, in fact, it did not. A. E. Harvey suggests such a mistake would have been a "pardonable error."[31] Of course, one cannot absolutely rule out such a possibility. But, neither does the mere possibility of such an occurrence make it a preferable alternative. For one, there is no positive evidence that the author was confused—that is pure conjecture. In addition, there is no Old Testament text that bears enough similarity to the second citation to make such a mistake likely.[32] And if the author is Paul (more on that below), then we are dealing with someone who is quite well-versed in Old Testament Scripture and unlikely to make such an elementary

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and the Oral Gospel Tradition; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*; and Young, *Jesus Tradition in the Apostolic Fathers*.

29 Schrenk, "γραφή."

30 Gregory and Tuckett, "2 Clement," 255, emphasis mine.

31 Harvey, "Workman Is Worthy," 212.

32 The margins of the NA27 mention possible connections to Num 18:31 and 2 Chron 15:7. But Johnson, *Letters to Timothy*, rightly recognizes that these are "remote antecedents" and that the "obvious source for the principle Paul cites is a saying of Jesus" (278). Hodgson, "On the Gattung of Q," 80, suggests a connection to Lev 19:13, but this too is remote.

error. Even if the author is not Paul, his familiarity with the Old Testament is evident in a number of places throughout 1 and 2 Timothy: e.g., 1 Tim 2:11–15 (Gen 1 and 2); 1 Tim 5:19 (Deut 19:15); 1 Tim 6:1 (Isa 52:5); 2 Tim 2:19 (Num 16:5, Isa 26:13); 2 Tim 3:8 (Exod 7:11, 22).[33] And on top of all this, given that the citation forms a clear parallel with 1 Cor 9:14—a reference to the teachings of Jesus (more on this below)—it is all the more unlikely that it would be confused with an *Old* Testament passage. All of these reasons suggest that appealing to a possible authorial mistake is not the best way to advance our understanding of this passage.

The above considerations lead us to some preliminary conclusions about the second citation: (a) it is coming from a written source, (b) there are no reasons to think the author regarded it as part of the Old Testament, and (c) the author understood it to be Scripture. Now, we turn our attention to exploring what this written source might be.

2 The Source of the Second Citation

As for the source of the second citation in 1 Tim 5:18, scholars have offered several possibilities. We will consider some of the major options here.

2.1 *The Passage Is Citing a Well-Known Proverb*

A number of scholars have observed the proverbial nature of the second citation and suggested that it might have been a well-known secular saying.[34] Even though Jesus may have taken over the saying for his own purposes (Luke 10:7/Matt 10:10), the author of 1 Tim 5:18 may have been citing the proverb independently of Jesus' use of it. While it is certainly true that the second citation has a proverbial feel to it (as did many of Jesus' sayings), this particular solution runs into a number of difficulties. First, it is highly doubtful that the author would have used γραφή to speak of a secular proverb. Not only would the author's knowledge of the proverb likely have been oral and not written (the use of γραφή requires the latter), but there is no reason to think he would regard it as having an authority on par with that of the Old Testament. Even more than this, we have no knowledge of an ancient proverb that matches the wording of 1 Tim 5:18b. Comparisons have been made with texts from Euripides and Phocylides, but the similarities are too distant to form a convincing parallel—certainly not when compared to the similarities with

33 Johnson, *Letters to Timothy*, 285.

34 Harvey, "Workman is Worthy," 209–21; Bernard, *Pastoral Epistles*, 86; Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 103.

Luke 10:7.[35] It should also be added that the obvious connections between 1 Tim 5:18 and 1 Cor 9:14 (more on this below) suggest that the words of Jesus are in view, not a secular proverb.

2.2 *The Passage Is Citing an Early Written Collection of Jesus Tradition*

When it comes to the source of 1 Tim 5:18b, the most common suggestion amongst scholars is that the author is drawing on some sort of written collection of Jesus tradition outside the canonical Gospels, whether it be Q,[36] some other early sayings source,[37] or perhaps even an apocryphal Gospel.[38] Regardless of the specific nature of the source, the reasons for attributing these words to such written Jesus tradition are several. First, and more generally, there are good reasons to think that early traditions of Jesus were known during this time period, and may even have been recorded on written mediums, such as early notebooks or tablets.[39] Second, the words of 1 Tim 5:18b are an exact match with the words of Jesus in Luke 10:7—except for the connecting γάρ—and Luke is thought by many to represent the wording of Q (as opposed to the parallel in Matt 10:10).[40] Here are the relevant passages side by side:

1 Tim 5:18b: ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.
Luke 10:7: ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.
Matt 10:10: ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.
Q[41] 10:7: ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

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35 Euripides: πονοῦντα δ' ἄξιον μισθὸν φέρεσθαι (*Rhes.* 191); Phocylides: μισθὸν μοχθήσαντι δίδου (19).

36 Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 102; MacArthur, "Significance of ἡ γραφή," 37. Hodgson suggests that the citation comes from Q, but the portion of Q that was composed of testimonia from the Old Testament ("Gattung of Q," 80).

37 Lea and Griffin, *1, 2 Timothy, Titus*, 156; Scott, *Pastoral Epistles*, 65; Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus*, 310.

38 Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 126; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 79.

39 Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 203; Roberts and Skeat, *Birth of the Codex*, 59; Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 157–63; Millard, *Reading and Writing*, 228–29; Stanton, "Why Were Early Christians Addicted to the Codex?" The likelihood that Christians recorded Jesus tradition in written documents is increased when one considers that they probably created Old Testament testimonia books at very early stages; see Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 55; Albl, *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, 66.

40 Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*, 170; Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction*, 412. See also discussion in Dungan, *Sayings of Jesus*, 41–42.

41 As reconstructed by Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*, 170; and Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction*, 412.

Third, there is an obvious parallel between 1 Tim 5:18 and 1 Cor 9:9–14 since each passage (a) addresses the issues of compensation for those in ministry, (b) directly cites the obscure passage in Deut 25:4 in support of such a practice, and then (c) appeals to the words of Jesus.[42] The comparison below shows the obvious parallels:

1 Cor 9:9: For it is written in the Law of Moses: "You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain."	1 Tim 5:18a: For the Scripture says, "You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain,"
1 Cor 9:14: In the same way, the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel.	1 Tim 5:18b: and "The laborer deserves his wages."

These parallels have persuaded most scholars that 1 Tim 5:18b must be doing the same thing as 1 Cor 9:14, namely, referring to the words of Jesus (though the latter text does not expressly cite them). And since most scholars regard 1 Cor 9:14 as a reference to Q-like material[43] (though not necessarily to Q itself),[44] then it is argued that 1 Tim 5:18b is likely doing the same.[45]

It should be acknowledged that the above considerations make a solid case that 1Tim 5:18b might have been drawn from some sort of written sayings source like Q—certainly solid enough to be preferable to the suggestion that a secular proverb is the source. However, the fact that 1 Tim 5:18 *might* be drawn from Q is not the same thing as saying that this is the best explanation of the evidence. Several considerations should be kept in mind:

1. While the parallels between 1 Cor 9:14 and 1 Tim 5:18b certainly give us good reason to think that 1 Tim 5:18b is citing the words of Jesus, they do not necessitate that 1 Tim 5:18b is drawing from a Q-like source. After all, there is no way to know what source 1 Cor 9:14 is alluding to—Paul may have been drawing on oral tradition at this point and not any written

42 For discussions of this parallel, see Fjärstedt, *Synoptic Tradition in 1 Corinthians*, esp. 65–77; Dungan, *Sayings of Jesus*, 41–80; Allison, "Pauline Epistles"; and Tuckett, "Paul and the Synoptic Mission Discourse."

43 Tuckett, "1 Corinthians and Q," 612; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 53.

44 Allison, "Pauline Epistles," 19.

45 Johnson, *Letters to Timothy*, 286.

source at all.[46] And even if Paul did draw upon a Q-like source in 1 Cor 9:14, that does not mean that 1 Tim 5:18b must have done the same.

2. Both the existence of Q and the precise wording of Q have been questioned by some scholars.[47] Indeed, when it comes to the logion about a worker deserving his wages, some scholars think Q's version reflects the wording found in Luke (as noted above), while other scholars insist that Q matches Matthew's version.[48] The latter option seems consistent with the fact that other early sources cite the Matthean version of these verses, suggesting that it is a very primitive version of the saying.[49] Goulder even argues that the use of the term μισθοῦ in Luke 10:7 (the same term found in 1 Tim 5:18b) is actually due to Lukan redaction.[50] Quinn and Wacker make a similar case, arguing that Matthew's use of the more Semitic τροφῆς ("food") preserved the original wording of Q and that Luke changed it to μισθοῦ to adapt "the language to a Greek-speaking world."[51] If these scholars are correct, then we may be faced with evidence that 1 Tim 5:18b is, in fact, not drawn from a Q-like source at all. Indeed, if one follows Koester's argument that the best criteria for establishing a Gospel citation is evidence of the evangelist's redactional activity, then we might have evidence here that 1 Tim 5:18 is citing Luke itself.[52] Regardless, the lack of precision regarding the wording of Q makes any conclusions about its use a bit shaky.

3. While one could posit that 1 Tim 5:18b simply used another written sayings-source besides Q (thus avoiding the problems raised in the prior point), we are still faced with the fact that we are appealing to an unknown, hypothetical source. Given that we have an exact match with a known source (Luke 10:7)—and exact matches are quite rare when tracing the words of Jesus during this time period—this raises the question

46 Zimmerman and Zimmermann, "Zitation, Kontradiktion oder Applikation," 92; Park, *Mission Discourse*, 114; Tuckett, "Paul and the Synoptic Missions Discourse," 381; and Fledderman, *Q: A Reconstruction*, 425.

47 E.g., Goodacre, *Case against Q*; Goodacre and Perrin, *Questioning Q*; and Watson, *Gospel Writings*, esp. 117–216.

48 E.g., Dungan, *Sayings of Jesus*, 62, 79–80. Tuckett, "1 Corinthians and Q," 612, provides a counter argument in favor of Luke.

49 *Did*. 13.2 (of course, *Didache* may simply be citing Matthew itself at this point). Other forms of the saying appear in *Dial. Sav*. 53 and Pseudo-Clement, *Hom*. 3.71.

50 Goulder, "Did Luke Know." For a similar view, see Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 74, 181, 257.

51 Quinn and Wacker, *Letters to Timothy*, 462.

52 Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*. See further discussion on the methodology of identifying citations in Gregory and Tuckett, "Reflections on Method."

of why we would prefer an unknown source to a known one.[53] And there is another advantage of preferring the known source, namely that we know that (at some point) Luke actually acquired the scriptural status that 1 Tim 5:18 requires, whereas we have no evidence that any sayings source ever acquired such a scriptural status.

4. Of course, it may be argued that some sort of written sayings source is preferable over Luke's Gospel because Christians did not regard their books as "Scripture" until the end of the second century. However, this argument overlooks the fact that the sayings source itself was regarded as Scripture by the author of 1 Tim 5:18 (!). If it is too early for Luke to be regarded as Scripture, why is it not also too early for a written sayings source to be regarded as Scripture? After all, one might think that Luke's purported apostolic connections (Luke 1:1–4) might allow his Gospel to be regarded as Scripture even more quickly than an anonymous sayings source.
5. Of course, for some scholars the main reason for preferring a sayings source to the Gospel of Luke is simply a matter of dating. If 1 Timothy was published before Luke, then a reference to Luke is obviously not a possibility. This is a legitimate consideration, and one we shall address more fully below.

2.3 *The Passage Is Citing the Gospel of Luke*

The third and final option we shall consider here is that 1 Tim 5:18b is a citation of Luke 10:7. As noted above, this option has certain *prima facie* advantages: (a) there is an exact match between the wording of these two texts and only between these two texts; (b) the Gospel of Luke is a known written source as opposed to a hypothetical one; (c) the Gospel of Luke was actually regarded as Scripture by early Christians; and (d) there is, as noted above, the possibility that 1 Tim 5:18b shows evidence of Lukan redaction. Since the main resistance to these advantages understandably centers upon the relative dating of these two works, we now turn our attention to that issue.

It should be noted from the outset that the dating issue is substantially less significant for those who hold that 1 Timothy was written by a pseudonymous

53 Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 2:32, states, "I do not see the need to multiply hypotheses unnecessarily since the text of Mt. was within reach. . . . Why then turn to an oral tradition or to a parent document of the gospels, whose existence is hypothetical?" For a similar view, see also Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*, 73n47.

author.[54] The date of 1 Timothy for those who hold to its pseudonymity is wide-ranging, but typically falls at the beginning of the second century,[55] and sometimes even later.[56] Given that few scholars date Luke's Gospel later than c. AD 75–85,[57] this at least provides a plausible time frame in which Luke's Gospel could be cited by 1 Timothy as "Scripture." Of course, some might still object on the grounds that Christians did not view their writings as scriptural this early. But, again, it should not be forgotten that 1 Tim 5:18 is citing *some* written document as Scripture. And if it is not too early for this unknown document to be regarded as Scripture, there seems to be little reason to think it is too early for Luke to be regarded as Scripture. For these reasons, John Meier, who holds to the pseudonymity of 1 Timothy, argues that Luke's Gospel provides the best explanation for the citation we find in 1 Tim 5:18.[58] He states, "The only interpretation that avoids contorted intellectual acrobatics or special pleading is the plain, obvious one. [1 Timothy] is citing Luke's Gospel alongside Deuteronomy as normative Scripture for the ordering of the church's ministry."[59]

For those who hold to the traditional authorship of 1 Timothy, the letter is typically dated c. AD 65–66, just a year or two prior to Paul's death in Rome.[60] Needless to say, this presents a serious challenge to the suggestion that Luke's Gospel is the source of the citation in 1 Tim 5:18. But there are scholars who have offered a number of considerations that suggest Luke should be dated to the early 60's if not before.[61] There is not space to rehearse these arguments here, but much of the debate hinges on the date of Acts.[62] The abrupt ending of Acts—with Paul's fate still unresolved—combined with the fact that no key events after the early 60's are ever mentioned—including the death of James, the destruction of the temple, the death of Peter, or the activities of Nero—are at least suggestive that Acts was written in the early 60's while Paul was still

54 For the relevant linguistic statistics regarding authorship, see Harrison, *Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*. For a more up-to-date discussion, see Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery*, 192–222.

55 Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 387.

56 Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 215.

57 E.g., see discussion in Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:53–57.

58 Meier, "Inspiration of Scripture."

59 Meier, "Inspiration of Scripture," 77. For a similar position, see Park, *Mission Discourse*, 114.

60 Carson and Moo, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 572. For a defense of 1 Timothy's authenticity, see Johnson, *Letters to Timothy*, 55–99.

61 Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 35; Bock, *Luke 1:9—9:50*, 18; Ellis, *Gospel of Luke*, 57; Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 365–410.

62 For general overviews of the date of Acts, see Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 365–410; Keener, *Acts*, 1:383–401; Pervo, *Dating Acts*.

imprisoned.[63] On top of this, Acts' lack of awareness of the Pauline letters, and its portrayal of Judaism as still legal, also favor a pre-70 date.[64] And given that Luke preceded Acts, that would put Luke around AD 60.[65]

Of course, even if one were to concede an early date for Luke's Gospel, that still creates a rather short window of time for Paul to learn of Luke's Gospel, recognize it as Scripture, and then cite it in one of his letters. However, this concern might be mitigated by the probable historical connections between Luke and Paul—connections that would have allowed Paul to know of Luke's work soon after publication. Connections between Paul and Luke can be found in a variety of early Christian sources such as the "we" sections of Acts,[66] several Pauline letters (Col 4:14; 2 Tim 4:11; Phlm 24),[67] and a number of early patristic sources such as the Muratorian Fragment,[68] Irenaeus,[69] the anti-Marcionite prologues,[70] Tertullian,[71] and Origen.[72] Luke's place in the apostolic orbit is also evident in Luke's own prologue,[73] where he declares that the traditions included in his Gospel have been "delivered" (παρέδοσαν) to him by those "who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" (οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς

63 Scholars arguing for a date in the 60's include Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 365–410; Bock, *Acts*, 15–16; Longenecker, *Acts*; Munck, *Acts*, xlvi–liv; Mattill, "Date and Purpose of Luke–Acts"; Harnack, *Date of the Acts*, 93–99; and Mittelstaedt, *Lukas als Historiker*. Keener offers a reasonable and balanced critique of the 60's date, pointing out that the abrupt ending of Acts is not decisive (*Acts*, 385–88). Even so, he still regards a date in the 60's as "plausible" (*Acts*, 400).

64 Longenecker, *Acts*, 31–34.

65 Wenham, *Redating Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, makes the case that Luke was written c.AD 55 (223–44).

66 Bock, *Acts*, 15–16. Porter, "The 'We' Passages," argues that the "we" sections may be drawn from an earlier source, but does not rule out the possibility that they reflect the author's eyewitness presence.

