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"UNTIL THIS DAY"
AND THE PREEXILIC REDACTION
OF THE DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY

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Over a century ago Abraham Kuenen identified two distinct strata in the book of Kings.[1] In one stratum, he observed that the phrase "until this day" both confirms realities no longer true after the exile and occurs in passages bound to the very structure of the book (2 Kgs 8:16–24; 14:1–7; 16:1–9)—a structure Kuenen attributed to a Deuteronomistic redactor (his Rd[1]).[2] His analysis of other occurrences of "until this day" in Kings led him to conclude that they all derived from Rd[1]—a conclusion that was subsequently embraced by Julius Wellhausen, and, when combined with Martin Noth's landmark study a half century later, helped lay the foundation for Frank Moore Cross's theory of a dual redaction of the Deuteronomistic History (DH).[3] Since Cross's original studies, the theory of a dual redaction of the DH has had numerous defenders and now stands on firmer evidentiary ground.[4] The purpose of this article is

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[1] Abraham Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des alten Testaments* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1892; Dutch original, Leiden, 1861–65), 1:90–91.

[2] Ibid., 1:91.

[3] Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des alten Testaments* (4th ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963; 1st ed., 1866), 298–99; Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981; German original, Halle: Niemeyer, 1943); Frank Moore Cross, "The Structure of Deuteronomic History," in *Perspectives in Jewish Learning* (Annual of the College of Jewish Studies 3; Chicago: College of Jewish Studies, 1968), 9–24; idem, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274–89.

[4] See, e.g., the early studies of R. E. Friedman (*The Exile and Biblical Narrative* [HSM 22; Decatur, GA: Scholars Press, 1981]) and R. D. Nelson (*The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* [JSOTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981]). Cross's theory of a double redaction of the DH, in general, and his proposal of a Josianic edition, in particular, have since found wide acceptance among scholars, although oftentimes with modifications. See, e.g., M. Cogan, "Israel in Exile—The View of a Josianic Historian," *JBL* 97 (1978): 40–44; R. G. Boling, *Joshua: A New*

not to retread this ground but to pick up where Kuenen left off in identifying the source of "until this day" not just for Kings but for the whole of the DH. Although the only study devoted solely to this phrase has argued that "until this day" derives from "many different redactors,"[5] there are compelling reasons to assign this phrase to one redactor: the Deuteronomistic Historian (Dtr), who employed "until this day" as his own personal witness to geographical, political, and cultic realities mentioned in his sources that still existed at the time of his historical enterprise. Moreover, the evidence of "until this day" indicates that the Dtr was active during the reign of Josiah and that his preexilic history contained most of what we now have before us (as Cross originally argued). Finally, the Dtr's use of "until this day" suggests that, when compiling the DH, he sought to represent the interests of both the Judean monarchy and the Levitical priesthood.

Translation with Notes and Commentary, with introduction by G. E. Wright (AB 6; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982); S. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984); idem, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTSup 42; Leiden: Brill, 1991); M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 11; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988); G. N. Knoppers, *Two Nations Under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies* (HSM 52, 53; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994); and A. F. Campbell and M. A. O'Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000). Cross's original theory also has undergone more significant changes in recent years. Most notably, a number of scholars have argued for an earlier Hezekian history. See, e.g., B. Halpern, "Sacred History and Ideology: Chronicles' Thematic Structure—Indications of an Earlier Source," in *The Creation of Sacred Literature: Composition and Redaction of the Biblical Text* (ed. R. E. Friedman; Near Eastern Studies 22; Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 35–54; B. Halpern and D. S. Vanderhooft, "The Editions of Kings in the 7th–6th Centuries BCE," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 179–244; and I. W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings: A Contribution to the Debate about the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (BZAW 172. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988). Conversely, both before and since Cross's study, Noth's theory of a unified DH has been revised by some scholars to include multiple exilic redactions. See, e.g., the work of the so-called Göttingen school: R. Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie* (ed. H. W. Wolff; Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 494–509; idem, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978); W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte* (FRLANT 108; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); idem, "David in Überlieferung und Geschichte," *VF* 22 (1977): 44–64; idem, "Josia und das Gesetzbuch (2 Reg. XXII)," *VT* 27 (1977): 13–35; T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (AASF B 193; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975); idem, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (AASF B 198; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977). Other approaches to the DH, including those that question its independent existence altogether, are too many to list here. For a fairly representative sample of approaches to the DH, see *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (ed. T. Römer; BETL 147; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000).

    5 B. S. Childs, "A Study of the Formula 'Until This Day,'" *JBL* 82 (1963): 279–92.

I. The Redactional Nature of "Until This Day"
in the Deuteronomistic History

In his 1963 *JBL* article "A Study of the Formula 'Until This Day,'" Brevard S. Childs demonstrates on linguistic grounds that "until this day," in nearly all of its occurrences, "has been secondarily added as a redactional commentary on existing traditions."[6] In light of its redactional nature, Childs argues that the biblical historian employed "until this day" much as his Greek and Roman counterparts used similar formulae: to validate "some aspect of the tradition which can still be verified in his own time." Childs writes: "In our opinion, the use of the formula in the OT is closely paralleled to this latter usage, namely, to the historian's personal witness." To answer the question of who is responsible for this formula of personal testimony, Childs turns to source analysis, where he observes that "until this day" appears across a variety of literary strata. This variety is nowhere more obvious than in the books of Kings, about which Childs writes:

> The formula appears in material most likely from the source styled the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kgs 11:41; cf. 8:8; 9:21), from material in the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (2 Kgs 8:23; cf. 2 Kgs 8:22; 10:27, etc.), from a collection of prophetic narratives (2 Kgs 2:2), and only infrequently from the Deuteronomistic historian (2 Kgs 17:23, 34).

Based on the diversity of sources in which "until this day" appears, Childs concludes that "the formula reflects the age of many different redactors."

Since Childs's study, the redactional nature of "until this day" has been widely accepted, and even further elucidated, by subsequent scholarship.[7] However, Childs's determination that "until this day" derives from a variety of different redactors has not received much attention, even though his reasons for this conclusion are problematic.

For example, if "until this day" is redactional, then we would expect it to occur across a number of sources whether it has been inserted by one hand or many. The observation that "until this day" is found in so many sources is insufficient grounds for concluding that it comes from numerous redactors. In fact, it may very well indicate the opposite: someone with access to all of these sources inserted the phrase whenever he encountered something still existing at the time of his editorial work.

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[6] Ibid., 290. The following quotations from Childs's article are from pp. 291–92.

[7] See, e.g., Boling, *Joshua;* R. D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997); Boling, *Judges: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (AB 6A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), André Caquot and Philippe de Robert, *Les Livres de Samuel* (CAT 6; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1994); Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings.*

Another reason to reconsider Childs's conclusions is that he does not address the findings of Kuenen, who determined that "until this day" in Kings derives from a single Deuteronomistic redactor. Indeed, Childs himself notes that "until this day" in a number of cases, both in Kings and elsewhere, derives from the Deuteronomistic Historian. More recently, Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor have concluded that, at least for 2 Kings, "until this day" belongs to a preexilic Deuteronomistic redactor (their Dtr[1]).[8] Therefore, the question of how many redactors are responsible for "until this day" in the books of Kings or any of the other books making up the DH needs to be reexamined.

II. Source Analysis and "Until This Day" in the Deuteronomistic History

Childs's determination that "until this day" appears in so many sources in Kings requires that we identify, as far as possible, the other sources in which this phrase appears throughout the DH.[9] The findings are fascinating yet predictable, especially when the redactional nature of this phrase has been determined and the Dtr has been identified as one of its sources (see figure 1 on pp. 206–7).

Most significantly, "until this day" occurs in every source believed to make up the DH—whether northern or southern, annalistic or literary.[10] While we

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[8] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 96, 214. Cogan and Tadmor's reasons for assigning "until this day" in 2 Kings to Dtr[1] will be addressed below.