67 The close connection between Paul and Luke has led some scholars to suggest that Luke was Paul's amanuensis; e.g., Moule, "Problem of the Pastoral Epistles."

68 The second-century date for the fragment has been well defended by Verheyden, "Canon Muratori."

69 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.1.1; 3.14.1; See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.8.3.

70 For a helpful overview of the prologues, see Hahneman, *Muratorian Fragment*, 106–16.

71 Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.2.

72 In Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.6.

73 For more on the prologue of Luke, see Alexander, *Preface to Luke's Gospel*; Robbins, "Claims of the Prologues"; Brown, "Role of the Prologues"; Aune, "Luke 1:1–4." For more bibliographical references, see Green and McKeever, *Luke–Acts and New Testament Historiography*.

αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου), a clear reference to the apostles and other early eyewitnesses.[74]

All these considerations have led a number of scholars to conclude that 1 Tim 5:18 is citing Luke's Gospel.[75] Knight sums it up well, "Since, however, γραφή usually refers to what is written and recognized as scripture and since the words quoted are found verbatim in Luke's Gospel, Paul's dependence on that Gospel is the only alternative that fits all the data."[76]

3 Conclusion

The complexity of the above discussion shows that determining the source of the second citation in 1 Tim 5:18b is no easy task. There are a variety of factors in play, all of which are weighed differently—and interpreted differently—by the various scholars involved. That said, the arguments I have made thus far suggest that the last two options for the source of the citation are the most plausible. Either 1 Tim 5:18b is a citation of an early written sayings tradition (whether Q or something else), or is a citation of the Gospel of Luke itself. Suggestions that the citation can be explained by oral tradition or the use of a secular proverb have proved to be sufficiently problematic to rule them out. As for choosing between the final two options, it seems that the Gospel of Luke is preferable to a written sayings source simply on the grounds that (a) Luke is a known source rather than hypothetical, and (b) Luke was eventually regarded as Scripture. However, the weight of these two factors will depend primarily on a scholar's prior commitments on issues like the date of 1 Timothy and its relationship to the date of Luke–Acts. And understandably, scholars have reached different conclusions about the relative dating of these books.

However, some scholars have made the decision about the source behind 1 Tim 5:18b on different grounds, namely on whether Christians viewed books as "Scripture" by the time period in question. Indeed, many scholars, answering in the negative, have ruled out Luke as a source for this reason and this reason alone. However, the present study has questioned whether this is a legitimate basis on which to determine the source of the citation. At a minimum, it seems clear that 1 Tim 5:18b regards *some* written account of Jesus as

74 Trites, *New Testament Concept of Witness*, 136–39; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 42; and Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 42.

75 E.g., Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 234; Spicq, *Saint Paul: Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 543; Easton, *Pastoral Epistles*, 161; Wolfe, "Sagacious Use of Scripture."

76 Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 234.

Scripture—whether one understands this to be happening in the 60's or at the beginning of the second century. And if a Q-like source could be regarded as Scripture, then why not Luke? Thus, whether one opts for Q or Luke as the source behind 1 Tim 5:18b, the decision should be made on the basis of dating Luke and the Pastorals, and not on the basis of when one thinks books were (or were not) regarded as Scripture.

For this reason, the real importance of 1 Tim 5:18b lies not in whether one chooses Luke or Q as the most plausible explanation. While Luke seems to be the preferable option, both have their strengths and weaknesses. Rather, the importance lies in the fact that 1 Tim 5:18b reveals that Christians, at least by the beginning of the second century, had already begun to conceive of a new corpus of writings—writings about Jesus—as bearing scriptural authority. This fact alone ought to reshape the way we think about the development of the New Testament canon. As David Meade has observed, 1 Tim 5:18b is "evidence of a 'canon consciousness' of new tradition/revelation."[77]

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CHAPTER 30

The Epistle of James and the Maccabean Martyr Tradition: An Exploration of Sacred Tradition in the New Testament

Bryan R. Dyer

1 Introduction

In this paper I am going to look closely at the Maccabean martyr tradition and its potential influence upon the New Testament Epistle of James. Specifically, I am going to argue that in Jas 5:10–11a, the author is appealing to the Maccabean martyrs as exemplars of endurance in the face of suffering in order to encourage his readers who similarly find themselves in the midst of suffering.[1] The author does not mention the Maccabean martyrs by name, nor does he quote directly from any written sources attributed to the Maccabean martyr tradition. Instead, the author *alludes* to the tradition using key terms linked to this tradition and in ways similar to other written texts that more directly appeal to the Maccabean martyrs.[2]

Before examining the key text for our study, it will be important to engage with other places where there are clear appeals to the Maccabean martyr tradition. Second Maccabees is likely the earliest text that we have that draws from this tradition into a retelling of the martyrdom accounts. *Fourth Maccabees*, while a later composition and likely dependent upon 2 Maccabees, is another important source for our discussion. Finally, within the New Testament canon, the Epistle of Hebrews, I believe, clearly draws from knowledge of the Maccabean martyr tradition and alludes to it in its eleventh chapter.

The argument is that by understanding how comparable texts alluded to the tradition of the Maccabean martyrs, we can be in a better position to determine whether or not the author of the Epistle of James similarly calls upon this tradition. Here we will ask such questions as: Why does an author draw

1 In this essay, I use the masculine pronoun and the name James to refer to the author of the Epistle of James since the author identifies as such in Jas 1:1.

2 Shared language between the Epistle of James and the Maccabean literature has been identified previously in commentaries by Dibelius (*James*, 244–46; see esp. nn 23, 26, and 27) and Moo (*James*, 226–27).

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upon the Maccabean martyr tradition? What is the purpose of appealing to this tradition? How does it further their argument or exhortation? Are there specific words or phrases that became associated with the tradition and were picked up by these later authors? Are there themes or concepts that became attached to this tradition?

However, first let me define a few terms. By "Maccabean martyrs" I am referring to the mother and seven sons along with the older man Eleazar who are depicted as being tortured and killed by King Antiochus after his attack upon Jerusalem and sacrilege of the Temple in 167 BCE. By the word "tradition," I am not referring to a specific written text but rather the story of these martyrs that was passed on—probably orally—and eventually put into written form. This is important because I am not necessarily claiming that the author of James is, for example, referring to 2 Maccabees, but rather to the tradition that 2 Maccabees is passing on.

Finally, the argument of this paper finds itself within scholarly discussions of "intertextuality," or the conversations that emerge within studies on the New Testament use of the Old Testament. The abundance of literature in this field has led to an often-confusing assortment of vocabulary and methodologies that describe and direct how New Testament authors invoked previous sources and traditions in their writings.[3] Helpful for navigating this terrain is the work of Stanley E. Porter, in whose honor this essay is written. Before looking at the Maccabean martyr tradition in the Epistle of James, I would like to first engage with Porter's work, as it will help direct the argument of this essay.

2 Stanley E. Porter on the New Testament and Sacred Tradition

Of the many contributions that Stan Porter has made to such fields as New Testament studies, Greek linguistics, hermeneutics, and historical Jesus research, a defining characteristic is his call to solid methodology and clarity of the terms being utilized. My earliest entry point into the work of Porter was his seminal 1997 essay on the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament, which had as its subtitle, "A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology."[4] In

3 The literature in this field is too vast to present here in any comprehensive manner. For some surveys of research on the New Testament use of the Old Testament, see, e.g., Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 2–5; Beale, *Handbook*, 1–27; Marshall, "Assesment of Recent Developments"; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 5–14; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 4–28.

4 Porter, "Use of the Old Testament."

this essay, Porter called out the "persistent confusion" seen in numerous studies regarding terms such as "echo," "allusion," or "quotation" to describe how New Testament authors incorporate Old Testament texts.[5] This "brief comment" required further refinement and articulation and so Porter published two follow-up articles that, among other things, provided clear articulations of how to understand and identify the ways that the Old Testament is appropriated in the New Testament.[6] Unfortunately, Porter's criticisms of studies examining the use of the Old Testament in the New, along with his terminology, have not sufficiently been heeded in subsequent research.[7]

This year Porter has published his latest contribution to the field, *Sacred Tradition in the New Testament*, a monograph that articulates his developed thinking regarding method and terminology, followed by eight studies that put his theory into practice. Here again Porter calls for clear definition of terms and offers a methodology for explorations into how the New Testament writers interpreted and reapplied sacred traditions. Helpful for our study is Porter's definition of "tradition" as "wordings or larger patterns of thought recorded in writings venerated by various peoples and appropriated and reappropriated by later writers in their own interpretations and applications of these in new contexts and situations."[8] This interplay of texts into new contexts and reappropriation of past traditions by the early Christian writers is complex, and unfortunately, as Porter points out, the language used to describe this interplay is often "clumsy and far from useful."[9]

After an examination of previous studies in the field—with an eye to methodological issues and terminology—Porter offers his own description of five categories of citation found within the New Testament. These include *formulaic quotation*, *direct quotation*, *paraphrase*, *allusion*, and *echo*.[10] Significant for our purposes is Porter's discussion of allusion. As he points out, allusion

5 Ibid., 92.

6 Porter, "Further Comments"; Porter, "Allusions and Echoes."

7 The few who have interacted with Porter include Lucas, "Assessing Stanley E Porter's Objections"; Beale, *Handbook*, 34–35.

8 Porter, *Sacred Tradition*, 3.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., 34–46. According to Porter, a *formulaic quotation* is found when an author wishes to flag their words as a quotation using some type of introduction (34). A *direct quotation* has no such introduction by the author but is nonetheless an identifiable quotation from a previous tradition. Porter, while acknowledging that quotations may contain just one or two words, argues that three words should be the minimum for identifying a direction quotation (35). A *paraphrase* is "an intentional and specific invoking of a definable passage, even if it is made in other words and in another form" (36). An *echo* is the intentional

"has proved to be one of the most difficult notions to define in literary study."[11] Porter begins by drawing from literary scholars to form a base definition of allusion. Charles Holman, in his handbook of literary style, defines allusion as "a figure of speech that makes brief, often casual reference to a historical or literary figure, event, or object." Holman adds that "strictly speaking, *allusion* is always indirect."[12] This notion of indirectness is significant for Porter as it helps distinguish allusion from a quotation (which directly cites a passage or text) and a paraphrase (which directly retells a passage using different words). According to Porter, an allusion involves "the indirect invoking of a person, place, literary work, or the like, designed to bring the external person, place, literary work, or similar entity into the contemporary material."[13]

With this definition in place, Porter examines three issues that arise when identifying or discussing allusions. The first is whether or not an allusion is intentional by its author. Jeannine Brown, for example, has argued that the New Testament writers were "so saturated in the OT" that they might invoke images or figures without being fully aware that they were doing so.[14] In such an instance, would the invoking of previous tradition be considered an allusion or simply unconscious plagiarism? Porter seems to want to hold that intentionality is necessary for an allusion, but acknowledges that it is not a sufficient means for distinguishing an allusion.[15] Second, Porter argues that ideally an allusion would be identified by both author and audience, as it is derived from a "common pool of shared knowledge."[16] However, an allusion does not cease to exist simply because a reader or hearer does not catch it. More important for Porter is that the author intended such an allusion regardless of whether or not it is effectively identified. Third, Porter points out that an allusion must serve a functional purpose within a text. Rather than being "merely ornamentation," an allusion is done for a purpose, and is not simply imitative or even plagiarism.

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or unintentional invoking of a general notion or concept by means of thematically related language (45). *Allusion* is described in the main text above.

11 Ibid., 36.

12 Holman, *Handbook to Literature*, 12.

13 Porter, *Sacred Tradition*, 39.

14 Brown, *Scripture as Communication*, 108.

15 Porter, *Sacred Tradition*, 42.

16 Ibid., 43.

3 The Maccabean Martyr Tradition

In his examinations of various sacred traditions in the New Testament, Porter focuses primarily, although not exclusively, on those traditions that were at some point mediated through the Old Testament. Yet, he also recognizes traditions that, alongside the Old Testament, "constitute important literary and theological sources for the writers of the NT."[17] The Maccabean martyr tradition, I believe, is one such source that had literary and theological influence upon the earliest Christians and their literature. The two main literary sources that we have for this tradition are 2 Maccabees, which is found in the Protestant Apocrypha but is deutero-canonical in Catholicism, and *4 Maccabees*, a later text now a part of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. In addition to these sources, we will also examine how the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews invokes this tradition as an example of early Christian interpretation.

3.1 *Second Maccabees*

Second Maccabees can be dated in the late second century BCE.[18] It was transmitted as a part of the Septuagint (LXX) and was originally written in Greek. Its attachment to the LXX most likely meant that it was well known in early Judaism, however, as Daniel Schwartz notes, there is little evidence of its use outside of *4 Maccabees*.[19]

There is a good case to be made that the author drew from source material for the martyr accounts (6:18—7:42). In his commentary, Schwartz notes a change in terminology, a break in the storyline, and identifiable attempts to "biblicize the style" as indications that this material came from a different origin than the rest.[20] At the same time, the martyr accounts fit into the argument of the book in such a way that suggests that it was not added after its composition, but rather reflects a use of a source by the author.[21] As Schwartz points out, while the book of 2 Maccabees seemed to have been fairly unpopular in early Judaism, the martyrdom stories were widespread.[22]

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17 Ibid., 4.

18 Grabbe, "1 and 2 Maccabees," 661; Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 53. Daniel Schwartz argues for a three-stage composition between 160 and 124 BCE (Schwartz, "Maccabees," 907).

19 Schwartz, "Maccabees," 905; contra Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 124.

20 Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 19–20; Doran, "The Martyr."

21 See Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 21–22; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 20–25.

22 Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 20n50. For a comparison between 2 Maccabees 7 and other versions of this story (*b. Git.* 57b, *Midr. Lam* 1:16, and *Pesiq. R.* 43), see Doran, "The Martyr."

Second Maccabees 6:18 introduces Eleazar, an elderly scribe who refuses to eat pork meat imposed by the king. When encouraged to avoid death by pretending to eat pork while secretly eating different meat, Eleazar refuses in order to avoid even the appearance of eating pork. Further, he does not want those younger than him to be led astray by such deception. He is quoted as saying, "Therefore, by bravely giving up my life now, I will show myself worthy of my old age and leave to the young a noble example of how to die a good death willingly and nobly for the revered and holy laws" (6:27–28).[23] As a result, Eleazar is beaten and killed. While being beaten, he cries out, "I am enduring terrible sufferings in my body under this beating, but in my soul I am glad to suffer these things because I fear him" (6:30). The account closes with a comment that Eleazar left "an example of nobility and a memorial of courage" (6:31) to the entire nation.

Immediately after this, the author shares the account of seven brothers and their mother also refusing to eat pork in front of the king. The torture and death of these brothers is presented with more detail than that of Eleazar—including lengthy interactions with the king. In response to the brothers' initial rejection to the king's decree ("We are ready to die rather than transgress the laws of our ancestors," 7:2), the king orders that caldrons be heated and has the first brother's tongue, scalp, hands, and feet cut off "while the rest of the brothers and the mother looked on" (7:4). The first son was then fried in a pan while the remaining siblings encouraged each other to die nobly. The next five brothers are tortured and killed in the much the same way. Within the account, each of these six brothers is quoted as saying a word of warning to the king as they each face their certain death (7:9, 11, 14, 16, 18–19). In 2 Macc 7:20 the focus shifts to the mother in order to praise her courage ("Although she saw her seven sons perish within a single day, she bore it with good courage because of her hope in the Lord"). Throughout the torments, she is presented as encouraging her sons to remain faithful to the Lord. In response to this, the king entices the one remaining son with an oath to make him rich if he would turn away from his ancestors (v. 24). The king urges the mother to encourage her son toward this deal, but she secretly encourages him to remain faithful to their Lord (vv. 25–29). Before she is even done speaking, the author notes, the youngest son willingly chooses death and is quoted with the longest speech to the king (vv. 30–38). In response, the king is infuriated and tortures this son the worst—although, as the author points out, he dies "in his integrity, putting his whole trust in the Lord" (v. 40). The mother is told to have died "last of all"

23 Translations taken from the NRSV.

(v. 41). The author concludes this story by saying, "Let this be enough, then, about the eating of sacrifices and the extreme tortures" (v. 42).

A few things are worth noting regarding the account of the martyrs in 2 Maccabees. First, Eleazar and all the brothers are presented as having made a conscious decision to face death instead of turning their backs on their Lord. In each case, the martyr is quoted—and is thereby represented as willingly facing his death. The author emphasizes these quotations by downplaying the details of each brother's torture (after the initial description of the first).[24] Second, it is clear in the case of Eleazar that his nobility serves as an example (ὑπόδειγμα) for the people of Israel.[25] This is seen in Eleazar's own words in 2 Macc 6:28 and from that of the narrator in 6:31. Third, the concept of resurrection is appealed to repeatedly in the seven brothers' words to the king.[26] The second brother, for example, proclaims that "the King of the universe will raise us up to an everlasting renewal of life (εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀναστήσει)" in 7:9. The third brother states that his mutilated limbs will be restored (v. 11); the fourth reiterates hope in the resurrection (ἐλπίδας πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι) while adding that the king will have no resurrection (σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν οὐκ ἔσται) (v. 14). The mother, when encouraging her youngest to embrace death, says that by God's mercy she might receive back (κομίσωμαι) her sons (v. 29).

Finally, within the context of 2 Maccabees the author presents the martyrdoms as a means through which God reconciles with Israel.[27] This is clearest

24 Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 112–13.

25 Henten, "Martyrdom," 918: "The martyrs are presented as model figures and indicate the proper way of life for other Jews."

26 Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 303; Shepkaru, *Jewish Martyrs*, 22–24. Schwartz notes that 2 Maccabees 7 is "one of the earliest, and certainly most extensive, sources for this belief [resurrection] in ancient Jewish texts—a belief that again surfaces, with emphasis, at the end of Chapter 12 and in the last verse of our book's other martyrology (14:46)" (*2 Maccabees*, 299). See also Lehtipuu, *Debates*, 36. Lehtipuu writes that in 2 Maccabees "resurrection of the body functions as a recompense for martyrdom. . . . Since they [the martyrs] have been physically tortured, their vindication will also be physical: the recovery of the untimely lost body" (36).

27 See Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 299. He writes, "The language of 'reconciliation' . . . shows, in consonance with the citation of Deuteronomy 32:36 [in 2 Macc 7:6], that this hope builds upon the historical analysis presented in Deuteronomy 32: sin leads to punishment, punishment leads to suffering at the hands of a foreign oppressors (who, failing to realize that his license and success is solely due to God, becomes arrogant—Deut 32:27//above 5:17), suffering atones and hence 'reconciles' God with His servants, whereupon He steps in and punishes the foreign oppressor. Thus, if already above (5:12–13, 17) we have seen our

in the final speech of the youngest son. In it he states that the king has done all kinds of evil to the Hebrews and will not escape the hands of God. However, he notes that the suffering that has befallen them comes from their own sins, and that "if our living Lord is angry for a little while, to rebuke and discipline us, he will again be reconciled (καταλλαγήσεται) with his own servants" (v. 33). Further, he states that "through me and my brothers," God will "bring to an end the wrath of the Almighty that has justly fallen on our whole nation" (v. 38). This section on martyrdom serves as a turning point in the narrative of 2 Maccabees as, beginning in the next chapter, the wrath against the people of Israel ends and restoration begins.

3.2 *Fourth Maccabees*

The opening words of *4 Maccabees* describe the book as a "philosophical" (φιλοσοφώτατον) treatise on the thesis that "devout reason is sovereign over the emotions" (1:1). In this sense, the book is not necessarily intended as a historical account but rather a philosophical demonstration that reason—which ultimately comes from training in the Jewish law (1:17)—is able to control one's passions.[28] The author chooses to prove this thesis by appealing to the Maccabean martyrs: "I could prove to you from many and various examples that reason is dominant over the emotions, but I can demonstrate it best from the noble bravery of those who died for the sake of virtue, Eleazar and the seven brothers and their mother" (1:7). The author then proceeds to present the martyrdoms of Eleazar (5:1—6:30), the seven brothers (8:1—12:19), and the mother (14:11—17:1). After detailing their deaths, the author elaborates how each example has furthered the thesis that reason triumphs over emotions (6:31—7:23; 13:1—14:10; 16:1–4). The last chapter includes an appeal to the children of Abraham to obey the law, exercise piety, and know that reason is master over both internal and external suffering (8:1–2).

Like that of 2 Maccabees, the author of this work is anonymous. Most scholars date *4 Maccabees* from the late first to early second century CE.[29] David

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author's use of Deuteronomy 32 to illuminate earlier parts of the story, he now applies it for the next step as well."

28 deSilva, "3 and 4 Maccabees," 664.

29 Concerning dating *4 Maccabees*, see deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xiv–xvii; Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 73–78. DeSilva dates the book between 19 and 72 CE based upon an observation by Bickerman that the author of *4 Maccabees* changes the designation of Apollonius' jurisdiction from "Coelesyria and Phoenicia" (2 Macc 3:5) to "Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia" (*4 Macc.* 4:2). Bickerman pointed out that these three regions were merged together under one administrator from 19 to 72 CE (this range was corrected by Henten in light of new evidence from Bickerman's original range of 19 to 54 CE) (deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xv).

deSilva argues for a date within the middle half of the first century to account for the observations of E. J. Bickerman,[30] but also because he identifies a strong influence of *4 Maccabees* upon the New Testament documents.[31] While the influence on *4 Maccabees* upon the New Testament writers is debated, there is an obvious influence on the Christian writings of the early second century.

In *4 Macc.* 3:19—4:26, the author sets the background for the martyrdoms, which take up the bulk of the discourse. The author establishes the corruption and Hellenization of Israel's leadership, details the rise of King Antiochus ("an arrogant and terrible man," 4:15) and the high priest Jason, and references the decrees against Judaism (4:24–26). The accounts of the torture and deaths of the martyrs follow the same basic structure of 2 Maccabees. The account in *4 Maccabees*, however, is considerably longer and the author provides a larger degree of dialogue between the martyrs and the king—especially Eleazar. In this account, the martyrdom of the brothers happens immediately after Eleazar's death (8:5; 9:5–6); there is even a description of the mother encouraging her sons while they watch Eleazar's torture (16:15–23). Each brother's torture is described in detail with varying methods and instruments. Further, the mother is given special attention and her death is described as her willingly jumping into a fire so that her body might not be touched (17:1).[32]

In *4 Maccabees* there is an emphasis that the martyrs suffer on behalf of the Israelite nation (6:28; 17:17–22). Eleazar is described as a priest (5:4; rather than a scribe [2 Macc 6:18]) and his martyrdom is presented as an extension of his sacrificial duties (7:6–15).[33] Reflecting upon all of the martyrs, the author depicts them as "a ransom for the sin of [Israel]," and stresses that, "through the blood of those devout ones and their death as an atoning sacrifice, divine Providence preserved Israel that previously had been mistreated" (17:21–22).[34] Further, in *4 Maccabees*, it is the piety and conviction of the martyrs alone that brings about the defeat of the king. The author makes little mention of the

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Henten, while altering Bickerman's range of dating, argues that one can conclude that that this work was written during that time period or afterwards (Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 74).

30 See note above.

31 deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xxxii–xxxiv.

32 For more on the mother, including a comparison between the two texts, see Young, "Woman with the Soul of Abraham."

33 Shepkaru, *Jewish Martyrs*, 55.

34 deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 248: "Understanding the martyrs' deaths as their movement from this realm to the divine realm facilitates their deaths being understood as sacrifice, the action of transfer to the divine realm *par excellence*."

military battles but emphasizes the role of these martyrs for restoring peace to Israel.[35]

Second, the author presents the martyrs as model figures who are to be emulated. Through these examples, the author highlights that both male and female, whether they are young or old, are capable of such nobility (7:16; 8:1; 14:11; 16:1–2; 17:9). The mother, being an elderly woman forced to watch her seven children be tortured, is presented as an ultimate example for showing that devout reason is sovereign over emotions (16:1).[36]

4 Influence of the Maccabean Martyr Tradition

While both 2 Maccabees and *4 Maccabees* were attached to several LXX manuscripts, there seems to be little evidence of their influence in Jewish literature and tradition.[37] The earliest Jewish document is the rabbinic *Lamentations Rabbah* 1.16 §50, which tells the story of the Miriam bat Tanhum and the martyrdom of her seven sons, and seems to draw from the earlier versions in the Maccabean literature.[38] However, there is a strong influence of the Maccabean martyr tradition upon the early Christian church in the second century and beyond.[39] Familiarity with the Maccabean martyr tradition is seen in *Shepherd of Hermas*, *To the Ephesians* (Ignatius), *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and Origen's *Exhortation to Martyrdom*.[40] The impact of the Maccabean martyrs tradition is further seen in the development of a Christian cult in their memory.[41] This cult was developed in the fourth century CE in Antioch (where the martyrs' graves were believed to be), where there was an annual commemoration of the Maccabean martyrs. Further evidence of this impact can be found in sermons by John Chrysostom and Augustine that praise the Maccabean martyrs.[42]

While the impact on early Christianity (beginning in the second century CE) is beyond any doubt, it is not clear how early this tradition began to impact the early church. More specifically, it is debatable whether the New Testament

35 Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 268.

36 See Young, "Woman with the Soul of Abraham," 73–79.

37 deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xxxi; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 85–90.

38 Henten and Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death*, 145–51.

39 Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 88–89: "Naturally the martyrdom stories in our book [2 Maccabees] were particularly popular among Christians, and they were cited repeatedly, eventually taking on a life of their own."

40 deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xxxiv–xxxv; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 88.

41 See Rouwhorst, "Emergence of the Cult"; Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ*, 83–86.

42 Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 89; Rouwhorst, "Emergence of the Cult," 88.

writers used or were influenced by the tradition or literature concerning the Maccabean martyrs.[43] *Fourth Maccabees* is often dated in the late first to early second centuries CE, so it is difficult to talk about the "influence" of *4 Maccabees* upon the early decades of the church, but the work does provide comparative material useful for a study of the New Testament literature.[44] If 2 Maccabees was written and circulated before the first century CE, it is reasonable to conclude that the martyr tradition was put into written form by the time of the New Testament authors.

5 Hebrews 11

More than any other New Testament passage, there seems to be clear invoking of the Maccabean martyr tradition in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[45] After cataloguing numerous exemplars of faith from Jewish history, the author of Hebrews highlights the suffering that came to many in 11:35–38:

> Women received back their dead, raised to life again. There were others who were tortured (ἐτυμπανίσθησαν), refusing to be released so that they might gain an even better resurrection (κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως). Some faced jeers (ἐμπαιγμῶν) and flogging (μαστίγων), and even chains and imprisonment. They were put to death by stoning; they were sawn in two; they were killed by the sword. They went about in sheepskins and goatskins, destitute, persecuted and mistreated—the world was not worthy of them. They wandered in deserts and mountains, and in caves and holes in the ground.

While these verses are somewhat vague (unlike much of this list, no names are mentioned), certain elements seem directly inspired by the tradition of the Maccabean martyrs. Other aspects from this passage seem to speak to various Old Testament prophets—such as Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Zechariah.

The first reference in Heb 11:35a is to women who received their dead back to life. Here may be a reference to the Maccabean mother (who encourages her youngest son to "accept death, so that in God's mercy I may get you back again

43 See deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xxxii–xxxiv.

44 Ibid., xxxii.

45 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 349–50; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 325–26; deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude*, 419–21; Eisenbaum, *Jewish Heroes*, 176; Ellingsworth, *Hebrews*, 628; Johnson, *Hebrews*, 308; Koester, *Hebrews*, 514.

along with your brothers;" 2 Macc 7:29).[46] Any potential allusion here is not clear since there are other accounts in Jewish literature of women receiving their children back from the dead.[47] Immediately after this, however, the focus clearly is upon the Maccabean martyrs. The verb used here (ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, from τυμπανίζω; "were tortured") refers to a procedure where a victim is stretched out (like a τύμπανον, or drum) and beaten to death.[48] This verb, found only here in the New Testament, relates directly to 2 Maccabees' presentation of Eleazar—whose torture included being placed on a τύμπανον and beaten (2 Macc 6:19, 28). Eleazar also fits the description of one who was tortured "refusing to be released." The Maccabean literature is clear that Eleazar could have avoided torture by eating pork (*4 Macc.* 5:5–14) or even by pretending to eat pork (2 Macc 6:21–22), but refused such transgressions (2 Macc 6:23–28; *4 Macc.* 5:25). The youngest of the brothers is also given an opportunity by the king to be released from torture (2 Macc 7:24; *4 Macc.* 12:2–5), but refuses.

The author of Hebrews writes that these figures refused to be released so that they might gain a "better resurrection" (κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως). Bodily resurrection is appealed to throughout the martyrdom account of 2 Maccabees, with the brothers and mother repeatedly stating their assurance of being raised after death. The second brother, for example, uses his last breath to tell the king that "the King of the universe will raise us up to an everlasting renewal of life" (2 Macc 7:9). When the third son comes before the king, he sticks his tongue and hands out, saying, "I got these from Heaven . . . and from him I hope to get them back again" (7:10–11). At several places in the narrative, the mother encourages her sons to endure their torture by appealing to their resurrection. In 2 Macc 7:22–23, she tells her sons, "It was not I who gave you life and breath . . . therefore the Creator of the world . . . will in his mercy give life and breath back to you again, since you now forget yourselves for the sake of his laws" (see also 7:29).

Hebrews 11:36 continues by saying that some in this history faced jeers (ἐμπαιγμῶν) and flogging (μαστίγων). Both of these terms are used in the Maccabean literature to describe the torture of the martyrs.[49] Second Maccabees 7:7 states that the torturers brought the second brother forward "for their sport" (ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμπαιγμόν); the same occurs to the third brother, although a form of the verb ἐμπαίζω is used (7:10). The Maccabean literature also describes

46 Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 88.

47 Other accounts of women receiving their children back from the dead include Elijah (1 Kgs 17:19–23) and Elisha (2 Kgs 4:11–37) raising sons back to their mothers.

48 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 349; Koester, *Hebrews*, 514.

49 Johnson, *Hebrews*, 308; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 350.

the martyrs' torture as involving μάστιξ (2 Macc 7:1, 37; *4 Macc.* 6:3, 6; 9:12; also a form of the verb μαστιγόω, 2 Macc 6:30).

At this point, the author of Hebrews moves from the Maccabean martyrs to the prophets. Jeremiah, for example, was beaten and often imprisoned (Jer 20:1–2; 29:26; 37:15). God's prophets were "killed by the sword" (1 Kgs 19:10), fled to caves (1 Kgs 18:13), and were generally mistreated. The prophet Zechariah was stoned (2 Chr 24:21). Uriah was murdered by the sword (Jer 26:20–23). Elijah wore sheepskins (2 Kgs 1:8). According to tradition, King Manasseh ordered the prophet Isaiah to be sawn in two.[50]

Using shared language, the author of Hebrews draws from the Maccabean martyr tradition in 11:35–36. This should not be surprising since the Maccabean literature sets these martyrs up as exemplars of faith and piety (2 Macc 6:28, 31; *4 Macc.* 1:7–8; 9:23; 12:16).[51] The martyrs serve as examples of those who endured in the face of suffering and opposition—the very thing the author of Hebrews encourages his audience to do (Heb 10:32–39; 12:3, 7–13).[52] The author of Hebrews does not mention the name of Eleazar or reference the seven brothers, but key terms that overlap with earlier Maccabean martyr retellings and other contextual clues make this allusion very likely. The Maccabean martyrs fit within a larger history of men and women of faith that endured great suffering. This allusion to the martyrs is followed immediately by references to Israel's prophets and other historical figures.

6 The Epistle of James

The first issue that we must look at is what sources the author of the Epistle of James would have had available to him. Most scholars date *4 Maccabees* late in the first or into the second century—although some argue for an earlier date.[53] The Epistle of James is typically dated in the middle to late first century.[54] There is definite overlap within the range of dating between these

50 Koester, *Hebrews*, 515.

51 deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude*, 419.

52 For more on how the Maccabean martyr tradition coheres with the argument of Hebrews, see deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude*, 419–21. On other ways that the two interact, see Alexander, "Prophets and Martyrs," 413–15.

53 See the argument in deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xxxii–xxxiv. Maccabean scholars: Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 282–83; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 88.

54 For an overview of the related issues, see Davids, *James*, 1–22. Some scholars argue for a date as early as the mid-40s CE (Adamson, *James*, 3–34; Moo, *James*, 25–27; McCartney, *James*, 30), but most date the epistle in the middle of the second half of the first

two works, but not enough evidence to move beyond speculation regarding their relationship. However, even if James[55] could not have used the work directly, the eventual existence of *4 Maccabees* points to traditional material regarding the Maccabean martyrs leading up to its composition. Of course, 2 Maccabees would have been available to James whether as a direct source or as an indirect influence. Therefore, we can say with some certainty that James and his audience shared a common knowledge of the Maccabean martyr tradition.