[9] Used in etiological contexts (the focus of this study), "until this day" appears six times in Genesis (19:37, 38; 26:33; 32:33; 35:20; 47:26), ten times in Chronicles (five of which repeat material from Samuel–Kings: 1 Chr 4:41, 43; 5:26; 13:11 [= 2 Sam 6:8]; 2 Chr 5:9 [= 1 Kgs 8:8]; 8:8 [= 1 Kgs 9:21]; 10:19 [= 1 Kgs 12:19]; 20:26; 21:10 [= 2 Kgs 8:22]; 35:25) and once in Ezekiel (20:29). For a treatment of "until this day" in these other contexts, see J. C. Geoghegan, "Until Whose Day? A Study of the Phrase 'Until This Day' in the Deuteronomistic History" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1999).

[10] The "Acts of Solomon" (1 Kgs 11:41), "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (1 Kgs 14:29; 15:7, 23; 22:46; 2 Kgs 8:23; 12:20; 14:18; 15:6; etc.), and "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (1 Kgs 14:19; 15:31; 16:5, 14, 20, 27; 22:39; 2 Kgs 1:18; 10:34; 13:8; etc.) are biblical terms for what seem to be royal annals. For the identification of the "Ark Narrative," see L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David* (Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship 1; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982; German original, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* [BWANT 3/6; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1926]); A. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam 4–6; 2 Sam 6): A Form-Critical and Traditio-Historical Study* (SBLDS 16; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975); McCarter, *I Samuel,* 23–26; G. Ahlström, "The Travels of the Ark: A Religio-Political Composition" *JNES* 43 (1984): 141–49. For the "History of David's Rise," see Rost, *Succession to the Throne;* N. P. Lemche, "David's Rise," *JSOT* 10 (1978): 2–25; McCarter, *I Samuel,* 27–30. For the "Succession Narrative," see Rost, *Succession to the Throne;* R. N. Whybray, *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Samuel 9–20; I Kings 1 and 2* (SBT 2/9; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1968); McCarter, *II Samuel,*

might call into question the exact parameters of some of these sources, even their independent existence, the conclusion remains the same: "until this day" cuts across the whole of the DH.[11] It may be that this phrase was of such common stock that multiple redactors employed it, thereby explaining its ubiquitous nature. Yet it is difficult to reconstruct the circumstances under which *every* redactor would choose to confirm the persistence of geographical, political, or cultic realities described in their sources by means of the exact same phrase and with the exact same grammatical peculiarities as those identified by Childs.[12] Although such a reconstruction is possible, as we will see in a moment, this is not where the evidence leads.

III. The Geographical Perspective of "Until This Day" in the Deuteronomistic History

Also suggesting that a minimum number of redactional hands is responsible for "until this day" in the DH is that the overwhelming majority of objects said to exist "until this day" reflect a common geographical perspective—*southern* (see figure 2).[13] In fact, its use betrays a detailed knowledge of the south. For example, "until this day" confirms the persistence of: (1) a pile of stones near the Jordan River (Josh 4:9), (2) a pile of stones in the valley of Achor (Josh 7:26), (3) the scattered remains of the city of Ai (Josh 8:28), (4) a pile of stones over the king of Ai (Josh 8:29), (5) a pile of stones covering the mouth of a cave

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9–16. For the "Prophetic Cycle" and "Elijah-Elisha Cycle," see S. L. McKenzie, "The Prophetic History in Kings," *HAR* 9 (1985): 203–23. The exact parameters, even the independent existence, of any one of these sources are matters of ongoing debate, and do not affect our overall observations that "until this day" is present in every major literary unit across the DH. For a recent discussion of the existence or absence of the so-called Succession Narrative, for example, see S. Frolov, "Succession Narrative: A 'Document' or a Phantom?" *JBL* 121 (2002): 81–104.

[11] The only source in which our phrase might be said not to appear is the Priestly stratum in Joshua as identified by S. R. Driver and others (S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892], 150). At present there is no scholarly consensus on the presence of P outside of the Tetrateuch, although see the recent defense of P's presence in Joshua (and elsewhere in the DH) by T. C. Römer and M. Z. Brettler ("Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch," *JBL* 119 [2000]: 401–19).

[12] Of its forty-three occurrences in the DH, only twice do we find a variant formula (Josh 10:27; 2 Kgs 10:27). In Josh 10:27 the formula is the longer עַד־עֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, which in this context has the same meaning as the normal phrase (cf. Josh 4:9; 7:26; and 8:29 for other rock memorials existing "until this day"). 2 Kings 10:27 has the shorter formula עַד־הַיּוֹם, again with the same meaning as עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה and with strong textual evidence for the fuller phrase (LXX, Targumim, Vulgate and several Hebrew manuscripts).

[13] "Southern" here refers to the tribal territories of Judah and Benjamin, which, as we will see below, were part of the same political entity (the kingdom of Judah) at the time indicated by "until this day."

Deut	Joshua	Judges	Samuel		
			AN	HDR	SN
Deut 2:22 Deut 3:14 Deut 10:8 Deut 34:6					
	Josh 4:9 Josh 5:9 Josh 6:25 Josh 7:26 Josh 7:26 Josh 8:28 Josh 8:29 Josh 9:27 Josh 10:27 Josh 13:13 Josh 14:14 Josh 15:63 Josh 16:10				
		Judg 1:21 Judg 1:26 Judg 6:24 Judg 10:4 Judg 15:19 Judg 18:12			
			1 Sam 5:5 1 Sam 6:18		
				1 Sam 27:6 1 Sam 30:25 2 Sam 4:3	
			2 Sam 6:8		
					2 Sam 18:18

AN = Ark Narrative   **HDR** = History of David's Rise
SN = Succession Narrative

Figure 1. "Until This Day"

Kings					
AS	**PC**	**EC**	**CKJ**	**CKI**	**DTR**
1 Kgs 8:8 1 Kgs 9:13 1 Kgs 9:21 1 Kgs 10:12	1Kgs 12:19	2 Kgs 2:22	2 Kgs 8:22 2 Kgs 14:7 2 Kgs 16:6	2 Kgs 10:27	2 Kgs 17:23 2 Kgs 17:34 2 Kgs 17:41

AS = Acts of Solomon   **PC** = Prophetic Cycle   **EC** = Elijah-Elisha Cycle
CKJ = Chronicles of the Kings of Judah   **CKI** = Chronicles of the Kings of Israel

by Source in the Deuteronomistic History

**Figure 2. Geographical Data of "Until this Day"
in the Deuteronomistic History**

at Makkedah (Josh 10:27), (6) a single rock in a field at Beth-Shemesh (1 Sam 6:18), (7) a spring at Lehi called "Spring of the Caller" (Judg 15:19), and (8) a monument in the King's Valley called "Absalom's Pillar" (2 Sam 18:18). In contrast, three of the five northern locations said to exist "until this day" are large geographical areas consisting of numerous cities (Deut 3:14; Josh 13:13; Judg 10:4), not individual objects or sites. The only individual objects said to persist "until this day" in the north are an altar to Yahweh at Ophrah (Judg 6:24) and the destroyed altar and temple of Baal in Samaria (2 Kgs 10:27), the connection between which will become clear below.

IV. The Preexilic Provenance of "Until This Day" in the Deuteronomistic History

Not only does "until this day" appear across the DH and reflect a singular geographical perspective, but, as Kuenen and others have observed, whenever there is a time indicated by this phrase, it is *preexilic.* Moreover, these preexilic notices further confirm the southern perspective of the one(s) employing "until this day": (1) Israel and Edom are still "in rebellion" against the kingdom of Judah (1 Kgs 12:19; 2 Kgs 8:22); (2) the "kings of Judah" still have ownership over Ziklag (1 Sam 27:6); (3) non-Israelite forced labor is still used in connection with the temple (Josh 9:27; cf. 1 Kgs 9:21); (4) the Levites still have responsibility for bearing the ark of the covenant (Deut 10:8); (5) the poles of the ark still protrude from the holy of holies in the temple (1 Kgs 8:8), and (6) almug wood is still visible on the temple edifice, the royal palace, and certain temple instruments (1 Kgs 10:12). Most, if not all, of these items cannot properly be said to exist after Jerusalem's destruction by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E., and nothing said to persist "until this day" requires or even suggests an exilic or postexilic date.