The Epistle of James is most closely related to Jewish wisdom literature and it is particularly interested in practical theology—with such themes as true wisdom, consistent ethical living, and the need to put faith into practice.[56] As such, its purpose differs from the more theological–historical goal of 2 Maccabees and the philosophical one of *4 Maccabees*. However, there are some interesting connection points between James and these retellings of the martyr tradition.[57] Both emphasize the need for endurance (ὑπομονή) and connect it to wisdom (σοφία; Jas 1:3–5; *4 Macc.* 1:7–11).[58] James's statement that "whoever keeps the whole law and yet stumbles at just one point is guilty of breaking all of it" in 2:10 parallels Eleazar's response to the demand that he eat pork in *4 Maccabees*. In 5:19–21, Eleazar says, "Therefore do not suppose that it would be a petty sin if we were to eat defiling food; to transgress the law in matters either small or great is of equal seriousness, for in either case the law is equally despised." James and *4 Maccabees* both understand desires to be a source of sin (Jas 4:1; *4 Macc.* 1:25–26).[59] Both James and the Maccabean tradition use a motif of expressing joy in the face of suffering (Jas 1:2; 2 Macc 6:30; 7:10; *4 Macc.* 9:29, 31; 10:20).[60] Finally, another interesting connection between James and the Maccabean literature is in James's equation of Torah with λόγος (1:21–25).

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century CE (Davids, *James*, 22; Painter and deSilva, *James and Jude*, 25; Edgar, *Has God Not Chosen the Poor*, 229; Brosend, *James and Jude*, 5–7).

55 Regarding the authorship of this epistle, see Davids, *James*, 2–22; McCartney, *James*, 8–32.

56 See McCartney, *James*, 1. For various approaches to interpreting James, see Edgar, *Has God Not Chosen*, 13–43. For more on the genre of James, see Johnson, *James*, 16–24.

57 For an overview of James and *4 Maccabees*, see Johnson, *James*, 39–40.

58 Davids, *James*, 55: "[4 Maccabees] is virtually a treatise on the subject [wisdom and endurance], although it differs from James in the meaning it assigns to wisdom. Both believe wisdom controls the passions, but 4 Maccabees interprets this is a Stoic/Platonic way, while James does it in a less dualistic Hebraic way."

59 Moo, *James*, 181.

60 Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 128–29.

6.1 *James 5:10–11a*

These verses in James are part of a section (5:7–11) in which the author encourages his audience to be patient (μακροθυμήσατε; 5:7). That this patience is called for in a time of suffering is made clear as it follows a section (5:1–6) addressing the rich who are oppressing the poor and as suffering and patience are brought together in 5:10. The author first provides the example of a farmer who waits for the land to yield its crop as a model of patience. In 5:10–11a, he draws upon more specific examples of patience:

> ὑπόδειγμα λάβετε, ἀδελφοί, τῆς κακοπαθίας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τοὺς προφήτας οἳ ἐλάλησαν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. ἰδοὺ μακαρίζομεν τοὺς ὑπομείναντας.
>
> Brothers and sisters, as an example of patience in the face of suffering, take the prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord. As you know, we count as blessed those who have persevered.

This is followed by the example of Job as another model of perseverance in the face of suffering (v. 11b).

On the surface (at least in the English translation) there seems to be little to connect this passage to the Maccabean martyrs. However, within these short sentences the author draws from concepts and terms common to the Maccabean literature.[61] The word translated "example" (ὑπόδειγμα) is used three times in the Maccabean literature to refer to the example of the martyrs (2 Macc 6:28, 31; *4 Macc.* 17:23).[62] In 2 Maccabees, the word is used to promote Eleazar as an example of nobility and courage. In *4 Maccabees,* ὑπόδειγμα is used in connection with endurance as Antiochus proclaims the martyrs as examples to his soldiers: "For the tyrant Antiochus, when he saw the courage of their virtue and their endurance (ὑπομονή) under the tortures, proclaimed them to his soldiers as an example (ὑπόδειγμα) for their own endurance (ὑπομονή)" (17:23). This term for endurance (ὑπομονή) is used heavily by the author of *4 Maccabees*, accounting for eleven of its twenty-five uses in the LXX (the author uses the verb form, ὑπομένω, fifteen times). In *4 Macc.* 17:23, the author uses the term alongside ὑπόδειγμα to describe an exemplar of endurance. In a similar way, James connects endurance to ὑπόδειγμα although he uses a different

61 See Moo, *James*, 226–27.

62 Elsewhere in the New Testament, ὑπόδειγμα is used in a similar positive sense (Jn 13:15), but also with a negative sense (Heb 4:11; 2 Pet 2:6; see also Heb 8:5; 9:23). The term is also used with a positive sense in Sir 44:16 and Josephus, *J. W.*, 6.103, 106.

word—μαρκροθυμία instead of ὑπομονή (although James does use ὑπομονή in 5:11). These two words—μαρκροθυμία and ὑπομονή—share a semantic domain and are used by the authors of *4 Maccabees* and the Epistle of James alongside the term ὑπόδειγμα to communicate a similar concept.[63]

James 5:10 has the only occurrence of the noun κακοπαθεία (translated "suffering") in the New Testament. Its verb form (κακοπαθέω) appears only in Jas 5:13 and twice in 2 Timothy (2:9; 4:5). Outside of the Maccabean literature (2 Macc 2:26–27; *4 Macc.* 9:8), κακοπαθεία appears just at Mal 1:13; its verb form only at Jonah 4:10. The noun κακοπαθεία appears in *4 Macc.* 9:8, connecting the term with endurance—here again the term ὑπομονή. This passage quotes the brothers' response to the king: "For we, through this severe suffering (κακοπαθείας) and endurance (ὑπομονῆς), shall have the prize of virtue and shall be with God, on whose account we suffer." James similarly points to the example of suffering (κακοπαθείας) and endurance (using the term μαρκροθυμία).

As we have seen, the author of *4 Maccabees* often uses the term ὑπομονή to communicate the concept of "endurance" and has tied this linguistically to the terms κακοπαθεία and ὑπόδειγμα. The author of the Epistle of James similarly connects κακοπαθεία and ὑπόδειγμα to the concept of endurance, but using a different term. In Jas 5:11, however, the author uses both ὑπομονή and its verb form ὑπομένω. Thus, in the short span of around twenty words (Jas 5:10–11a), James has used a key term from the Maccabean literature to convey endurance (ὑπομονή/ ὑπομένω) and surrounded it with terms also linked by the author of *4 Maccabees*: the relatively rare κακοπαθεία (*4 Macc.* 9:8) and ὑπόδειγμα (17:23).

In light of the previous connections just examined, James's use of μακαρίζω (translated "we count blessed") in 5:11 is reminiscent of *4 Maccabees* in which the author says, "[I]t is fitting for me to praise for their virtues those who, with their mother, died for the sake of nobility and goodness, but I would also call them blessed (μακαρίζω) for the honor in which they are held." Μακαρίζω is used only here in Jas 5:11 and in Luke 1:48. That the referent of this relatively rare term is ὑπομείναντας, the participial form of a ὑπομονή, further ties this passage to the Maccabean literature.

A possible objection to understanding Jas 5:10–11a as an allusion to the Maccabean martyr tradition is that the author refers to the examples of suffering and endurance as "prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord." Does such a declaration exclude the martyrs outright regardless of any linguistic or conceptual ties between the epistle and the Maccabean tradition? The term προφήτης was often used in the New Testament in reference to Israel's prophets and the literature attributed to them in the Hebrew Bible (Matt 1:22; 26:56;

63 Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, entries 25.167 and 25.174.

Luke 4:17; Acts 26:22; Rom 1:2; Heb 1:1). However, the term was also used by early followers of Jesus as a special designation to some members (Acts 13:1; 15:32; 1 Cor 12:28; Eph 3:5; *Did* 11:3). As we saw in Heb 11, the Maccabean martyrs were invoked alongside Jeremiah and other Old Testament prophets. Thus, in Hebrews we have an example within early Christianity of lumping the Maccabean martyrs along with prophets—although such a distinction is not imposed by the text. The martyrs certainly can be understood as speaking "in the name of the Lord" and the seventh son is portrayed as speaking prophecy (2 Macc 7:38).

Through this analysis of James's language in 5:10–11a, we can conclude that he may be intentionally alluding to the Maccabean martyr tradition. The combination of ὑπόδειγμα, κακοπαθείας, and ὑπομονή/ὑπομένω finds its closest parallel in this tradition. Further, alongside these terms is another, μακαρίζω, that harks back to the Maccabean martyr tradition. Individually these terms may not point to any intentional allusion, but taken together they make such an allusion more likely.

7 The "So What?" Question

Shared terminology does not necessitate allusion; neither does common knowledge of an event or person. These features are important, even necessary, for an allusion to be effective, but their presence only lends evidence that an allusion is taking place. This is because, as Porter points out, an allusion is not merely ornamentation. Rather, allusions are functional, or as Porter also describes them, "productive."[64] So how does this allusion to the Maccabean martyr tradition function in the discourse of James's epistle? In my view, this allusion in Jas 5:10–11a primarily serves the purpose of encouraging a people in the midst of suffering to respond with endurance.

James 5:10–11a provides one of a series of examples that the author offers his audience to encourage them to be patient and show endurance during a time of affliction. This affliction is described in Jas 5:4–6 as workers being cheated, abused, and even killed. Previously the author encouraged his audience during times of trials (1:2), and in their poverty (1:9; 2:5), and described them as being dragged into court (2:6). In Jas 5:7–12, the author provides several examples of patience and endurance to his audience within this context of affliction. James 5:7 is connected to 5:4–6 through the use of the cohesive tie οὖν ("therefore"). The first example is of a farmer who waits until the appropriate time

64 Porter, *Sacred Traditions*, 43.

for their farm to yield its crops (5:7). After the allusion in 5:10–11a, the author provides the example of Job and the endurance he demonstrated (5:11b).

Thus, the allusion to the martyr tradition in Jas 5:10–11a is intended to encourage a community to show endurance during a time of suffering. As we have seen in the Maccabean literature, the martyrs are presented as exemplars of enduring through suffering and dying nobly for the Lord (2 Macc 6:28, 31; *4 Macc.* 1:7–9). This is also the case in the Epistle to the Hebrews as the author invokes the Maccabean martyrs in an attempt to provide encouragement within a context of suffering.[65] This suffering community should look to the example of the Maccabean martyrs, to identify with them in their affliction, and find motivation to act with endurance and patience. By alluding to the Maccabean martyrs at this point in the discourse, the author of the Epistle of James provides a model for how to behave during affliction, and encouragement that such endurance is possible.

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CHAPTER 31

Common Exegetical Fallacies in New Testament Scholarship Rectifiable through External Evidence

Craig L. Blomberg

Urban legends last far too long and fool too many people. Christian preachers and teachers need a snopes.com equivalent to help them debunk biblical interpretations that deserve to die. But scholars likewise fall victim to lingering lore. A κατάλυμα was not an inn; the text means that there was no room for Joseph, Mary and her soon-to-be born child in the "guest room" (Luke 2:7).[1] There never was any gate in Jerusalem called the Needle's Eye in the first millennium that camels passed through only after their packs were unloaded (often alleged in trying to make sense of Mark 10:25 par.).[2] And Matthew did not misunderstand Hebrew parallelism and imagine Jesus straddling two animals as he made his so-called triumphal entry (Matt 21:5–7).[3]

Sometimes external evidence plays the primary role in helping us refute certain popular interpretations of given books or passages in Scripture and/or arrive at the most probably correct understandings. A by-product of this evidence is to bolster support for historicity of narrative material and authenticity of documents of other genres. This paper canvasses a representative sampling of texts from all four New Testament genres—Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse—to illustrate the value of archaeology, inscriptional, and ancient non-canonical literary evidence, and other external evidence for the correct understanding of well-known or oft-abused New Testament texts.

The first example that comes to mind when thinking about a *Festschrift* for Stan Porter appears in the book of Revelation and is one for which he has helped set the record straight. For that reason, and because it would be easy in a study of this kind for discussion to become Gospel-top-heavy, I will proceed backwards in canonical sequence through the New Testament.

1 Cf. Luke 22:11; Mark 14:14. See esp. Bailey, *Jesus through Middle Eastern Eyes*, 35–37.

2 Evans, *Mark 8:27—16:20*, 101.

3 Keener, *Gospel of Matthew*, 491.

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1 Apocalypse

Given the nature of Revelation's contents, one might not expect there to be much that could be confirmed by external evidence, except perhaps after the apocalyptic events narrated there actually unfold. Meanwhile, history is littered with nothing but *failed* attempts to correlate John's visions with current events. The letters to the seven churches in chs. 2 and 3, however, form a notable exception to this trend. Numerous researchers have demonstrated how the imagery used in Christ's address to each church corresponds closely to various features of that city's culture and topography.[4] Perhaps the most important example bears on 3:15–16, part of the letter to the Laodiceans: "I know your deeds, that you are neither cold nor hot. I wish you were either one or the other! So, because you are lukewarm—neither hot not cold—I am about to spit you out of my mouth." Already in the late 1950s, Rudwick and Green called attention to the reason the Laodicean water was notoriously lukewarm in the ancient Mediterranean world. Having no fresh water supply of its own, its water was piped in by aqueducts either from the clear, cold mountain streams near neighboring Colossae or from the therapeutic hot springs at nearby Hierapolis. Either way, by the time it reached Laodicea it was tepid.[5] Porter supplemented this study by calling attention to comments by Herodotus and Xenophon that confirmed that the water's temperature rendered it unsuitable for drinking in most people's eyes, but the Laodiceans had no alternative but to use it.[6]

Apart from knowledge of the ancient literary and recent archaeological evidence about Laodicea's water supply, it is understandable how the popular notion developed about God preferring those who were clearly against him to those who were vacillating between belief and unbelief. But more careful reflection should have called that notion into question, even without external evidence. Would God really prefer that people be clearly on their way to hell than have them right on the verge of finally making a lasting commitment to him? Now, through external evidence, we can see that both "cold" and "hot" are positive metaphors for that which is either zestfully bracing or soothingly healing. Only the lukewarm is to be avoided as disgusting. A majority of subsequent commentators on Revelation have agreed,[7] but a surprising number have still passed on the old urban legend, without betraying an awareness of any

4 See esp. Hemer, *Letters to the Seven Churches*.

5 Rudwick and Green, "Laodicean Lukewarmness," 176–78.

6 Porter, "Why the Laodiceans Received Lukewarm Water."

7 E.g., Boxall, Beale, Keener, Mounce, Osborne, Aune, Blount, Michaels, Witherington, Johnson, Trafton, and Smalley.

alternative.[8] Craig Koester rejects the idea that Laodicea had unusually lukewarm water because of evidence that suggests aqueducts may have brought better water from nearer by, a possible play on words by the name of a donor whose funds helped build the first-century water system, and a fifth-century inscription.[9] He does not interact with the clearly antecedent evidence Porter points to, but in any case agrees that "cold" and "hot" are both positive metaphors as in the drinking of most liquids.[10]

2 Epistles

Much external evidence involves pre-Christian Jewish sources, from the apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and Dead Sea Scrolls. Back in the 1970s, R. T. France was excoriated in certain circles for being the first prominent evangelical to agree with the conclusions of Dalton's 1965 *Forschungsbericht* on 1 Pet 3:18–22.[11] Today, virtually all commentators agree that *1 Enoch* provides the extra-canonical evidence to help decipher the exegetical conundra of the passage that has been the most influential in the history of the church in supposed support of the eighth-century addition to the Apostles' Creed, which says Christ "descended into hell."[12] Throughout *1 Enoch* there are numerous references to imprisoned fallen angels in language reminiscent of this passage in 1 Peter, with 12:4–5 providing a particularly close parallel with its command to Enoch to preach judgment to these angels in their prison, which is clearly distinct from *Sheol*, the abode of dead human beings. First Peter 3:19 is thus best taken of Christ's announcement of victory over the demonic realm, not of some "harrowing of hell," as in classic medieval thought. Yet, scholars as well as laypeople still seem surprisingly unwilling to settle for this solution.[13] First Peter 4:6 complicates matters, but should probably be taken as preaching the gospel to those who died as Christians.[14] Similar imagery as in 3:19 recurs in Jude 6 and 2 Pet 2:4, so it obviously was familiar enough in Peter's milieu that he could expect

8 E.g., Walvoord, Fee, Roloff, Caird, Beasley-Murray, Murphy, Hughes, and Ladd.

9 Koester, *Revelation*, 337.

10 Ibid., 344.

11 France, "Exegesis in Practice"; Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits*.

12 One notable exception is Grudem, *1 Peter*, 203–39.

13 Cf. e.g., Westfall, "Relationship between the Resurrection, the Proclamation to the Spirits in Prison and Baptismal Regeneration."

14 For a lingering protest against this consensus, see Horrell, "Who Are the 'Dead.'"

his addressees to recognize it, whether or not they had ever actually read *1 Enoch*.

Appealing to indisputably pre-Christian sources like *1 Enoch* is always safer than utilizing post-Christian writings, even when they are known to have codified earlier oral traditions. The classic example here involves the use of the rabbinic literature, which spans the second through tenth centuries. The earlier the rabbinic document or the rabbi to whom a given tradition is ascribed, the more likely the tradition *is* ancient, but even then it is hard to know whether it is old enough to be relevant to first-century writings.[15] Still, some parallels seem so close and fit so well as plausible background for a New Testament passage that it is worth exploring them. James 2:1–13 is filled with legal imagery and v. 6 explicitly refers to the rich dragging the poor into court. Two late rabbinic texts condemn partiality toward the rich in a synagogue-as-courtroom context (*Deut. Rab.* 5.6 and *b. Sheb.* 30b–31a) in language very reminiscent of vv. 2–4, making it very attractive to infer that James is picturing not a worship service here but a Christian courtroom scene, especially since he reflects early, conservative Jewish Christianity. If this background is correct, then it is almost certain that the rich man shown such deference is a member of the community of believers rather than a visiting outsider, a significant conclusion in a letter where it has been alleged there are no references to people who are both rich and Christian.[16] Dale Allison has pointed out how the courtroom interpretation was a frequent approach in Protestant literature from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries that was somehow forgotten until Roy Ward resurrected it in an article in 1969.[17] Still, many recent commentators have been slower to accept it than they probably should be.[18]

From external *Jewish* evidence, we turn to Greco-Roman examples. Christian Smith has recently poured scorn on Tit 1:12 and commentators' almost universal failure to address the moral problem associated with it.[19] How could Paul, even quoting the Cretan philosopher Epimenides, speak so disparagingly of Cretans as *always* "liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons"? Is this not a classic example

15 Cf. Young, *Meet the Rabbis*, 109.

16 See further Blomberg and Kamell, *James*, 110–11.

17 Allison, "Exegetical Amnesia in James"; Ward, "Partiality in the Assembly." Cf. also Davids, *James*, 109; Johnson, *James*, 221; Hartin, *James*, 117–18.

18 Recent commentators who reject the courtroom context include Moo, *James*, 103; Brosend, *James and Jude,* 61–64; and McCartney, *James*, 138–49. McKnight, *James*, 181–86, admits being very tempted to accept this view but ultimately decides that an early messianic Jewish congregation or assembly can adequately account for the terminology.

19 C. Smith, *Bible Made Impossible*, 72–73.

of racial or ethnic profiling of the worst kind, especially since Paul was not a Cretan himself? Patrick Gray, in part following Anthony Thiselton, has shown, however, that discussions of the liar's paradox, of which this forms one classic example, were common in the Greco-Roman world of Paul's day.[20] Why does Paul add in v. 13 the words, "This saying is true" (not just "trustworthy" or "faithful" as so often elsewhere in the Pastorals), employing an adjective (ἀληθής) he uses nowhere else in the Pastorals and only three times in his entire epistolary corpus (Rom 3:4; 2 Cor 6:8; Phil 4:8)? Might this not be yet another of Paul's masterful uses of irony? Or as Gray puts it, "the desire of most commentators to absolve or to convict the author of the sin of stereotyping Cretans diverts attention from what he is really doing in Titus. Rather, the author springs this syllogistic trap—on himself—in order to highlight the counterproductive nature of the types of discourse Titus is told to discourage among his Cretan co-religionists."[21] That the first audience for this letter is Paul's close companion, Titus, enhances the likelihood that he would have recognized the irony. But without Gray's demonstration of the frequency of the discussion of the liar's paradox in the most relevant external sources, the plausibility of this solution would be significantly decreased.

First Corinthians 11:2–16 and the issue of what men and women do or do not have on their heads during worship is indeed an exegetical crux.[22] Yet we may at least observe that all of the external evidence proposed as relevant points to some kind of sexual or religious infidelity being suggested by not following cultural convention at this juncture.[23] What often gets short shrift in the secondary literature is v. 7: "A man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man." It is important to observe that Paul does not complete the parallelism by affirming that woman is the image of man; he knows that both genders were alike created in the image of God (Gen 1:26–27). But why is woman being the glory of man relevant to the issue of head coverings—whether long hair or an external cloth of some kind? Philip Payne persuasively appeals to abundant external evidence from Paul's day, in Greco-Roman (and even some Jewish) sources, that long, wavy hair on men was seen as effeminate.[24] Pseudo-Phocylides 210–14 proves particularly

20 Gray, "Liar Paradox"; Thiselton, "Logical Role of the Liar Paradox."

21 Gray, "Liar Paradox," 309.

22 An important but often overlooked study that focuses on external evidence, and that cogently defends the view that it is hair length or style that Paul is concerned about throughout the entire passage, is Blattenberger, *Rethinking 1 Corinthians 11:2–16*.

23 Blomberg, *1 Corinthians*, 215.

24 Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ*, 142–45.

poignant: "If a child is a boy do not let locks grow on (his) head. Do not braid (his) crown nor the cross knots at the top of his head. Long hair is not fit for boys, but for voluptuous women. Guard the youthful prime of life of a comely boy, because many rage for intercourse with a man." In other words, Paul is not as likely stressing woman as the glory of man rather than of God as he is indicating that woman, rather than *man*, is the glory of man.[25]

A less disputed illustration of the value of external evidence in epistolary interpretation emerges from Rom 16:23b, written from Corinth: "Erastus, who is the city's director of public works, and our brother Quartus send you their greetings." Visitors to the ruins of Corinth today routinely see the stone slab on which the Latin words appear carved, announcing "Erastus the aedile laid [this pavement] at his own expense." An aedile roughly corresponded to the οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως, the Greek expression used in the Romans passage. While some have pointed out the possibility of two men with the same name holding the same kind of position in Corinth at different times, the name was not a particularly common one, so that it seems likely that the same person is in view in both references.[26] Again, this would show that a reasonably wealthy person could be part of the early Christian movement and, unlike the rich man in James' courtroom, be viewed positively. It also reminds us of the importance of studying inscriptions as part of the external evidence we consult when trying to corroborate or interpret the New Testament.[27]

Each of these examples from the apocalyptic and epistolary books of the New Testament likewise supports, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, the traditional ascriptions of authorship, provenance, addressees, date, and so on. If Paul really wrote a given letter in the mid-first century in a Hellenistic milieu, we would expect to see evidence of issues and influences of particular pertinence to that context. If James wrote to a Jewish-Christian audience at roughly the same time, we would expect similar phenomena. We are not arguing in a hermeneutical circle but in a spiral. Testing the hypotheses of what the church has long believed about the "introduction" to a given book

25 Another possibility is presented by Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 570–72, who contrasts the animals Adam names but that do not provide him with the glory of being his equal or partner the way Eve does. Cf., similarly, Thiselton, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 833–37.

26 For an appropriately cautious and nuanced discussion, see Gill, "Erastus the Aedile."

27 Welborn, *End to Enmity*, 260–82, examines the evidence in even more detail and, while acknowledging the ambiguities, determines that equating the figure mentioned in Romans with the man in the Corinthian inscription is the most probable conclusion. He also responds in detail to the most common objections to this equation.

of the Bible involves seeing how much external evidence fits the postulated context. The more we find, the more we have confidence in those traditional hypotheses. At least as important, we move closer and closer to the most probable interpretation of passages and are able to exclude less likely ones.

3 Acts

Once we turn to the historical genres of the New Testament, the amount of relevant external evidence grows exponentially. Colin J. Hemer's magisterial work, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, remains unsurpassed, though it needs to be supplemented by select articles from the five-volume series edited by Bruce W. Winter, *The Book of Acts in Its First-Century Setting*, James D. G. Dunn's *Beginning from Jerusalem*, and Eckhard Schnabel's two-volume *Early Christian Mission*. More difficult to use because of its sheer size but containing a wealth of external evidence deeply embedded within it is Craig S. Keener's massive four-volume commentary on *Acts*. Indeed, the amount of supportive external evidence for Acts threatens to overwhelm the researcher; we can select only a handful of dozens of possible examples. Often times the only "urban legend" that needs debunking is not a specific interpretation of a given passage but the skepticism that alleges Luke was not writing reliable history.[28] Theological and literary motives abound, but not so as to undermine historical ones. In other instances, exegetical insights emerge as well.

That Luke uses the appropriate titles for civic leaders despite their wide variety depending on location and era affords one important illustration. Thus the Cypriot ruler Sergius Paulus is correctly identified as a proconsul (Acts 13:7), the Philippian authorities are magistrates (16:20), the Thessalonian leaders are politarchs (17:6; NIV "city officials"), the Areopagus meets only in Athens (17:19), Corinth has the proconsul Gallio (18:12), the Asiarchs belong to Ephesus (19:31; NIV "officials of the province"), and Malta has a chief man (28:7; NIV "chief official")![29] The verisimilitude of the voyage and shipwreck of Paul in Acts 27 led James Smith already in the nineteenth century to be convinced that it had to be based on eyewitness reports; more recent studies have

28 Exacerbated by Pervo, *Acts*; Pervo, *Profit with Delight*. For a convenient summary of views, though completely without documentation, see D. E. Smith and Tyson, *Acts and Christian Beginnings*.

29 These are a minute portion of the hundreds of examples Hemer (*Book of Acts* 108–58) lists of what he calls "specific local knowledge" on Luke's part in Acts. Porter helpfully reminds us of a number of these throughout his *Paul of Acts = Paul in Acts*.

only reinforced this conviction.[30] Ongoing excavations at Pisidian Antioch have already discovered the synagogue there—probably the one in which Paul preached, and have given a plausible explanation of why Paul turned to the central Anatolian plateau, diverging from the major highways he followed for all of his other missionary travels. Rulers in that community were relatives of Sergius Paulus's family in Paphos. One can easily imagine the Cypriot proconsul requesting Paul to share the gospel with his relatives in Pisidian Antioch just as he had done with him.[31]

For years, we had no inscriptional evidence for the locations of Lystra and Derbe. Now we do, and the stone slabs containing them can be viewed in the courtyard at the museum in Konya (ancient Iconium), Turkey.[32] We can explain the odd use of the singular "region" in the expression "the region of Phrygia and Galatia" (Acts 16:6; note the same combination in the reverse order in 18:23). The two territories were combined together under Roman provincial administrative reconfiguration in 25 BC, though ethnic Galatians would not have approved and a writer of fiction aiming at historical verisimilitude would probably not have utilized the less common identification.[33] Luke's usage of the combined provincial name also strengthens the case for a South Galatian hypothesis and therefore for an early date (c. 49) for the writing of Galatians, after Paul's first missionary journey through cities not part of ethnic but only provincial Galatia (Acts 13–14).[34] The Gallio inscription at Delphi, of course, not only dovetails with Luke's reference to that proconsul in Corinth (Acts 18:12) but also enables us to date much of Paul's missionary travel by adding or subtracting years based on the internal evidence in Acts and Paul's letters.[35]

Why is it that, of all Jesus' apostles and other close associates, the only one to appear in Josephus' works is his half-brother James? Richard Bauckham has persuasively argued that we have typically underestimated this James' role as the leader of the early church in Jerusalem.[36] While it wreaks havoc with Roman Catholic hagiography about Peter, the role attributed to James in Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:1; 1 Cor 15:7, Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12, and in the letters of James and Jude certainly suggests that at the very latest by the time Peter left Jerusalem for good in about AD 42, James, the chief elder of the church there, was the most

30 J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*; cf. Gilchrist, "Historicity of Paul's Shipwreck."

31 Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 195.

32 Fant and Reddish, *Guide to Biblical Sites*, 175, 230, 240–41.

33 Cf. Hemer, "Adjective Phrygia."

34 Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 277–307.

35 For full details, see esp. throughout Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*.

36 Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church."

central and significant authority in the first generation of Christianity.[37] This could also explain the canonical ordering of the non-Pauline epistles besides Hebrews. They may well have been arranged in decreasing order of importance of their authors: James, Peter, John and Jude.[38]

4 The Gospels

As with Acts, we can only just scratch the surface of examples of illuminating discoveries that bear on the historicity and/or the interpretation of the Gospels, even were we to limit our external evidence to archaeology alone. For years, critics doubted the existence of the pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem; then it was discovered.[39] Much more recently, we have learned that what we thought was the pool of Siloam at the end of Hezekiah's tunnel was merely a smaller pool that opened into a much larger reservoir of water.[40] There is growing evidence as well to suggest that both pools were *mikvaoth*, used to help accommodate the many needs for ritual bathing, especially at the time of the pilgrimages that brought large numbers of Jews to town. Bethesda on the north and Siloam on the south may have been the most prominent places where new arrivals to Jerusalem could purify themselves before entering the temple precincts.[41] These two pools, of course, both play a central role in the healing miracles of John 5 and 9. In one case, Jesus heals a lame man who cannot get to the pool for its believed therapeutic benefits. In the other, he tells a blind man to wash in the pool so that his sight may be restored. As with other miracles, and as with Jesus' declaration that people's sins were forgiven, it is becoming increasingly clear that it was not his claims and powers themselves that so offended the Jewish leadership but his bypassing the temple "establishment" and its rituals, especially the purification rites, that put him more and more at odds with the authorities around him.[42]

Nazareth was one site skeptics loved to lampoon. It was never more than a small village in antiquity to begin with, and there was no evidence at all of a settlement there in the first century. Remains from earlier and later centuries

37 Cf. also Varner, *James*, 18–23.

38 Perhaps also based on the sequence, "James, Peter and John" in Gal 2:9, itself a probable testimony to order of importance. See Wall, "Significance of a Canonical Perspective," 540.

39 See esp. Jeremias, *Rediscovery of Bethesda*.

40 Shanks, "Siloam Pool."

41 von Wahlde, "Pool(s) of Bethesda"; von Wahlde, "Pool of Siloam."

42 Perrin, *Jesus the Temple*, 140.

made it reasonable to assume a continuous settlement, but enough exceptions due to the natural or human destructions of towns in the ancient world gave critics fodder for their skepticism.[43] Then just before Christmas in 2009, it was made public that some walls of a first-century home had been unearthed in Nazareth.[44] Even more recently, the discoveries of what appears to be a separate village adjacent to Magdala have raised the question of whether this might be the mysterious Dalmanutha of Mark 8:10.[45] The ongoing excavation of the much larger, neighboring Sepphoris has gone through two discrete phases of interpretation as well. Initially, archaeologists imagined a highly Hellenistic community surrounding the political capital of Galilee under Herod Antipas prior to it being moved to Tiberias.[46] Further digging, however, has shown that the artifacts and remains (such as the absence of pig bones) match those of other fully Jewish communities.[47] Indeed, given the intrusions of Hellenism into portions of the Jewish aristocracy in Jerusalem, whatever exposure Jesus had to Greco-Roman culture may well have come more in that city than in Galilee.[48] It may not be coincidence that the largest cluster of Jesus' uses of the term "hypocrite" (a Semitic loan-word taken from the practice of play-acting in the Hellenistic theater) comes in his conversations in Jerusalem (Matt 22–24), not in Galilee, where many scholars not too long ago argued he would have learned it from the theater in Sepphoris.[49]

One of the more puzzling comments right in the middle of those conversations comes in Matt 23:2–3. Before unleashing his woes against the hypocritical scribes and Pharisees in his temple audience, Jesus declares, "The teachers of the law [i.e., scribes] and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. So you must be careful to do everything they tell you. But do not do what they do, for they do not practice what they preach." How can Jesus command obedience to all that these leaders teach, given that his conflicts with them elsewhere are not limited to their inconsistent behavior but strike at the heart of the oral Torah ("the traditions of the ancestors") as well? And what does it mean that they sit

43 Strange, "Nazareth."

44 Hadid, "First Jesus-Era House."

45 Ngo, "Has Dalmanutha from the Bible Been Found?".

46 See esp. Batey, *Jesus and the Forgotten City*.

47 See esp. Chancey, *Myth of a Gentile Galilee*.

48 See esp. Hengel, *"Hellenization" of Judaea*; Collins and Sterling, *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Challenging the extent but not the fact of this Hellenization is Feldman, "How Much Hellenism?".

49 On the other hand, Lichtenberger, "Jesus and the Theater," challenges the consensus that there was a theater in Jerusalem when Jesus was an adult. It is, of course, always possible that Jesus simply learned of the concept without having attended a theater anywhere.

on Moses' seat? Moses' seat was a large chair at the front of the synagogue from which the Torah would be read. A clear example of the remains of one is found in the excavations of the synagogue at Chorazin.[50] Jesus is not commending all of the Pharisaic interpretations of the Law but is endorsing the truth and sanctity of the Law itself. Synagogue-goers might or might not be supposed to follow any given Pharisaic interpretation of the Law but they were to continue following the Law.[51] Of course, after the inauguration of the new covenant, that Law is fulfilled in Christ and many of its applications change. But in the context of Matt 23, Jesus' words now prove intelligible.