V. "Until This Day" and Deuteronomistic Language

The evidence outlined above, although important for narrowing the source of "until this day," is not enough to show that this phrase derives from a single hand, let alone from the hand of a Deuteronomistic redactor. What is required is the identification of specific Deuteronomistic interests and language used in connection with "until this day." In other words, if "until this day" is redactional and derives from the Dtr, then we would expect to find other Deuteronomistic material in its proximity.[14] And, in fact, we do.

[14] For the purposes of this study, the identification of "Deuteronomistic" material will be based primarily upon the studies of S. R. Driver (*Introduction,* 91–96), Noth (*Deuteronomistic His-*

In Josh 9:27, for example, "until this day" appears immediately before the redactional comment "at the place he would choose"—an addition invariably ascribed to the Dtr:[15] "And Joshua made them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh *until this day at the place he would choose*." Both "until this day" and "at the place he would choose" are redactional, fitting uncomfortably into the grammatical structure of the sentence. Specifically, Joshua's past action is extended to the historian's present by the addition of "until this day" and is localized at the temple by the addition of "at the place he would choose." As we will see below, "until this day" is the historian's witness to the use of non-Israelite forced labor in connection with the temple during his own day, while "at the place he will choose" reflects his concern for centralized worship.[16] As we will also see below, the addition of Deuteronomistic material immediately after "until this day" is an editorial technique repeated numerous times by the Dtr throughout his history.

In Josh 14:14 "until this day" is immediately followed by another telltale sign of the Dtr's editorial activity: "Therefore Hebron belongs to Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite as an inheritance *until this day because he followed fully after Yahweh the God of Israel*." Although Moshe Weinfeld suggests that the expression to follow "fully after Yahweh" originates from the pentateuchal traditions surrounding Caleb (Num 14:24; 32:11, 12), he affirms that its presence in this passage and elsewhere in the DH (Josh 14:8, 9; 1 Kgs 11:6) derives from a Deuteronomistic redactor (cf. Deut 1:36).[17] Even Childs, who ascribes "until this day" to many different redactors, notes that this passage reflects "a theological doctrine of the deuteronomist."[18]

Given the presence of "trademark" Deuteronomistic phrases, these two examples of the Dtr's editorial use of "until this day" are fairly straightforward. Other cases are less obvious, though no less important for establishing the Dtr's editorial technique of inserting material reflecting his own particular interests immediately after his use of "until this day."

In Josh 6 "until this day" is immediately followed by the curse on anyone who would rebuild Jericho (Josh 6:25–26): "And [Rahab] settled in the midst of Israel *until this day. And at that time Joshua swore this oath: "Cursed be the man before Yahweh who determines to rebuild this city Jericho. With his first-*

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tory, 36, 93, 98), and M. Weinfeld (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972], 142, 167 n. 3, 324, 337).

[15] Driver, *Introduction,* 100; Noth, *Deuteronomistic History,* 38; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 324.

[16] See Deut 12:5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; 14:23, 24, 25; 15:20; 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 23:17; 26:2; 31:11.

[17] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 78, 337.

[18] Childs, "Until This Day," 287.

born he will lay its foundations and with his youngest he will establish its doors." That "until this day" is redactional is apparent by the way it extends Rahab's past action to the historian's present. That "until this day" and the material that follows belong to the Dtr is suggested by his appeal to this curse later in his history (1 Kgs 16:34):[19] "In [Ahab's] days, Hiel of Bethel rebuilt Jericho. He laid its foundations with Abiram his firstborn and he established its doors with Segub his youngest, according to the word of Yahweh, which he spoke by the hand of Joshua the son of Nun." The phrase "according to the word of Yahweh which he spoke by the hand of PN" is the Dtr's characteristic way of highlighting a fulfilled prophecy (cf. 1 Kgs 13:26; 14:18; 15:29; 16:12; 17:16; etc.) and reflects his concern for the efficacy of the prophetic word (cf. Deut 18:20–21). Significantly, this concern shows up again in connection with "until this day" in 2 Kings: "And the water has been healed *until this day according to the word which Elisha spoke*" (2 Kgs 2:22).

Related to the Dtr's use of "until this day" in Josh 6:25–26 is his use of "at that time," which serves to bring the action of the narrative back to Joshua's time, having been offset by the Dtr's insertion of "until this day." The Dtr uses a similar technique in 2 Kgs 8:22: "And Edom rebelled from under the hand of Judah *until this day.* Then Libnah rebelled *at that time.*" Concerning this particular passage, Cogan and Tadmor have argued that not only "until this day" and "at that time" but also "then" are time notices added by the Dtr, the latter two being evidence of his use of preexisting materials in constructing his history:

> These words are opening formulae which introduce quotations from earlier, perhaps archival, sources. Assyrian and Babylonian historical literature display a similar phenomenon, in which the phrases *ina tarṣi* PN, "in the days of PN" and *ina umišuma,* "at that time" (lit. "in his days") signal verbatim quotations from chronicles.[20]

Returning to the book of Joshua, in Josh 8:28 Ai is described as a "tel of perpetual (or "ancient") desolation until this day" (תֵּל־עוֹלָם שְׁמָמָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה), a phrase that Weinfeld observes reflects the "deuteronomic descriptions of the destruction of cities" (the only other occurrence of תֵּל עוֹלָם in the Bible is in Deut 13:17).[21] In Josh 10:27, "until this day" is followed by a description of the ban (vv. 28–43), which Weinfeld notes is "based on the law of the ban in Deut

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[19] For the attribution of 1 Kgs 16:34 to the Dtr, see John Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 334–35; and Cogan, *I Kings,* 421–23..

[20] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings,* 186; see also J. A. Montgomery, "Archival Data in the Book of Kings," *JBL* 53 (1934): 46–52.

[21] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 142.

20:10ff" and which is "formulated in distinct deuteronomic phraseology."[22]
This association between the ban and "until this day" would also explain why
the Dtr points the reader to the persistence of Achan's grave "until this day"
(Josh 7:26), as this pile of rubble would provide a sobering example of what can
happen to those who violate this prohibition.

Another connection between Josh 7:26 (Achan's burial place) and 10:27
(the five kings' burial place) is that "until this day" in both passages testifies to
the continuing presence of stone memorials in Israel, suggesting that similar
uses of this phrase in Joshua also belong to the Dtr, especially given the similar-
ities and proximity of these notices. Beyond the monument of twelve stones
commemorating Israel's crossing of the Jordan (Josh 4:9, which we will discuss
below), the only other stone memorial said to exist "until this day" in Joshua is
the grave of the king of Ai (Josh 8:29), a passage with clear affinities to the
notice concerning Achan's grave: "And they erected over him [Achan] a large
pile of stones until this day" (Josh 7:26a); "And they erected over him [the king
of Ai] a large pile of stones until this day" (Josh 8:29b).

Aside from the obvious grammatical similarities between these two verses,
there are compelling reasons for ascribing "until this day" to the same redac-
tional hand, in general, and to the Dtr, in particular. In Josh 7:26 "until this day"
is followed by Yahweh's admonition, "Do not fear or be dismayed" (Josh 8:1),
which in the DH appears only in material belonging to the Dtr: the prologue
(Deut 1:21) and epilogue (Deut 31:8) of Deuteronomy and in Josh 10:25.[23] And
in Josh 8:29, "until this day" is followed by six verses describing Joshua's build-
ing of the altar on Mount Ebal and the reading of the law, which specifically ful-
fills Moses' words in Deut 27:1–8. Noth rightly concludes that Josh 8:30–35 is
material the Dtr "added himself."[24]

VI. "Until This Day" and Deuteronomistic Interests

Although these initial observations suggest that "until this day" belongs to
the Dtr in Joshua (so far we have accounted for eight of its eleven appearances
in this book, and will account for the remaining three below) and selected pas-
sages in 2 Kings (we have accounted for two of its eight appearances in this

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[22] Ibid., 167 n. 3; cf. Deut 2:34–35; 3:6–7; 7:2; 13:16–17; 20:14–17.

[23] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 344. Cf. אַל־תַּעֲרֹץ וְאַל־תֵּחָת (Josh
1:9; cf. Deut 7:21) and the positive חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ (Deut 31:7, 23; Josh 1:6, 7, 9, 18), both of which derive
from the Dtr.

[24] Noth, *Deuteronomistic History,* 93; see also Driver, *Introduction,* 94, 100; and Weinfeld,
Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, 171, 339, regarding the Deuteronomistic language
in these verses.

book and will cover the remaining six below), it is the use of "until this day" across the DH to refer to the same or similar matters—matters of central concern to the Dtr, no less—that establishes that "this day" is the Dtr's day.

Havvoth Jair

In both Deut 3:14 and Judg 10:4, "until this day" is used to verify the persistence of the name Havvoth Jair, even though these narratives differ on the exact location of this region and on how it got its name. Deuteronomy places the region of Havvoth Jair in the Bashan and traces its name to "Jair the son of Manasseh," while Judges locates Havvoth Jair in Gilead and attributes its name to "Jair the Gileadite":

> Jair the son of Manasseh took the whole region of Argob as far as the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and he named them—that is the Bashan—according to his name, Havvoth Jair, until this day. (Deut 3:14)

> And he [Jair the Gileadite] had thirty children who rode upon thirty donkeys, and they had thirty towns. These they named Havvoth Jair until this day which are in the land of Gilead. (Judg 10:4)

Weinfeld has argued that Judg 10 reflects the older tradition and that the Deuteronom(ist)ic tendency to extend this territory to the Bashan and to increase its number of settlements from thirty to sixty suggests that Havvoth Jair was important to Deuteronomistic circles.[25] Weinfeld's observations are important to our study because they explain why "until this day," which is used almost exclusively for southern entities, would be employed in the context of a northern site. Yet Weinfeld's views are also confirmed by our study, since not only is "until this day" used in connection with Havvoth Jair in these two passages, but it appears again in relation to this same region in Josh 13:13, which, like Deut 3:14, mentions the Geshurites and Maacathites: "And the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maacathites. And Geshur and Maacah live in the midst of Israel until this day" (Josh 13:13). That "until this day" in Josh 13:13 belongs to the Dtr is suggested not only by its affinities with similar notices already ascribed to the Dtr in the book of Joshua (see Josh 6:25: "And she [Rahab] lives in the midst of Israel until this day"), but also because it is followed by a notice regarding the inheritance of the Levites, a group that, as we will see momentarily, is of central concern to this historian:[26] "Only to the tribe of Levi he did not give an inheritance. The fire offerings to Yahweh the God of Israel are his inheritance, as he said to him" (Josh 13:14).[27]

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[25] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy,* 185. For similar reasons, he ascribes the addition "and all of Havvoth Jair in Bashan, sixty cities" in Josh 13:30 to a Deuteronomistic scribe.

[26] Boling also ascribes Josh 13:13b–14 to Dtr (*Joshua,* 340).

[27] While to some אִשֵּׁי יְהוָה is usually a mark of P, there are several pieces of evidence arguing

Suggesting that this notice concerning the Levites' inheritance is the work of Dtr is that a similar notice appears in Deuteronomy, where it again immediately follows "until this day":

> At that time Yahweh set apart the tribe of Levi to carry the Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh, to stand before Yahweh, to minister to him and to bless in his name *until this day. Therefore, the Levites do not have a portion and an inheritance with his brothers. Yahweh is his inheritance, as Yahweh your God said to him.* (Deut 10:8–9)

The reason that the Levites, their inheritance, and the far northern region of Havvoth Jair are important to Dtr will become evident below.

The Use of Non-Israelite Forced Labor (לְמַס־עֹבֵד)

The Hebrew word for forced labor (מַס) occurs fifteen times in the DH,[28] but the phrase לְמַס־עֹבֵד occurs only twice, and, not coincidentally, both times it appears with "until this day." In Josh 16:10, those whom the Israelites did not remove from the land were subjected to forced labor (לְמַס־עֹבֵד) "until this day," while in 1 Kgs 9:21 the descendants of those whom the children of Israel were unable to destroy "Solomon brought up for forced labor (לְמַס־עֹבֵד) until this day." The closest linguistic parallel to the phrase לְמַס־עֹבֵד in the DH occurs in Deuteronomy itself when describing how to treat those who surrender peaceably:

> When you draw near to a city to wage war against it, offer it peace. And if it accepts your offer of peace and opens itself to you, then all the people who are found in it will become for you forced labor and they will serve you (לָמַס וַעֲבָדוּךָ). (Deut 20:10–11)

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against assigning this particular notice to P. First, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל never occurs in P. Second, we have already encountered the phrase יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in Josh 14:14, which similarly has to do with inheritance rights and which shows signs of Deuteronomistic influence ("because he followed fully after Yahweh"). In fact, as we will see below, inheritance rights—especially those of the Levites, but including the inheritance rights of others—is a demonstrably Deuteronomistic concern. Third, the closest parallel to Josh 13:14 is Deut 18:1, which seems to be the impetus behind the notice in Josh 13:14:

<div align="center">

לֹא־יִהְיֶה לַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם כָּל־שֵׁבֶט לֵוִי חֵלֶק וְנַחֲלָה
עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל אִשֵּׁי יְהוָה וְנַחֲלָתוֹ יֹאכֵלוּן

</div>

That Deut 18:1 is not from P seems confirmed by the reference to the Levites as "Levitical priests" (כֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם), which is not a term used in P for the Levites. In fact, this term is Deuteronom(ist)ic and appears again in connection with "until this day" in the description of the Levites bearing the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (Josh 8:33), another central concern of the one employing our phrase (see under "The Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh," below).

[28] Deut 20:11; Josh 16:10; 17:13; Judg 1:28, 30, 33, 35; 2 Sam 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:27 (2x), 28; 9:15, 21; 12:18.

That "until this day" in Josh 16:10 and 1 Kgs 9:21 is related to Deut 20 is suggested not only by similarities in vocabulary (לְמַס־עֹבֵד and לְמַס וַעֲבָדוּךָ) and subject matter (non-Israelite forced labor) but also because the only other reference to the subjection of Canaanites persisting "until this day" is in a narrative clearly informed by Deut 20, where the Dtr's hand is clearly at work. The Canaanites (the Gibeonites) surrender peaceably (albeit, deceitfully) and are made forced laborers: "And Joshua made [the Gibeonites] hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh *until this day at the place he would choose*" (Josh 9:27). In these cases, the Dtr employs "until this day" to account for the presence of foreign forced laborers at the temple during his own day.