A final example involves the imagery in one of Jesus' parables. It has often been noted that the biggest way in which Luke's parable of the pounds or minas (Luke 19:11–27) differs from Matthew's parable of the talents (Matt 25:14–30) is that it contains what could easily be viewed as part of a separate story about a throne claimant. It has at times also been observed that this man strikingly resembles Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who ruled over Judea and Samaria from 4 BC to AD 6. After his father's death, Archelaus went to Rome to receive his "kingdom" but was opposed by a Jewish embassy because of his cruelty. The petition not to instate Archelaus was denied and retribution was exacted when Archelaus returned to Judea (Josephus, *Ant.* 17:299–323; *J.W.* 2:80–100). Picturing God as in some way parallel to such a harsh king has offended enough recent interpreters as to lead to some very fanciful interpretations of the parable.[52] But Jesus' point need not be that God's judgment is unjust, merely that it is strict and inevitable against those who implacably oppose him. Still, one wonders what led Jesus to employ such imagery. Recent excavations just outside Jericho have disclosed the foundations and various artifacts of Archelaus's vast palace and its precincts there, and Jesus had just been in the vicinity of Jericho for his encounter with Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1–10). The pieces of the puzzle come together; of all people likely to catch the allusion Jesus is making, the inhabitants of Jericho would have been best positioned.[53]

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50 Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, 258.

51 Powell, "Do and Keep." Jewish New Testament scholarship has increasingly been arguing that the New Testament writers and speakers did not envision Jewish followers of Jesus taking all Pharisaic *halakah* as optional, against which see Blomberg, "Freedom from the Law."

52 See esp. Dowling, *Taking Away the Pound*. Cf. also Vinson, "Minas Touch."

53 Schultz, "Jesus as Archelaus."

5 Conclusion

A short essay can at best just whet one's appetite for the wide-ranging possibilities of external evidence for confirming both the historicity and the authenticity of New Testament documents and for interpreting them. In fact, external evidence has been a staple of New Testament scholarship from its inception. But precisely because there are so many examples, one has to be intentional about consulting the best and most current scholarship if one is to avoid as many gaffes as possible. Stan Porter throughout his prolific publishing career has often enjoyed questioning ill-founded consensuses on numerous topics, including at times the kinds of examples raised in this chapter. Most of the time, his skepticism has been justified, and often his proposed alternatives have proved compelling. I am delighted to dedicate this short offering to him in appreciation of thirty years of friendship and massive amounts of scholarly stimulation through his many writings.[54]

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CHAPTER 32

Jesus Is God with Us: Applying Porter's Criteria for the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament to the Theme of Divine Presence

Beth M. Stovell

1 Introduction

Among Stanley E. Porter's many contributions to the field of biblical interpretation, his criteria for analyzing the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament have provided a helpful correction to many of the trends in the study of intertextuality present in New Testament studies.[1] However, Porter's criteria have not always been considered or applied with much consistency, nor has Porter's approach been applied to a specific theme from the Old Testament that is alluded to in several places in the New Testament. This essay will examine how using Porter's criteria for the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament creates greater clarity in understanding the New Testament's appropriation of the Old Testament theme of divine presence and divine Spirit. Porter's criteria will provide the framework for comparison of the diverse New Testament passages where Old Testament references to divine presence and divine Spirit are used. This comparison will allow for a demonstration of the unique ways that different New Testament authors appropriate the same Old Testament themes.

Specifically, this paper will focus on the use of the themes of divine presence and divine Spirit via the use of Exodus in the Pauline epistles and in John's Gospel, using Porter's criteria as a means of comparison. This exploration will provide new insight in several ways. First, it will create greater precision around the use of Exodus in the New Testament. Second, it will do so by

1 I have chosen this topic in part because I am personally grateful for my years as one of Stan's students during my doctoral studies at McMaster Divinity College. One of my earliest hermeneutics papers for one of Stan's courses critically engaged the topic of intertextuality in Richard Hays's work. I remember with great fondness extended discussions with Stan about the continuing need for more refinement in the study of the use of the Old Testament in the New. These shared hermeneutical discussions inspired Stan and me to envision and subsequently co-edit *Biblical Hermeneutics: Five Views.*

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demonstrating how these uses of Exodus show similarities and differences in different corpora of the New Testament. Third, it will provide additional insight into the specific uses of Exodus and themes of divine presence and divine Spirit in the specific corpora of Paul and John.

The writings of Paul and John have been specifically chosen for two reasons. First, they represent two of the major corpora that Porter has examined throughout his scholarship and two corpora where Porter has explicitly stated his position on how Old Testament citation functions for particular parts of Paul's and John's writings.[2] This provides a helpful grounding for using Porter's methodology in ways that are at least partially consistent with his proposed uses of these methods elsewhere.

Second, Paul and John have often functioned as conversation partners in the history of scholarship. While some have explored how Paul's and John's writings relate to one another historically, others have examined the shared themes of Paul and John.[3] One such discussion has centered on the use of Exodus motifs in Paul and John. In some cases, Paul's and John's writings have been used to explore the theme of the New Exodus, using what Porter calls the "grand thematic narrative" approach as found in books such as Sylvia Keesmaat's *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, N. T. Wright's *Jesus and the Victory of God,* William Webb's *Returning Home: New Covenant and Second Exodus as the Context for 2 Corinthians 6:14—7:1*, and Coxon's *Exploring the New Exodus in John.*

Elsewhere the focus has been primarily on how Exodus is used in terms of quotation and other forms of citation (e.g., allusion, echo, etc.). The hope of this essay is that comparing Paul's and John's usage of Exodus with greater precision using Porter's methods will yield increased clarity in both Pauline and Johannine studies.

This chapter will progress in three main sections. In the first section, I will chart the trajectory of Porter's scholarship on the use of the Old Testament in the New, highlighting his key writings and how his work on this topic has developed over the course of his career. The second section will explore the use of Exodus using Porter's methods to discuss divine presence and divine Spirit in the Pauline corpus, focusing on Paul's use of Exodus in 2 Cor 3. The third section will transition to the use of Exodus in John's Gospel, applying Porter's

2 Examples related to Pauline literature include (but are not limited to) Porter, "Use of the Old Testament"; Porter and Stanley, *As It Is Written*; Porter, "Allusions and Echoes"; examples related to Johannine literature include Porter, *John, His Gospel, and Jesus*; and Porter, "Can Traditional Exegesis Enlighten," which was later used in *John, His Gospel, and Jesus*.

3 See, e.g., Kruse, "Paul and John," and Harding, "Kyrios Christos."

methods to describe the development of the theme of divine presence and divine Spirit. Finally, this paper will end with a conclusion that suggests ways forward for future scholarship based on the overall analysis.

Before we embark on our study, a few caveats about limitations are in order. First, Porter's method encourages scholars to be comprehensive in their approach, particularly if they wish their results to be comprehensive. Obviously, a chapter of this length cannot be comprehensive in terms of analysis of all Pauline and Johannine literature, but it will endeavor instead to use another key maxim of Porter's work: consistency. The goal of this chapter is not to speak conclusively about all uses of Exodus in either Paul or John, but rather to provide a consistent approach to viewing the use of Exodus to discuss the role of the divine presence and divine Spirit in these authors' writings.

2 Charting Porter's Refinement of Scholarship on the Use of the Old Testament in the New

This section will first chart some of the key works on the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament put forward by Porter, noting how his major ideas develop in these areas and how they fit in the wider scholarship of their time. Based on the methodology put forward in these works, the remainder of this chapter will build on Porter's method to examine Pauline and Johannine use of Exodus with a specific focus on depictions of divine presence and divine Spirit.

While Porter's work has explored the use of the Old Testament in the New for much of his career in various ways, the first notable methodological article on this topic dates to 1997 when studies on intertextuality had reached a fevered pitch in biblical studies, spawning an entire subfield in biblical studies.[4] This ground-breaking article pointed to the imprecision of the use of terms related to the use of the Old Testament in the New. Besides critiquing the current use of method in this field, Porter suggested ways forward toward greater precision in definitions of the use of the Old Testament from formulaic quotation to echo. Porter's critiques in this article focused on three different points. First, terminology in this field was muddled and unclear on what it counted in the different categories of quotation, allusion, and echo. Second, many of the

4 See Alicia Myer's helpful article on this history of the sub-discipline of study of the use of the Old Testament in the New. While Myer's article primarily focuses on this study for the Johannine corpus, it provides helpful insight into how this developed more broadly in the guild. Myers, "Abiding Words."

studies of the use of the Old Testament in the New argued for an audience-centered approach rather than an authorial or text-centered approach. Yet Porter noted that audience-centered approaches can actually lead to the exclusion of explicit quotations of the Old Testament if the audience is not aware of Old Testament contexts. Porter instead argued for an author-centered approach. Third, Porter questioned the overall purpose of some approaches to the use of the Old Testament in the New in that they tried to provide a comprehensive vision of the function of the Old Testament in the New by such means.

Porter built his conclusions upon these critiques. He argued for the necessity of clarifying what scope of study of the Old Testament use in the New is in mind before launching upon such a study. It ultimately makes a difference whether a scholar is aiming for understanding how the use of the Old Testament works in a particular book, or in the work of a particular author, or examining how it works generally in the entirety of the New Testament. Porter called for greater overall precision in the use of terms. One of the helpful aspects of Porter's analysis was his awareness that differentiation of the various kinds of use of the Old Testament in the New is based on the principle of direct and indirect citation of the Old Testament text. By thinking carefully about how these differences in direct and indirect citation work, categorization can be more specific and consistent. Porter also argued that if one is trying to explain how an author of the New Testament used the Old Testament, one needs an author-oriented rather than an audience-oriented approach. Finally, Porter demonstrated that in order to make statements regarding the overall use of the Old Testament by a given author, one needs to consider all kinds of citation rather than only one kind or another.

Many of Porter's critiques and suggestions in his 1997 article went unheeded in subsequent scholarly work on this topic.[5] Porter's subsequent writings demonstrate a desire to continue moving this discussion forward, with the hope of the guild heeding his suggestions and increasing the precision of their overall methodology on this issue. In 2003, in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, Porter provides an introduction on the use of the Old Testament in the New and gives his own contribution on Luke–Acts' use of the Old Testament.[6] In these writings, he returns to many of his major themes established in the 1997 article.

In 2004, this theme of New Testament use of the Old remained present in Porter's work as he co-presented a paper with Mark Boda titled "Prophecy in the Third Degree," which was subsequently published in 2005. It is surprising to

5 Porter notes this in his 2008 article, "Further Comments."

6 Porter, *Hearing the Old Testament*.

see Porter use the term "intertextuality" in this article despite his own explicit critiques of the term in his earlier and later works. This may be related to the shared authorship of this article. Nonetheless, this article demonstrates Porter's concern for precision. Porter also participated in the Bingham Colloquium in 2004 where the theme was "The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments." In the volume of the same title coming from this colloquium, he explicitly points to the need for precision in analyzing the relationship between the use of the term "messiah" in the New Testament and its usage in the Old Testament.[7]

Whereas Porter's work between 1997 and 2005 demonstrated implicitly his continued interest in the issues of his 1997 article, in 2006 he explicitly returned to his initial 1997 discussion with the hope of reinvigorating his original goals. In his 2006 article, entitled "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," Porter provides five categories for citation, creating a spectrum from explicit to non-explicit citation as follows: (1) formulaic quotation, (2) direct quotation, (3) paraphrase, (4) allusion, (5) echo. Porter groups these into quotation (formulaic or simply direct), indirect citation (paraphrase or allusion), and echo. Porter's suggestions regarding the linguistic principles implicit in this range are particularly instructive:

> Although attention has been directed to quotation, the most potentially interesting are the other categories of indirect citation and echo, since it is here that there is an inversion of interpretive control. The less control the original author has over the citation, the more control the citing author has over it. In other words, as one moves away from the control of the original author over a quotation towards echo, the more control the author who chooses to use indirect citation or echo gains over the original usage.[8]

Consistent with Porter's 1997 article, this statement demonstrates Porter's other conclusion that concentrating on the effect on the audience is a problematic approach to citation. He pushes instead for an author-oriented (and perhaps one might also say textual-focused) approach to citation. Besides arguing against audience-oriented approaches, Porter also questions the assumptions about a meta-story such as the New Exodus or new Moses motifs in Paul, including questioning the work of Sylvia Keesmaat.[9] Porter argues against this "grand thematic narrative" approach, found also in the works of

7 Porter, *Messiah in the Old and New Testaments.*

8 Porter, "Further Comments," 107.

9 Porter describes this in ibid., 107n13.

N. T. Wright among others.[10] Porter provides two critiques of this approach: (1) The same results could arise with a different approach and (2) by necessity, in order to prove thematic approaches, non-thematic approaches to quotation, direct, and indirect citation become necessary. Thus, while Porter points out that there may be merit in exploring these thematic narratives, they are not useful as practical categories for specific study of citation or quotation. Porter argues that in order to pursue a grand narrative approach, scholars must use "more fully inclusive discourse analysis methods that are able to determine and judge the thematic materials of discourses and their constituent parts, such as paragraphs."[11]

One of Porter's valuable, but often overlooked, contributions in this article is his notion of a scale of control: from formulaic quotation to echo, Porter points to the increasing control of the citing author over the material of the original author:[12]

Formulaic quotation and Direct quotation	**Paraphrase Allusion**	**Echo**
Least control of citing author	Some control of citing author	Most control of citing author

This concept of a scale of control of a citing author provides insight into the flexibility of the citing author in their use of the original author's work. In this essay, this scale of control plays a role in our differentiation of how the theme of divine presence and divine Spirit in Exodus is used and adapted in Paul's writings compared to John's, and the implications for clearer interpretive methods.

Porter's 2008 volume co-edited with Christopher Stanley demonstrates Porter's continuing interest in refining scholarly understanding of the use of the Old Testament in the New. In this case, Porter and Stanley's work focuses on the use of the Old Testament in Paul's writings. Based on Porter's previous articles on the use of the Old Testament in the New and his sustained critical appraisal of Richard Hays's work, it is not surprising to find Porter's article "Allusions and Echoes" critically engaging the work of Hays and those

10 Ibid., 100–103.

11 Ibid., 106.

12 Ibid., 107.

following in Hays's footsteps. Building on the criteria established in his 2006 article "Further Thoughts," Porter focuses his attention specifically on the two least explicit kinds of citation in his five category system: allusion and echo. Exploring the definitions of allusion provided by literary and biblical scholars and the inherent problems with aspects of these approaches, Porter provides three conclusions regarding allusions that help with defining allusion: (1) "Intentionality appears to be necessary, but not sufficient means by which one can distinguish an allusion." (2) "Allusion draws upon a common pool of shared knowledge." This point acknowledges that ideally both author and reader would share this knowledge for the allusion to be fully understood. However, allusions are defined not by whether readers understand them, but by whether authors intended them. (3) "The purpose of allusion, in order to avoid being merely ornamentation (or even possibly plagiarism), is to draw the earlier text, person, event into the present text as means of addressing a particularly literary problem."[13] Notably, this is one of the moments where Porter's approach demonstrates that it is not only author-oriented, but also text-oriented, as Porter uses Wolfgang Iser[14] to describe the function of allusion within the text. After critiquing in detail Hays's approach to echoes—ultimately concluding that Hays's definition of echo both does not have consistency and is ultimately synonymous with allusion—Porter argues that the concept of echo still serves a necessary function in a schema for citation. As Porter explains, "whereas allusion invokes a specific person, place, or literary work, the notion of echo may be used for the invocation by means of thematically related language of some more general notion or concept."[15] Such a definition can prove profitable when hoping to follow a biblical theme through a passage rather than only pointing to direct citation or specific but indirect citation (i.e., allusion). I would suggest that a helpful addition to Porter's definition may be to pinpoint how specific kinds of "related language" work together to convey a "notion or concept." The application of cognitive linguistics to biblical study has often worked in this space of exploration of semantic

13 Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," 35–36.

14 Porter cites Iser, *Act of Reading*, 79. It is fascinating to see Porter cite Iser, who is known in Literary Theory for his role in New Criticism and later Reception Theory. Iser would hold radically different views on authorial intent and its value for interpretation of allusion than Porter espouses. However, it seems that it is the functionalist mode of Iser's thought that Porter finds appealing here. For more on the functionalist aspects of Iser's Reception Theory, see Shi, "Review of Wolfgang Iser."

15 Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," 39.

relations for the purpose of developing conceptions.[16] For our study, this additional level of specificity may help to provide clarity that is consistent with Porter's overall criteria.

Besides Porter's work on the use of the Old Testament in the New in terms of Pauline literature and in terms of a broader methodological framework, Porter has turned his attention to the Johannine corpus with his Brill Johannine Studies series and his recent book on John's Gospel. Discussions of the use of the Old Testament in the New play a key role in Porter's 2015 book *John, His Gospel, and Jesus.* Here Porter explores how Old Testament fulfillment plays a key role in the development of John's Gospel and his depiction of Jesus. For example, in chapter 8, Porter argues that the Passover theme functions both structurally and conceptually to present Jesus as "the sacrificial passover lamb who dies on behalf of his followers."[17] Porter argues for this theme by tracing Old Testament quotations and allusions throughout key structural points of John's Gospel.