The Failure to Drive Out the Inhabitants of the Land

Related to the Deuteronomistic interest in non-Israelite forced labor—actually incumbent upon it—are the notices of Israel's failure to dispossess the original inhabitants of the land "until this day," some of which have been discussed above. Following is the complete list:

1. And the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maacathites. And Geshur and Maacah live in the midst of Israel until this day. (Josh 13:13)

2. And the children of Judah were unable to dispossess the Jebusites living in Jerusalem. And the Jebusites live with the children of Judah in Jerusalem until this day. (Josh 15:63)

3. And they did not dispossess the Canaanites living in Gezer. And the Canaanites live in the midst of Ephraim until this day, and they have become forced labor. (Josh 16:10)

4. And the children of Benjamin did not dispossess the Jebusites living in Jerusalem. And the Jebusites live with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem until this day. (Judg 1:21)

5. Their children who remained after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were unable to destroy, these Solomon brought up for forced labor until this day. (1 Kgs 9:21)

We have already observed that in nos. 1 (Josh 13:13, which is followed by the inheritance of the Levites), 3 (Josh 16:10, which refers to לְמַס־עֹבֵד), and 5 (1 Kgs 9:21, which also refers to לְמַס־עֹבֵד) there are compelling reasons for assigning "until this day" to the Dtr. Therefore, explaining why the instances of "until this day" in nos. 2 and 4 do not belong to the Dtr seems the greater challenge, especially since nos. 2, 3, and 4 represent consecutive uses of our phrase, and since "until this day" in no. 1 is separated from no. 2 only by Josh 14:14,

where the Dtr's editorial activity is patent ("until this day because he followed fully after Yahweh"). However, their proximity and similarities to these other uses are not the only reasons for assigning "until this day" in nos. 2 and 4 to the Dtr.

Both Josh 15:63 and Judg 1:21 testify to the same thing: the presence of Jebusites in Jerusalem. Yet, as with the notices regarding Havvoth Jair, the details differ. In Josh 15:63 Judah is given responsibility for the continuing Jebusite presence in Jerusalem, while in Judg 1:21 Benjamin is faulted. As in the case of Havvoth Jair, the historian adds his notice of continuity to each tradition despite their differences in detail because his main concern is verifying what persists "until this day," not reconciling the discrepancies among the accounts describing their origins. We will return to the subject of the historian's methodology below. Further establishing that "until this day" in Josh 16:53 and Judg 1:21 belongs to the Dtr is that these are not the only passages where "until this day" describes the Jebusites' continuing presence in Jerusalem. This idea is found also in no. 5, which we have already assigned to the Dtr:

> All those people remaining of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the *Jebusites,* who were not of the children of Israel, their children remaining after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were unable to destroy, these Solomon brought up for forced labor until this day. (1 Kgs 9:20–21)

The notices in Josh 15:63 and Judg 1:21 regarding the continuing presence of Jebusites in Jerusalem apparently refer to the same institution of forced labor as described here in Kings. Confirming this is the reference to the Hivites in this same list of laborers. The Dtr has already informed the reader of their presence in Jerusalem and their work at the temple in the book of Joshua in a passage seen to have connections with several other uses of "until this day": "And Joshua made them [the Gibeonites, *who are Hivites;* cf. Josh 9:7] that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and the altar of Yahweh *until this day at the place he would choose*" (Josh 9:27).

The Destruction of Non-Yahwistic Objects of Worship

The same Deuteronomic passages that command Israel to dispossess the original inhabitants of the land and, by implication, forbid Israel to make covenants with them (Deut 7:1–4), also command Israel to destroy their objects of worship: "Rather, this is what you shall do to them: you shall tear down (נָתַץ) their altars and shatter their pillars and chop down their *asherim* and burn their idols with fire" (Deut 7:5). Israel, nonetheless, fails to carry out this charge, as Yahweh (through the Dtr) reminds them:

> And he said, "I made you to go up out of Egypt and I brought you to the land that I swore to your fathers and I said that I would never break my covenant with you. And you were not to make a covenant with the inhabitants of this land. Their altars you were to tear down (נָתַץ), but you have not listened to my voice. What is this you have done?" (Judg 2:1b–2)

Yet there are a few examples in Israel's history where the command to tear down (נָתַץ) these altars is fulfilled; the only individual objects said to exist "until this day" in the north testify to the tearing down of places of Baal worship.[29] In Judg 6, Gideon "tears down" (נָתַץ: vv. 28, 30, 31, 32) his father's altar to Baal and builds an altar to Yahweh that stands at Ophrah "until this day."[30] Similarly, in 2 Kgs 10:27, Jehu "tears down" (נָתַץ) the temple of Baal in Samaria, which is then used as a latrine "until this day." As in a number of the preceding examples, the phrase in 2 Kgs 10 is followed by the Dtr's own material—in this case, his appraisal of Jehu's reign:

> And [Jehu's men] tore down (נָתַץ) the pillar of Baal and the temple of Baal and made it a latrine *until this day. Thus, Jehu eradicated Baal from Israel. Only Jehu did not remove the sins of Jeroboam son of Nebath by which he made Israel to sin—namely, the calves of gold at Bethel and Dan.* (2 Kgs 10:27–29)

That the only individual objects said to exist "until this day" in the north are defunct sites of Baal worship seems beyond coincidence, especially in light of the Deuteronomistic interest in and language used to describe their destruction. Moreover, the presence of Deuteronomistic material following the second of these passages strongly suggests that "until this day" in both cases derives from the Dtr.[31]

The Far North and the Levites

Four of the five northern sites said to exist "until this day" have clear Deuteronomistic associations: Havvoth Jair (Deut 3:14; Judg 10:4), Geshur and Maacah (Josh 13:13), the altar at Ophrah (Judg 6:24), and the (destroyed) temple of Baal at Samaria (2 Kgs 10:27). The only remaining northern entity said to

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[29] The tearing down (נָתַץ) of places of foreign worship occurs only two other times in the Bible: the Beth-Baal during the reign of Jehoash (2 Kgs 11:17–18) and various foreign altars during Josiah's religious reforms (2 Kgs 23:12–15).

[30] Although the passage as it stands seems to describe the construction of two altars to Yahweh in the same location, presumably a single altar is intended. See, e.g., G. F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 190.

[31] We will see more evidence for identifying these references to the destruction of non-Yahwistic places of worship as coming from the Dtr below when we take up the question of whose day is intended by the phrase "this day." See below under "Judahite–Edomite Relations" and "'Until This Day,' Joshua, and the Reforms of Josiah."

persist "until this day" is the Cabul (1 Kgs 9:13), which, like Havvoth Jair, is a large geographical region in the far north consisting of numerous cities. As "until this day" in the chapter that precedes the Cabul passage (1 Kgs 8:8) and in the same chapter just eight verses later (1 Kgs 9:21) belongs to the Dtr, so it seems reasonable that "until this day" in 1 Kgs 9:13 does also.[32] Yet as in the case of non-Israelite forced laborers, there is more evidence to support this identification than merely this phrase's similarities with and proximity to these other uses.

Baruch Halpern has argued that the Cabul was of considerable interest to northern Levitical priests (specifically, Gershonite priests) and that Solomon's sale of this territory to Hiram of Tyre was a particular offense to this group. Halpern notes:

> The Cabul, which comprised much of the older tribal allotment of Asher, contained at least three Mushite Levitical cities, Abdon, Rehob, and Mishal. Possibly Helkath was also included. Their loss meant the loss of one third of the Gershonite cities, a blow of no small proportions to the clan prestige.[33]

This Levitical interest in the far north also explains the use of "until this day" in connection with Havvoth Jair and the Bashan. As Halpern observes:

> From the outset, the Aramean recovery of Syria constituted a threat to the northern tribes. The Gershonite Levites were, of course, first among those threatened, and in the ninth century they lost city after city as Damascene forces ranged into the area of the old tribal allotments.[34]

The relationship between these two northern regions and "until this day" is not mere coincidence. As we noted above, the Dtr places the notice of the Levites' inheritance in the context of this same region (Josh 13:13b–14a): "And Geshur and Maacah live in the midst of Israel *until this day. Only to the tribe of Levi he did not give an inheritance . . . .*" This reference would fit more naturally at the beginning or end of the inheritance lists, yet it appears here, exactly where we would expect it if Halpern's analysis is correct—in the context of the allotment of the far north, in particular, the Bashan (Josh 13:8–12). That is, the Dtr inserts a notice about the Levites' lack of an inheritance in the context of the description of the territory they once occupied but have since lost. In view of this connection between "until this day" and the Bashan, it should not surprise us that the Gershonites' inheritance begins with this same region (Josh 21:27).

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[32] 1 Kings 8:8 reflects the Dtr's interest in the ark of the covenant (see under "The Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh" below); 1 Kgs 9:21 describes the use of non-Israelite forced labor (see under "The Use of Non-Israelite Forced Labor" above).

[33] B. Halpern, "Sectionalism and the Schism," *JBL* 93 (1974): 519–32, here 523.

[34] Ibid., 522.

That three of the five items persisting "until this day" in the north would involve this far northern region (the other two items being the defunct sites of Baal worship) suggests that the Dtr, at minimum, has an interest in these northern Gershonites and may even indicate his affiliation with them (see below). The Dtr's interest in the Gershonites would also seem to account for a historical notice similar to "until this day," which also appears in the context of Levitical priests in the far north, who are themselves probably Gershonites:[35] "And Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan *until the day of the exile of the land*" (Judg 18:30). Apart from "until this day," the phrase "until the day of the exile of the land" (עַד־יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ) marks the only other occurrence of the formula עַד (הַ)יוֹם in the DH, except one, which also belongs to the Dtr and appears in this same narrative:[36] "In those days there was no king in Israel, and in those days the tribe of Dan was seeking an inheritance in which to settle, for an inheritance in the midst of the tribes of Israel had not fallen to it *until that day* (עַד־הַיּוֹם הַהוּא)" (Judg 18:1).

That "until that day" should be traced to the Dtr is suggested not only by its similarities to "until this day" in structure (עַד־הַיּוֹם ה. . . .) and purpose (inheritance rights) but also because the two uses of the plural of "until that day" ("until those days") in the DH also belong to the Dtr. In 1 Kgs 3:2 "until those days" appears in connection with the Dtr's name theology, in a passage that describes the absence of centralized worship prior to the temple (a concern already reflected in the use of "until this day"; see Josh 9:27; Judg 6:24; 2 Kgs 10:27): "Only the people were sacrificing at the highplaces because *until those days* the house for the name of Yahweh had not been built." In 2 Kgs 18:4 "until those days" appears in the Dtr's appraisal of King Hezekiah's reign, which, not coincidentally, also has to do with alternate places and objects of worship:

> He removed the highplaces and shattered the pillars and chopped down the *asherah* and broke into pieces the bronze serpent which Moses made because *until those days* the children of Israel were burning incense to it. And it was called Nehushtan.

Importantly, 2 Kgs 18:4, with its notice about the destruction of the bronze serpent during Hezekiah's reign, reflects the same *terminus a quo* as Judg 18:30, with its notice "until the day of the land's exile"—after the fall of the north. As we will see below, "until this day" also points to a time after the north's (but before the south's) demise.

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[35] For the relationship between the Gershonites and the priests of Dan, see W. H. Propp, "Gershon," *ABD* 2:994–95.

[36] This observation does not include the four uses of the phrase "until the day of his/her/their death" (see 1 Sam 15:35 [Samuel]; 2 Sam 6:23 [Michal]; 2 Sam 20:3 [David's concubines]; 2 Kgs 15:5 [Azariah]) and the one use of "until the day of his peaceful return" (2 Sam 19:25 [David]), all of which refer to a single lifetime.

In light of the connections among these various time notices—connections that point to the Dtr as their source—it is significant that, in addition to "until that day" and "until the day of the exile of the land," "until this day" appears also in Judg 18:[37] "And [the Danites] went up and camped at Kiriath-jearim in Judah. Therefore they named that place Mahaneh Dan *until this day*—it lies west of Kiriath-jearim" (Judg 18:12). The historian, who has already demonstrated his interest in tribal allotments, points to a site in the south that recalls the tribe of Dan's migration toward its tribal allotment in the north—a migration that also accounts for the presence of Gershonite-Levites in the north.

The Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh

The relationship between the Dtr, the Levites, and "until this day" is further confirmed by the use of the phrase with "the ark of the covenant of Yahweh," a designation that many consider to be the Dtr's characteristic name for this vessel.[38] Indeed, "until this day" is used more times with the ark than with any other object or institution in ancient Israel.

In Deut 10:8 the Levites are appointed, among other things, to bear the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh," a task they fulfill "until this day." This activity is then described in Josh 4, when the priests cross the Jordan River bearing the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (Josh 4:7),[39] and stones are erected to mark the place of this miracle "until this day" (Josh 4:9). In Josh 8:30–35, which, not coincidentally, is a Deuteronomistic insertion immediately following "until this day," the Levites are found once again bearing the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh" while Joshua reads the law.[40]

Yet, as if to emphasize the ramifications of not handling the ark properly, "until this day" then highlights several places where the sanctity of the ark is compromised, including (1) Ashdod, where the ark is brought into the temple of Dagon with disastrous consequences for Dagon's idol and resulting in a cultic practice that can still be observed "until this day"; (2) Beth-Shemesh, where a stone standing "until this day" marks the location where seventy villagers

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[37] It seems a reasonable hypothesis that most of the time notices, not just in Judg 18 but throughout the DH, belong to the Dtr. This makes sense given the Dtr's task of compiling disparate sources into a more-or-less chronological order. See, e.g., B. Peckham, "History and Time," in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo, and L. H. Schiffman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 295–314.

[38] See, e.g., C. L. Seow, "Ark of the Covenant," *ABD* 1:387.

[39] Weinfeld argues for Deuteronomistic influence here (*Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School*, 421) .

[40] See under "'Until This Day,' Joshua, and the Reforms of Josiah" below.

looked into the ark and were struck dead by Yahweh, and (3) Perez-Uzzah, a place-name persisting "until this day," where Uzzah steadied the Ark on its way to Jerusalem and was also struck dead by Yahweh (2 Sam 6:8).

Yet, with the ark's last appearance in connection with "until this day," all ends well as the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 8:1, 6) is brought to rest in the temple, where its poles protrude from the holy of holies "until this day" (1 Kgs 8:8). In all, there are seven occurrences of "until this day" in connection with the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh." R. D. Nelson has rightly stated that the Dtr is "very much interested in the ark."[41]

Judahite Landholdings

The interests reflected in "until this day" are not just theological and cultic; the one employing this phrase is interested also in the Judahite throne and its policies. For example, "until this day" is used twice to refer to cities important to the Davidic throne: Hebron, David's first capital ("Therefore, Hebron belongs to Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite as an inheritance until this day" [Josh 14:14]); and Ziklag, which "belongs to the kings of Judah until this day" (1 Sam 27:6).[42] In the case of Hebron, "until this day" is immediately adjacent to the Dtr's comment "because he followed fully after Yahweh." In the case of Ziklag, the anachronistic reference to "the kings of Judah" in the book of 1 Samuel, in combination with the thematic and linguistic parallels with the Hebron passage, suggests that it too derives from the Dtr.[43] Thematically, these two notices reflect the historian's general concern for inheritance rights, as noted above. Linguistically, these passages mark the only occurrences of the formula עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה . . . לְכֵן/עַל־כֵּן הָיְתָה in the Hebrew Bible. The closest linguistic parallel (עַל־כֵּן . . . הָיָה), though expressed in the negative, also appears in the context of "until this day" and has already been discussed above in connection with the historian's interest in the Levites' role in bearing the ark of the

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[41] Nelson, *Double Redaction,* 123–24; he adds: "Deut 10:1–5, with its emphasis upon the ark as container for the law tablets, expresses the exact same view as the historian in Deut 31:24–26 and 1 Kgs 8:9, 21." The Chronicler's repetition of 1 Kgs 8:8 (2 Chr 5:9) would seem, at first glance, to mitigate the conclusion that this notice in the DH is preexilic. However, the use of "until this day" across the DH to emphasize the proper handling of the ark, along with the other preexilic uses of this phrase noted above and in what follows (see especially "'Until This Day,' Joshua, and the Reforms of Josiah," below), argues in favor of its preexilic provenance in the DH. The Chronicler's repetition of "until this day" in 2 Chr 5:9 is just that: his repeating a notice found in his preexilic source.