In 2016, Porter continued his general exploration of the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament with a particular focus on how the Old Testament functions as sacred tradition in the New Testament in his book, *Sacred Tradition in the New Testament*. This book approaches the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament both thematically and canonically, exploring such themes as Jesus as Suffering Servant, Son of Man, Son of God, and Messiah, as well as exploring how sacred tradition is used to describe Jesus in the Gospels and the epistles. This book demonstrates Porter's abiding concern for methodological clarity by using abridged and revised versions of his 1997 "Use of the Old Testament" and his 2006 "Further Comments" in Chapter 1 and 2 respectively.

Thus, when looking at Porter's own citation of his works in the area of the use of the Old Testament in the New, one notes that Porter most frequently points to three of his explorations: his initial 1997 contribution "Use of the Old Testament"; his 2006 continuation on that article in "Further Thoughts"; and his third continuation of his original categories in his 2008 article "Allusions and Echoes."[18] These three articles have also continued to impact the subdiscipline of study of the use of the Old Testament in the New as demonstrated

16 For a more extensive discussion of developments in cognitive linguistics and their application to biblical studies, see ch. 2 of Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse*, 29–72.

17 Porter, *John, His Gospel, and Jesus*, 10.

18 See, e.g., Porter's citation of his work in endnote 6 in his book *John, His Gospel, and Jesus*, and in Porter, "Luke," 151n21.

by their frequent citation by other scholars.[19] Thus, these three articles will serve as the primary foundation for this study as I apply Porter's criteria to several Pauline and Johannine passages citing Exodus to discuss divine presence and divine Spirit.

3 Conceptual Background of God's Presence and Spirit in Exodus

In order to understand what aspects of divine presence and divine Spirit are explored in the writings of Paul and John, it is helpful to establish the semantic domains and conceptual networks already existing in the book of Exodus itself that describe divine presence and divine Spirit. These semantic domains and conceptual frameworks become the sources for the quotations (formulaic and direct), paraphrases, allusions, and echoes we find in the writings of Paul and John. For this reason, this section will now review my research on God's presence and Spirit in Exodus (presented fully elsewhere).[20]

Theophanic moments characterize the Exodus story, which describes these encounters with God's presence using a variety of related terms. Common terms describing God's presence include: glory and splendor (shown to Moses, but also hidden from Moses, and affirming God's presence in the tabernacle in Exod 24:15–18; 32:18–23; and 40:34–38),[21] God's goodness (Exod 33:18–19), and radiance (echoed in Moses' face, Exod 32–34).[22] God's presence provides peace to Moses (33:14).[23] God's presence is associated with its manifestation in the form of cloud and fire with the people (Exod 13:21; 14:19–24; 16:10; 19: 9, 16; 25:15, 16, 18, etc.; at times this is a consuming fire, see Exod 24:17) and becomes a sign of God's presence in the tabernacle (Exod 40:34–38).[24] In the establishment of the tabernacle, God's presence is depicted as having a home (Exod 34:26) and a dwelling place, and this space is also referred to as a meeting place. Each description depicts different aspects of God's interaction with the people of Israel.[25] The location of the experience of God's presence is both in the

19 Examples include Stamps, "Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," 9; Scott, *Hermeneutics of Christological Psalmody*, 9n36.

20 The section is based on my previous research on the Exodus as it relates to the Book of the Twelve Prophets in Stovell, "Poetry of Presence."

21 Klein, "Back to the Future," 272.

22 Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology*, 3:142–43.

23 Widmer discusses the implications of this peace in more detail. See Michael Widmer, *Moses*, 151–56.

24 Klein, "Back to the Future," 271–72.

25 See Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:392–401.

tabernacle and on the mountain in the Exodus account, and thus references to God's mountain or God's holy mountain often relate to God's presence (Exod 4:27; 15:17; 19:18–20; 20:18; 24:15–18).

Particular forms of spatial and relational deixis are also connected with God's presence, such as depictions of nearness through prepositional forms (e.g., God "with you," being "before God's face" as a depiction of presence, Exod 33:14–15 פָּנֶיךָ, and "face to face," Exod 33:8 פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים, etc.).[26] The language of "my presence" and "with you"/ "your presence" and "with us" in Exod 33:14–15 moves from spatial to relational deixis, indicating a perception of relationship related to spatial proximity. The shifting movement in this passage back and forth from Moses' face to Yahweh's face / Moses' presence to Yahweh's presence further emphasizes this link between spatial proximity of the divine presence and relationship with him. Widmer provides a survey of the uses of the term פָּנִים for God's presence, noting the variety of ways this term is used both of God's presence and Moses' interaction with God's presence.[27] Widmer concludes that these diverse references to God's presence "imply a spiritual and spatial closeness of Moses to God," yet distinctions are made between being in God's presence and God's presence passing by.[28] Wider suggests that this depiction of God's presence demonstrates "a balance of two fundamental aspects of the Hebrew understanding of God. He is seen and yet he is not seen. He is a holy and consuming fire, yet he is gracious and merciful."[29] Thus, the divine presence is depicted as both near and accessible, as well as dangerous and inaccessible.

Regarding the Exodus and the conception of God's Spirit, the Exodus account uses the language of God's *ruach* that explicitly links the creation of the tabernacle with God's Spirit. Such language is found in Exod 15:13 and 17, where God's salvation by his *ruach* leads the people to God's dwelling place, his sanctuary, his mountain (a collocation of three words often associated with places of God's presence). Richard Hess demonstrates that the creation of the wilderness temple in Exod 25–31 and 35–40 depicts a series of different factors associated with God's Spirit such as God's Spirit in the creativity of building the tabernacle, and God's intentionality of giving his Spirit for the means of

26 While work on spatial deixis and God's presence has been limited in biblical studies, such work has been done on English literature, studying depictions of God's presence in John Milton and John Donne. See Dubrow, *Deixis*.

27 Widmer, *Moses*, 162–68.

28 Ibid., 166.

29 Ibid., 167.

creating a building for his presence.[30] In Exod 31:3 the Lord tells Moses that the Lord has filled Bezalel with the Spirit of God related to wisdom, understanding, and knowledge associated with skills for production of the tabernacle. In Exod 35:31, Moses in turn echoes to the Israelites the story of this filling by God's Spirit. Hess argues that in Exod 28:3 "God gives his spirit (*ruach*) to each of those engaged with the construction of the tabernacle."[31] Hess appears to base this reading on the combination of the verb "fill" with "spirit." However, such a reading needs to be balanced with the awareness that Exod 28:3 has neither the suffix "my" nor the addition of "of the Lord" (Elohim) to indicate that this *ruach* is attached to God other than coming from the Lord's filling. Similarly, the "spirit of willingness" of the people, while using *ruach*, is not necessarily pointing to a divine Spirit among the people, but rather the character of the people's spirits.[32] In his discussion of Bezalel and Oholiab, John Levison argues that the filling of these two figures with God's Spirit echoes the filling of the tabernacle with God's presence. This filling of the Spirit brings God's presence into every area of the lives of these two men. This filling in turn extends to the rest of the artisans on the project.[33]

In this way, the place of God's presence is associated with God's Spirit-filling of those creating this space. Yet, this does not mean that one can simply collapse God's Spirit and presence in these passages. Instead, the filling with God's Spirit becomes the means of creating a space for God's presence to dwell. The metaphorical entailments of the Spirit include wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding are also present as entailments of God's Spirit or a spirit with which the Lord fills his people. For example, in Gen 41:38–39, Joseph is distinguished by the Pharaoh as one in whom is the spirit of God (*ruach elohim*) (v. 38) and this spirit of God in Joseph is identified due to his discerning and wisdom.[34] In Deut 34:9, Joshua, son of Nun, like the artisans of the tabernacle in Exod 28:3, is described as being "filled with the spirit of wisdom" because of Moses' hands laid upon him. In Isa 11:2, the Spirit of the Lord will rest upon the "shoot/Branch" figure that derives from Jesse and with the Lord's Spirit comes the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, and the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. These depictions of the Spirit

30 Hess, "Bezalel and Oholiab."

31 Ibid., 164.

32 Hess agrees with this point, but connects it to the larger construct of the use of the term *ruach* elsewhere in the passage. See ibid., 164–65.

33 See Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 52–58, 60–67.

34 See Marlow, "Spirit of Yahweh," 226.

that is upon this shoot/Branch figure appear to create a parallelism between the Spirit of the Lord and traits of the Spirit.[35]

Thus, as one describes the semantic domains associated with the Lord's Spirit, the language of filling appears to be a common verbal association with the Lord's Spirit. Language associated with wisdom, understanding, knowledge, and might also appear to be common associations with the Lord's Spirit in the passages under review. The Lord's Spirit may be described as *ruach elohim* or *ruach yhwh* or simply *ruach* along with the concept of the Lord as the agent filling an individual with this *ruach*.

These diverse pictures of God's presence and Spirit in the Exodus account provide a helpful starting point for examining not only the direct, but also the indirect citation of Exodus in Paul's and John's writings, particularly when these uses of the Old Testament take a more thematic nature than a direct citation. An awareness of the semantic schema of these Exodus depictions provides greater clarity for subsequent usage of Exodus.

4 Use of Exodus and Divine Presence and Divine Spirit in Pauline Literature

Several scholars have explored depictions of God's presence and Spirit by way of examining the use of Exodus in Paul's writings. For example, in *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9.1–9*, Brian J. Abasciano explores the use of Exod 32–33 in Rom 9:1–5, extensively using the method of "intertextuality."[36] While Abasciano mentions Porter's critique of the way the term "intertextuality" has been used, he nonetheless embraces this term. It is unfortunate that Abasciano's work in 2005 came out before Porter's further thoughts on the topic in 2006, and his more detailed examination of allusion and echoes in 2008, which may have led to greater precision in Abasciano's work. Extensive work has also been done on the use of the Exodus story, characters, and motifs in 2 Cor 3.[37] Other scholars have suggested a more grand-narrative approach to Paul's writings such as Christopher Beetham's view of a New Exodus theme in

35 It is valuable to note that while both are translated "Spirit of the Lord" in Exodus, this phrase is *ruach elohim*, while in Isa 11:2 the phrase is *ruach yhwh*. For more discussion on the implications of this passage, in relation to larger themes of presence and Spirit, see Marlow, "Spirit of Yahweh."

36 See Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, ch. 3, 45–146.

37 See Hafemann, *Paul, Moses*; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*; Baker, "Did the Glory of Moses' Face Fade"; Dunn, "The Letter Kills"; Hafemann, "Glory and Veil."

Colossians.[38] Beetham argues that Colossians provide echoes of a New Exodus motif that harkens back to or presumes the original Exodus story as a foundation. Yet as this review demonstrates, few have used Porter's categories for their analysis. This section will focus on how Porter's categories could be applied to uses of Exodus in Pauline writings with a particular focus on references to the theme of divine presence and Spirit.

While many passages in Paul's writings point to links with the Exodus account of God's presence and Spirit,[39] for the sake of this essay, this section will explore the use of Porter's categories to discuss 2 Cor 3. This passage has been chosen because of the density of connection to Exodus and the relative unanimity regarding its Pauline authorship.[40] Using Porter's approach to Paul's writings on the use of Exodus in relation to divine presence and Spirit, this section will argue that Paul often links God's Spirit with God's presence in his allusions to Exodus. Further, in Paul's writings Moses and the law play a key role in the experience of God's Spirit and presence, yet Jesus inaugurates a new relationship with God's Spirit and presence. This analysis also demonstrates how Porter's criteria provide greater insight into how Paul exercises interpretive control by various kinds of citation in 2 Cor 3.

4.1 *Use of Exodus in 2 Corinthians 3 and Divine Presence and Spirit*

While many studies have explored the depiction of Moses in 2 Cor 3 and the relationship between the glory and Spirit depictions in Exodus usage, here I focus specifically on how divine presence and divine Spirit are depicted via the use of Exodus in 2 Cor 3 by applying Porter's five categories to 2 Cor 3. First, while scholars agree that 2 Cor 3 cites Exodus and potentially quotes Exodus, there is debate about to what degree this citation is direct.[41] Here Porter's distinctions are helpful as we chart Exodus usage. We can determine conclusively that there are no formulaic quotations of Exodus in 2 Cor 3 because there are no introductory formulae before any quotation.[42] More contentious is the

38 Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*.

39 Potential examples include: the language of Moses baptized in cloud and in sea in 1 Cor 10:2, linked in 10:31 with all actions to God's glory; in Rom 8 the Spirit/law discussion, which leads to the talk of Moses in Rom 9–10; the language of glory and spirit in Eph 1 and dwelling place language in Eph 2; the links between Spirit and glory in Phil 3:3; and the extensive discussion of Spirit and law throughout Galatians.

40 As Porter's method insists on author-centered approaches to the use of the Old Testament in the New, this necessitates agreement on authorship in any literature under review.

41 Belleville provides a helpful survey of these issues and the major positions on this in her introduction. See Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 14–18.

42 See Porter, "Further Comments," 107.

debate over whether Paul's use of Exodus represents direct quotation. Porter establishes three words as the minimal unit to demonstrate direct quotation "(taking into consideration necessary morphological changes for the sake of citation)."[43] In the case of 2 Cor 3, we find several near examples of direct quotation, but each involves enough debate that it may be more helpful to categorize them as paraphrase rather than direct quotation. For example, while both 2 Cor 3:3 and Exod 24:12; 31:18; and 34:1 use the language of "written" and "tablets of stone," the word "tablet" is different in Exod 24:12 LXX (πυξία) than 2 Cor 3:3 (πλάξ). Exodus 31:18 is closer with the phrase πλάκας λιθίνας γεγραμμένας corresponding to 2 Cor 3:3 ἐγγεγραμμένη … πλαξὶν λιθίναις the feminine plural *accusative* of πλάκας replaced with the feminine plural *dative* πλαξὶν and the perfect passive participle feminine *plural accusative* γεγραμμένας replaced with ἐγγεγραμμένη, the perfect passive participle feminine *singular nominative*, for morphological reasons, to match the new context of citation. Yet this quotation does not provide three words beside one another and the intended meaning of 2 Cor 3:3 negates the original statement in Exod 31:18: unlike writing on tablets of stone as in Exod 31:18, the Corinthians are explicitly *not* written upon on tablets of stone, but on tablets of human hearts. Exodus 34:1, like Exod 31:18, uses the phrase πλάκας λιθίνας for tablets of stone and uses γράφω for the verb. One advantage of counting 2 Cor 3:3's use of Exodus as paraphrase in Porter's schema is that it allows for a broader inclusion of words within our examination because it does not require three words in direct proximity; Porter describes paraphrase as "some of the same words though not consecutively, along with other words. A paraphrase is typified by the use of words from the same semantic domain, or similar words in differing syntax, as a recognizable passage."[44] Based on Porter's discussion of scale of control,[45] we can also suggest that by moving from direct quotation to paraphrase, Paul is able to increase his control as the citing author over the original text. This provides for the greater flexibility and creativity that we see in Paul's interaction with the Exodus text.

An awareness of the potential for use of words from the same semantic domain that may not be consecutive also allows us to look further at words within the semantic domains associated with God's presence and Spirit (as established in our discussion of Exodus itself above) when they are found in other parts of 2 Cor 3. While scholars like Hafemann tend to locate Paul's

43 See ibid., 108.

44 See ibid.

45 See ibid., 107.

purpose as echoing the second giving of the law,[46] one can also see the glory motif in 2 Cor 3 as linking Moses' experience of God's presence in Exod 31 and 33 to Paul's use of Exodus in 2 Cor 3 as an essential factor. Further, it is interesting that while most scholars argue that Paul places the Spirit and glory in opposition to one another in 2 Cor 3, it is the experience of God's Spirit with the people during the Exodus account that is often placed alongside the experience of God's presence. For example, in Exod 31:3, Bezalel is filled with the Spirit of God (πνεῦμα θεῖον), a similar phrase to the depiction of the Spirit of the Living God (πνεύματι θεοῦ ζῶντος) in 2 Cor 3:3 that writes upon the tablet of the people's hearts. The experience of God's presence comes with God's glory for Moses, but this experience of God's presence is transitory, as we see with the pillar of fire and cloud—the manifestation of God's presence—that comes to the people in the wilderness and departs as God pleases. It is perhaps then not the case that Paul is *contrasting* the acquisition of the Spirit to the Mosaic experience, but rather focusing on the *continued and permanent experience* of the Spirit and of God's presence (i.e., his glory) in this new experience for Christians post-Christ's resurrection.[47]

Thus, by careful use of paraphrase that alludes to the Exodus event, Paul is able to facilitate greater interpretive control over his Exodus citations to point to a new lived experience for God's people. Paul's paraphrase demonstrates indirect use via paraphrase of Exod 31, but also may be even greater indirect use of Exodus in its more allusive references to glory throughout 2 Cor 3.