[42] Although the MT reads לְכֵן for 1 Sam 27:6 as opposed to עַל־כֵּן in Josh 14:14, several Hebrew manuscripts read עַל־כֵּן in 1 Sam 27:6.

[43] There are no "kings of Judah" during the time of Samuel, as this is the period of the united monarchy. This is the only such reference to the "kings of Judah" in Samuel, which suggests to many that this phrase has been added to a preexisting tradition by a later hand (i.e., the Dtr).

covenant and in their inheritance rights: "Therefore, the Levites do not have a portion and an inheritance with his brothers. Yahweh is his inheritance, as Yahweh your God said to him" (Deut 10:9).[44]

Judahite–Edomite Relations

Further suggesting that the one employing "until this day" has the interests of the Judean monarchy in mind is its repeated use in connection with Edom, Judah's southern neighbor. In Deuteronomy, for example, "until this day" occurs in the context of Edom's initial settlement in Seir (Deut 2:22). Then three times in 2 Kings "until this day" gives witness to continuing Judahite–Edomite interaction: 2 Kgs 8:22 ("And Edom rebelled from under the hand of Judah until this day. Then Libnah rebelled at that time"); 2 Kgs 14:7 ("And [Amaziah] struck ten thousand Edomites in the Valley of Salt and he seized Sela in battle, and he named it Joktheel until this day"); and 2 Kgs 16:6 ("At that time, Rezin, king of Aram, recovered Elath for Aram and he drove the Judahites from Elath, and the Edomites entered Elath and live there until this day"). Cogan's and Tadmor's comments on these three passages corroborate our findings for the whole of the DH:

> . . . in all three instances, the subject [of "until this day"] is Judah-Edomite relations. The editor, Dtr[1], gave expression by use of *until this day* to his special interest in the question of territorial claims in the Negev and the Red Sea coast, at the time of renewed Judahite expansion under Josiah.[45]

Cogan and Tadmor come to a similar conclusion for 2 Kgs 17, where "until this day" appears three times (vv. 23, 34, and 41), and where, not coincidentally, it sets apart two lengthy Deuteronomistic descriptions of the north's syncretistic cultic practices:

> Both units should be seen against the background of Josiah's cultic reforms and his expansion into the former territory of the northern kingdom. Josiah moved into Samaria to destroy the altar in Bethel and purge the other cities of their *bāmôt*-shrines (2 Kgs 23:15-19).[46]

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[44] The only other occurrence of עַל־כֵּן הָיָה in the DH is, in my opinion, also from the Dtr, even carrying with it an implied "until this day": "Therefore, it has become a proverb: 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'" (1 Sam 10:12).

[45] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 96.

[46] Ibid., 214. The redactional history of 2 Kgs 17 is admittedly complicated; regarding the preexilic provenance of the units set apart by "until this day," however, Cogan and Tadmor seem correct in their observation that it is "highly unlikely that any postexilic writer would speak of foreigners [i.e., the non-Israelite inhabitants of the North] as 'sons of Jacob,' bound by the covenant obligations of the *torah*." For a recent treatment of scholarship on 2 Kgs 17, see M. Z. Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995), esp. ch. 7, "Text in a Tel: 2 Kings 17 as History" (pp. 112–34).

Cogan and Tadmor's determination that "until this day" in 2 Kings derives from a Deuteronomistic redactor active during the time of Josiah, when combined with our own findings that "until this day" across the DH reflects a preexilic, Deuteronomistic perspective (including a concern for territorial claims, centralized worship, and a corresponding destruction of alternate places of worship), provides important evidence for connecting "until this day" to the reign of Josiah. Moreover, if we are correct in assigning to the Dtr the related phrases "until the day of the exile of the land [i.e., the north]" and "until those days" in connection with Hezekiah's destruction of the bronze serpent, then a period for "this day" that falls between the exile of the north and the destruction of the south seems the most probable.

Yet there is one last body of evidence that "until this day" should be connected to the late seventh century, in general, and the reforms of Josiah, in particular, only it requires that we return to the book of Joshua.

"Until This Day," Joshua, and the Reforms of Josiah

A number of scholars have argued that Deuteronomistic insertions in the book of Joshua indicate that the Dtr has the reforms of Josiah in mind.[47] Some of the evidence for this hypothesis includes the following:

1. Joshua is commanded to meditate on the book of the law day and night (Josh 1:7–8), which is the responsibility of the king in Deuteronomy's law of the king (Deut 17:18–19), and which finds its fulfillment in Josiah (2 Kgs 22:16; 23:2, 24–25).

2. Joshua is commanded to turn "neither to the right nor to the left" (Josh 1:7) in his obedience to the law of Moses, which is also the obligation of the king in Deuteronomy (Deut 17:20) and one that only Josiah is said to have carried out perfectly (2 Kgs 22:2).

3. Joshua conducts a ceremony of covenant renewal where the law is read to the whole congregation (Josh 8:30–35). This not only fulfills Moses' command in Deut 27:2–8 but also foreshadows Josiah's covenant renewal, where he gathers "all the people" and reads the book of the covenant (2 Kgs 23:1–3).

4. Joshua observes the Passover (Josh 5:10–12), which is not mentioned again until Josiah, who observes it in his eighteenth year (2 Kgs 23:21–23).

[47] For a discussion of the literature, see R. Nelson, "Josiah in the Book of Joshua," *JBL* 100 (1981): 531–40.

Aside from the first two examples, which occur in the Dtr's own prologue to the book of Joshua, the remaining two "Josianic" passages occur, significantly enough, immediately after "until this day."

In Josh 8:29 a pile of stones stands over the king of Ai "until this day," which is followed by the description of Joshua reading the law, a description already seen to derive from the Dtr. Regarding this narrative, Nelson writes:

> Scholars have generally been puzzled by the inclusion of these verses in such an awkward place in the sequence of events, *but Dtr clearly went to some effort to break into the sequence of his source (cf. the reference of 9:1 to 8:29) to include them* . . . The emphasis on Joshua as covenant maker and the additional details concerning Joshua's personal copy of the law (Josh 8:32), the reading from a law book (v 34), and the attendance of absolutely everyone (v 35) . . . *point forward in time directly to the royal covenant mediator Josiah.*[48]

This phenomenon occurs again in Josh 5:9, in which the location where Israel is circumcised is called Gilgal "until this day," which is then immediately followed by the account of the Israelites' Passover observance: "And he called the name of that place Gilgal until this day. And the children of Israel camped at Gilgal and observed the Passover on the fourteenth day of the month in the evening on the plains of Jericho" (Josh 5:9b–10). The Dtr's inclusion of his own material immediately following "until this day" fits the editorial pattern observed numerous times above. And again, the material he includes reflects his own particular historical circumstances and interests. Nelson observes:

> Dtr's editorial activity is more subtle in the case of Josh 5:10–12 than with Josh 1:7, 23:6 or Josh 8:30–35, but once again Joshua serves him as a forerunner of Josiah, providing an explicit historical precedent for Josiah's revolutionary reforming passover.[49]

That Cogan and Tadmor would conclude that "until this day" in 2 Kings reflects the specific political and religious circumstances of Josiah's reign, and that Nelson would *inadvertently* conclude (Nelson does not seem aware that his examples immediately follow "until this day") that Deuteronomistic insertions after "until this day" in Joshua reflect this same period seems beyond coincidence. When we combine their findings with our determination that "until this day" across the DH reflects a preexilic, Deuteronomistic perspective, the conclusion seems inevitable: "until this day" is Dtr¹'s day, when the temple still stood, the poles of the ark still protruded beyond the curtain of the holy of holies, and the nation itself was undergoing unprecedented cultic reforms and territorial expansions under Josiah. The implications of these findings for Deuteronomistic studies are considerable.