To argue that references to glory and Spirit may be allusions to Exodus moves our discussion from paraphrase to allusion in Porter's categories. This shift to allusion moves Paul's citation a step further into his control of interpretation of Exodus, as Paul is able to intersperse allusions to the event of the Exodus and the figure of Moses to assist his own interpretive purposes. Porter's distinction between paraphrase and allusion play a helpful role here. Porter notes that allusions are not concerned as much with language as with "the bringing of the external person, place, or literary work into the contemporary material."[48] As Paul shifts from paraphrase to allusion in 2 Cor 3:12–18, the figure of Moses and the event of Moses' face being veiled after experiencing God's glory in Exod 34

46 See Hafemann, *Paul, Moses*.

47 This approach has some overlap with Hafemann's arguments regarding Paul's depiction of Moses' ministry in relation to this own. However, my approach is more focused on divine presence and Spirit specifically than Hafemann's approach. See ibid.

48 See Porter, "Further Comments," 109. Here Porter cites M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (4th ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981), 8, *s.v.* "allusion"; Holman, *Handbook to Literature*, 12.

also takes center stage. While the theme of the role of the Spirit in transforming how the Law functioned before is still present, this theme is now depicted with a focus on Moses and his veiling brought into Paul's context in Corinth. Porter's criteria and his notion of a scale of control also explain why the complexity of interpretive issues increase as we move to 2 Cor 3:12–18: Paul's move from paraphrase to allusion has given him more interpretive control and he is innovating the original themes he is now alluding to. As Belleville and others have demonstrated, this innovation involves Paul's interpretive engagement with a wide variety of other sources, which may also be alluded to in this passage.[49] Thus, Porter's criteria help not only to clarify Paul's use of Exodus in terms of the themes of divine presence and divine Spirit, but also provide insightful explanations for Paul's interpretive complexity via precise definitions regarding Paul's use of the Old Testament.

5 Use of Exodus and Divine Presence and Divine Spirit in John's Gospel

Due to the connection between Exodus and New Moses themes in John, discussion of Johannine uses of Exodus are linked to foundational works such as Wayne Meeks's *The Prophet–King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*.[50] Several scholars have explored what Porter calls the "grand thematic narratives" in John's Gospel in ways that focus on the use of Exodus,[51] while others are more focused on the use of the whole Old Testament in John's Gospel, and Exodus is among their sources for analysis. Further discussions of themes such as temple and dwelling places often explore the use of Exodus in John's Gospel to demonstrate their theme.[52] At times these scholars have heeded Porter's warnings, but few have followed his direct advice.[53] Towards that end, this section will use Porter's criteria to explore some of the Exodus references in John's Gospel, but this section will focus specifically on Exodus references that focus on divine presence and divine Spirit rather than other themes such as the Passover or the wilderness wanderings.

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49 Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*.

50 Meeks, *Prophet-King*.

51 Examples include Brunson, *Psalm 118*; Ceresko, "Rhetorical Strategy."

52 Coloe, *Dwelling in the Household of God*; Coloe, *God Dwells with Us*.

53 For example, Hylen, *Allusion and Meaning*, writing in 2005, makes no reference to Porter's concerns from 1997 regarding use of the terms "intertextuality" and "allusion." In 2005 she did not have access to Porter's subsequent works on allusion.

This section will argue that unlike Paul's writings that often reference the Exodus account to highlight God's Spirit alongside God's presence revealed with new glory after Christ's resurrection, in John's Gospel, John references the Exodus account to demonstrate Jesus as the revelation of God's glory and as the divine tabernacling presence of God among us. John consistently links Jesus to Moses, but demonstrates Jesus as a superior revelation to Moses' revelation of God.

5.1 *Formulaic and Direct Quotation*

If one looks for formulaic quotation of Exodus in John's Gospel, one will find a dearth of examples. While John's Gospel is not without formulaic citations, the author uses fewer than the other Gospels, such as Matthew. However, works like Menken's *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel* demonstrate that while there are certainly formulaic and direct quotations of the Old Testament in John's Gospel, the use of Exodus appears more in categories of paraphrase, allusion, and echo. Menken points to a few instances where John potentially directly quotes select words or phrases from Exodus, but in each case these have potential reference to other sources such as the Psalms, and they are so minimal in actual words that it is impossible to determine conclusively that they are really quotations of Exodus.[54] Certainly around the theme of God's presence as described in the Exodus account, the use of formulaic and direct quotation has insubstantial evidence for these categories. Thus, we will focus on the three categories of citation that are increasingly less explicit and that demonstrate more control on the part of the citing author using Porter's scale of control: paraphrase, allusion, and echo.

5.2 *Paraphrase, Allusion, and Echo to Divine Presence and Divine Spirit Themes from Exodus in John*

While Porter has demonstrated that the Passover motif runs throughout John's Gospel,[55] not all of these references to Exodus relate directly to passages

54 For example, Menken argues that John 6:46 is related to Exodus via the concept that no one has seen God. However, Menken debates the direct use of Exodus vs. Psalms. He argues that it is likely Psalms rather than Exodus that is the more direct citation. See Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, 47–65. Menken also tends towards a Psalms citation in John 19:36 over an Exodus reference. See Menken, "Textual Form." Similarly, Menken argues that Ps 78/77:24 appears to be the most likely source for John 6:31 rather than Exod 16. See Menken, "Provenance and Meaning," 41–46.

55 See Porter, "Can Traditional Exegesis Enlighten," later used in Porter, *John, His Gospel, and Jesus*.

referring to divine presence and/or divine Spirit. Further, because as we have already noted that John's Gospel tends towards indirect citation rather than direct citation of Exodus, references to divine presence and divine Spirit may involve slight reference to the text of Exodus itself. This is why for this section of the chapter I am particularly dependent on Porter's 2008 analysis of allusion and echoes to demonstrate the use of Exodus and these particular themes in John's writings.

5.2.1 Paraphrase and Jesus as Bread from Heaven

As we discuss the use of paraphrase, it is essential that we are not merely looking for paraphrase that may point to Moses or the Exodus account, but specifically paraphrase that references the themes of divine presence and divine Spirit in relation to Exodus. Throughout her work on allusion in John 6, Hylen describes "allusion by paraphrase" to Moses in John's Gospel. However, it is vital to note that Hylen's definition of paraphrase and Porter's definition of paraphrase differ substantially. For Hylen "allusion by paraphrase" is a subset of allusion proper, in which another person's story (the allusive character) is adopted to tell the story of someone else. For example, in the case of John 6, Moses' story is adopted to tell Jesus' story.[56] While Hylen's definition differs from Porter's, nonetheless in some of the cases where Hylen designates an allusion by paraphrase to actions of Moses applied to Jesus, the language regarding Moses cited in John 6 also meets Porter's criteria for a paraphrase. For example, John 6:31 is an example of a paraphrase because, despite the formulaic introduction,[57] what is actually cited is indirect rather than direct in its linguistic formulation. The paraphrase may point to Exod 16:4, Neh 9:15, or Ps 78 (77):24–25.[58] Specifically the language of God giving "bread from heaven" (ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) may be a paraphrase of any or all of these passages.

5.2.2 Moses, the Exodus, and Johannine Allusion

While Exod 16:4 represents an experience of God's direct provision in the wilderness, it also preludes the promise of the experience of God's glory revealed to the people in Exod 16:6–12. In fact, Hylen's link between Moses as a figure

56 Hylen, *Allusion and Meaning*, 54. For Hylen's analysis of allusion to Exodus in John 6, see ibid., 120–32.

57 Porter distinguishes formulaic quotation from paraphrase, but Porter's definition of formulaic quotation requires direct word for word correspondence that this citation is lacking. See Porter, "Further Comments," 107.

58 For further discussion of this debate, see Menken, "Provenance and Meaning."

and Jesus' actions in Moses' giving of signs and Jesus' giving of signs[59] also links to this Exod 16 passage; it is by the sign of God's provision of bread from heaven that the people will know "that it was the LORD who brought [them] out of Egypt" (Exod 16:6) and they will know that the Lord is their God (16:12). The giving of this bread from heaven is consistently linked with God's glory in the midst of the people. Exodus 16:7 promises the anticipated arrival of the Lord's glory, and in Exod 16:10 the glory of the Lord appears in a cloud before the people. Thus, it is not only the experience of God's provision, but also the revelation of God's presence in the form of his glory in the cloud that demonstrate the identity of God among the people.

While several scholars have demonstrated that Moses stands as a frequent source of allusion for John, particularly in his depiction of Jesus' identity, fewer scholars have traced specifically Moses' encounters with God's presence and Spirit as alluded to in John's Gospel.[60] Yet John 6, and the larger unit of John 5–9 generally, frequently draw connections between Moses and God's glory that are potential allusions to Moses' repeated encounters with God's presence in Exodus, as we can see in John's use of Exod 16:4–12.[61] Many scholars have noted the role of the Johannine "I Am" statements in revealing Jesus' identity[62] and in the case of John 6 this revelation of Jesus' identity is linked to the revelation of God's presence. In the case of allusion to Moses, this connection is more direct, and John allows the Exodus passage to exert some interpretive control over his usage. However, as we shift from allusion to echo, we find John's use of Exodus in terms of divine presence given greater interpretive freedom as John exerts more interpretive control. Not surprisingly, this creative interpretive shift allows John to speak poetically about Jesus' relation to God's tabernacling presence by way of Exodus echoes.

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59 Hylen, *Allusion and Meaning*, 121.

60 For example, in John 3:15 the reference to Moses lifting the snake in the desert compared to Son of Man lifted up represents an analogical allusion, which may point to the experience of God's presence in the form of healing in Numbers, which is part of the Exodus event, but not described in the book of Exodus. Thus this passage would be out of bounds for our discussion.

61 More could be said of John 5–9 in terms of the links to Moses, God's glory/presence, and God's Spirit, but there is not adequate space to explore extensively here. For example, depictions of Moses are often teamed with discussions of God's glory. Examples include: references to glory in John 5:41, 44, references to Moses in John 5:45, references to glory in John 7:18, to Moses in John 7:19–22 and to Spirit in 7:39, links to Moses and glory in John 8:5, 50, 55, and references to glory in John 9:24 and to Moses in 9:28–29.

62 Okorie, "Self-Revelation of Jesus"; Neyrey, "I Am the Door"; Harner, *The "I Am"*; Ball, *"I Am" in John's Gospel*.

5.2.3 An Exodus Echo of Divine Presence in John 1 and 6

As noted in this section, many of these examples are allusions as they point to a specific person, Moses, and a specific event, the revelation of God's glory in the Exodus event. However, in some cases, in order to draw these connections one must look at the thematic structures built into these passages making aspects of these references more like an echo than a direct allusion. Such appears to be the case with John 1 and 6.

In John 1:14–18, the Exodus event may be alluded to, but the reference is picked up only in three words: tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) and we have seen his glory (ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ) in v. 14 and the reference to the Law given to Moses (ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη) in v. 17. One can note that these two verses are joined by the repeated phrase grace and truth (ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια). In v. 14, these words are used to describe aspects of Christ, and in v. 17 as nouns describing what comes from the Word, Jesus Christ. As noted in our discussion of divine presence and divine Spirit within the Exodus account itself, conceptions of glory and tabernacle often worked hand-in-hand to depict the presence of God in the midst of the people. The LXX version of Exod 33 heightens this use of glory to depict God's presence by translating the both Hebrew words כָּבוֹד (in Exod 33:18 and elsewhere, usually translated "glory" in English) and טוּב (in Exod 33:19, usually translated "goodness") with the single Greek word for glory (δόξα). John 1:14 not only repeats the notion of glory (δόξα) twice, but also speaks of tabernacling (a form of σκηνόω) and the fullness (πλήρης) of grace and truth in Christ. The language of glory (δόξα), tabernacle (σκηνή), and fullness (ἐπλήσθη from the same πλη- root) are also present in the LXX version of Exod 40:34–35 where the *glory* of the Lord *fills* the tabernacle. The language of fullness returns in John 1:16 as "out of this fullness" (ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος) we receive grace. It is possible that John is echoing God's self description in Exod 34:6–7 here. For while John uses the Greek χάρις, which is not used to translate God's graciousness in Exod 34:6 LXX, John rarely uses the word ἔλεος and its derivatives anywhere in his writings, which is the word used in the LXX. John frequently replaces LXX uses of ἔλεος with the term χάρις. However, such an echo is weak enough that it is difficult to prove such authorial intent conclusively (a key measure within Porter's criteria).

John 1:18 may point to the experience in Exod 33 of God holding back his full presence from Moses, but this interpretation of v. 18 only comes as an echo to the more direct allusions of vv. 14 and 17. Verse 18 appears to be linking seeing the glory (ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν) in v. 14 with seeing God (θεὸν . . . ἑώρακεν) in v. 18. The echo is linked additionally by the double use of "one and only" (μονογενὴς) and "Father" (πατρὸς) in v. 14 and v. 18. Menken has argued that this emphasis on Jesus as the one who reveals the Father and who is the ultimate

revelation of God is one of the key purposes of John's use of the Old Testament in his Gospel.[63]

John 6:46 appears to echo John 1:18 regarding the concept of no one seeing God except Jesus Christ in its statement that no one has seen the Father except the one who comes from God. While scholars like Menken argue against Exodus as the most likely allusion here, if one reads John 6:46 in light of John 1:14 and 18 as well as in its context of direct allusion to Moses via the bread of life motif in John 6, one is more likely to conclude at least an echo if not a direct allusion to Exod 32 in John 6:46. In the comparison below, the highlighted words demonstrate potential links between the passages.

> John 1:14: Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ **ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ**, δόξαν ὡς **μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός,** πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας.
> John 1:18: **θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε· μονογενὴς θεὸς** ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον **τοῦ πατρὸς** ἐκεῖνος **ἐξηγήσατο**
> John 6:46: **οὐχ** ὅτι **τὸν πατέρα ἑώρακέν** τις εἰ μὴ ὁ ὢν **παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ**, οὗτος **ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα.**
> Exod 33:18–19a, 21, 23 LXX: καὶ λέγει **Δεῖξόν μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν.** 19 καὶ εἶπεν Ἐγὼ **παρελεύσομαι πρότερός σου τῇ δόξῃ μου**…καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ ἰδεῖν μου τὸ πρόσωπον· **οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου** καὶ ζήσεται. καὶ ἀφελῶ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ τότε ὄψῃ τὰ ὀπίσω μου, **τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ὀφθήσεταί σοι.**

This illustrates what Bynum has argued, that one of John's means of creating linkages with the Old Testament is through "key-word insertion." Bynum notes that at times this key-word insertion moves John to using both the LXX and Hebrew text in his allusions. While Bynum does not use the concept of echo or allusion here, he speaks of John's "desire to evoke within the memory of his hearers" an additional context and content.[64] This would fit with Porter's clarification that allusion "draws upon a common pool of shared knowledge."[65] Yet the insertion of these words in John 6 is unspecific enough that they appear to be more of an echo than a direct allusion.

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63 Menken, "Observations."

64 Bynum, *Fourth Gospel and the Scriptures*, 120–22.

65 Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," 35–36.

5.3 *Conclusions on John's Use of Exodus and Jesus as God's Presence among His People*

Like Paul, John exerts his interpretive control by moving from paraphrase to allusion to echo, but in John's case the purpose of this shift is the revelation of Jesus' identity as the ultimate revelation of God's presence (i.e., his glory). John uses allusion and paraphrase to depict Jesus in terms of Moses, both in terms of similarity and by means of contrast. John's depiction of Jesus' tabernacling presence among his people uses the form of echo to exercise greater interpretive control so that he can join suggestive aspects of the Exodus experience to Jesus' identity as the one sent from God who demonstrates the fullness of God's presence among us.

6 Overall Conclusions and a Way Forward

This essay has demonstrated the continuing value of Porter's criteria for studying the use of the Old Testament in the New. By using Porter's criteria on specific themes of divine presence and divine Spirit, and by narrowing our approach to focus only on citation of Exodus to convey these themes in the writings of Paul and John, we have been able to demonstrate not only ways forward in understanding how divine presence and divine Spirit are uniquely depicted in Paul's and John's writings, but also to suggest greater methodological clarity regarding why Paul's and John's writings show increased interpretive complexity in particular aspects of their Exodus usage. Yet this analysis is limited by its length in its ability to explore the theme of divine presence and divine Spirit in John's and Paul's writings with the breadth and scope that a longer study might provide. Using Porter's criteria for continued exploration of these themes in a larger project may be able to prove with greater depth and clarity not only the theological value of the themes of divine presence and divine Spirit in the writings of Paul and John, but also the enduring quality of Porter's scholarship on the use of the Old Testament in the New.

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