[48] Ibid., 535.
[49] Ibid., 537.

VII. Implications of "Until This Day"
for Deuteronomistic Studies

One major implication of our findings concerning the phrase "until this day" is that there existed a preexilic, even Josianic, edition of the DH.[50] Although any single piece of evidence could be considered inconclusive, the convergence of numerous pieces of evidence demonstrates that "until this day" belongs to the preexilic Deuteronomistic Historian. The phrase's redactional nature, its southern perspective, and its preexilic provenance are important starting points. When we combine these observations with the presence of "until this day" in every source believed to be used in constructing the DH ("History of David's Rise," "Acts of Solomon," "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel/Judah," etc.), its position immediately adjacent to other Deuteronomistic insertions ("at the place he will choose," "because he followed fully after Yahweh," "do not fear or be dismayed," etc.), its confirmation of the same matters across sources (Jebusite presence in Jerusalem, the naming of Havvoth Jair, the policy of non-Israelite forced labor, etc.), and its use in connection with demonstrably Deuteronomistic interests (the removal of high places and Baal worship from Israel, the proper handling of "the ark of the covenant of Yahweh," the rights and responsibilities of the Levites, etc.), even Josianic policies (centralized worship, Judahite–Edomite relations, the Passover, the reading of the Law, etc.), this assignment seems certain. This unity of use and purpose could not likely derive from "many different redactors."

Equally important, however, is the determination that this preexilic edition of the DH included most of what we now have before us. The demonstration of this is the presence of "until this day" in every major literary unit making up the DH, including the following: from Deuteronomy, the prologue (2:22; 3:14), Deuteronomic law code (10:8), and epilogue (34:6); from Joshua, the conquest narratives (4:9; 5:9; 6:25; 7:26; 8:28, 29; 9:27; 10:27) and inheritance lists (13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10); from Judges, the prologue (1:21, 26), heroic tales (6:24; 10:4; 15:19), and epilogue (18:12); from 1–2 Samuel, the "Ark Narrative" (1 Sam 5:5; 6:18; 2 Sam 6:8), the "History of David's Rise" (1 Sam 27:6; 30:25; 2 Sam 4:3), and the "Succession Narrative" (2 Sam 18:18); and from 1–2 Kings, the "Acts of Solomon" (1 Kgs 8:8; 9:13, 21; 10:12), prophetic cycles (1 Kgs 12:19; 2 Kgs 2:2; 14:7), and "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel/Judah"

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[50] Nelson realized the implications of such a discovery: "If ['until this day'] could be assigned definitely to the hand of the Deuteronomistic historian himself and not to the wording of the historian's sources, we could then establish a sure core of pre-exilic redactional material over against the exilic material presupposing an inevitable disaster" (*Double Redaction*, 23). The implications of this conclusion for those studies that postulate an earlier, perhaps Hezekian, history (Provan, Halpern and Vanderhooft, etc.) requires further study.

(2 Kgs 8:22; 14:7; 16:16). Although there are certainly later additions and redactional levels within these larger units, the unified perspective of the one employing "until this day" across the DH argues against excising large narrative strands or sources from the Dtr's preexilic history. In fact, our analysis demonstrates that those tensions present within this work (doublets, differences in details, etc.) that some scholars attribute to different redactional levels are actually the result of the Dtr's incorporating varying traditions into his history (as Noth originally argued, though he placed the Dtr's activity in the exilic period).

The evidence of "until this day" also helps to explain why the Dtr may have incorporated these disparate traditions into his history. The Dtr seems to have been a Levite or, at minimum, sought to represent the interests of the Levites. This is clear from the Dtr's use of "until this day" to confirm the ongoing presence of objects and institutions of concern to this group (the inheritance rights of the Levites, the role of the Levites in relation to the temple, their role in bearing the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh," etc.). Moreover, the Dtr's demonstrated concern for the efficacy of the prophetic word (Josh 6:26–27; 2 Kgs 2:22) suggests that the Dtr had a corresponding interest in (and perhaps connection with) Israel's prophetic heritage. In short, the Dtr was truly Deuteronomistic in his outlook.

When we combine the Dtr's northern priestly/prophetic heritage with his role as a historian writing in support of the Davidic throne, and the reforms of Josiah in particular, we have accounted for the diverse perspectives preserved in the DH. As a representative of northern priestly/prophetic circles, with their general antipathy toward the monarchy, the Dtr had in his possession narratives recounting the many confrontations between prophets and kings (i.e., Samuel and Saul, Nathan and David, Elijah and Ahab, etc.).[51] As far as his priestly/prophetic sources were concerned—and the Dtr clearly agreed[52]—the kings of both north and south, with few exceptions, received failing grades. The very

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[51] These narratives, according to E. W. Nicholson (*Deuteronomy and Tradition* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967], 122–24) and others, were probably preserved by northern priestly circles and found their way south after the fall of the northern kingdom. The prophetic provenance of many of these narratives helps to explain the candor with which the monarchy is described, which would hardly be characteristic of royal annals. The prophets, moreover, would have a vested interest in preserving stories involving their interactions with, as well as the abuses/sins of, Israel's and Judah's kings. This understanding finds support in the Chronicler's list of sources for the reign of David (1 Chr 29:29)—all of which are works ascribed to prophets (Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer)—and the general character of the narratives describing the sins of various kings (e.g., Saul, David, Solomon, Jeroboam, and Ahab).

[52] One need only read the Dtr's own appraisal of most kings—"X did evil in the eyes of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19, 25, 30; 21:20, 25; 22:52, etc.)—to be convinced of his own general displeasure toward the monarchy.

institution of the monarchy was a compromise, a rejection of divine authority (1 Sam 8:7). However, the Dtr, like Samuel before him, had become reconciled to the idea of kingship.[53] The monarchy was not going away, neither was it all bad. A king, in proper relationship with Yahweh and, by implication, in submission to prophetic authority, could be a powerful force for cultic reform. This was true of Jehu in the north, of Jehoash and Hezekiah in the south, and was perfectly embodied in Josiah, who "turned neither to the right nor to the left" in his obedience to the Mosaic Law.

Thus, when bringing together the traditions of Israel's past, the Dtr incorporated both southern royal traditions, with their emphases on Judah and the Davidic throne, and northern priestly/prophetic traditions, with their emphases on prophetic authority, a zeal for the sanctity of the cult, and a corresponding negative or, at minimum, "reserved" (following McCarter) view of the monarchy. The "objectivity" afforded the Dtr by his priestly/prophetic loyalties made him write more than just another piece of royal propaganda, examples of which could be found throughout the ancient Near East and which, as John Van Seters has rightly argued, is not true history writing.[54] In this way the earliest history—a history that "judges the king and not the king who makes his own account of history"[55]—may be the result as much of the Dtr's internal convictions as of his external circumstances.

Whatever the Dtr's full reasons for placing Israel's diverse traditions side by side, he is to be commended for all that he did allow to find voice in his history, despite the cacophony that sometimes results. If the Dtr had not incorporated these disparate perspectives, these different "voices," from Israel's past, then we would have lost much of Israel's traditions about itself and, in the process, we would have lost much of Israel's history.[56]

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[53] It may be that Samuel's "reconciliation" to the idea of monarchy actually reflects the Dtr's own reconciliation to this institution (1 Sam 8:4–9). In this way, the Dtr's role as mediator between royal and priestly interests is similar to the Göttingen school's perception of DtrN(omistic). However, rather than seeking to mediate disparate views within an already existing history, as the Göttingen school argues, the Dtr is mediating between the sources he himself is incorporating into his history.

[54] John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 2.

[55] Ibid., 2.

[56] I would like to thank D. N. Freedman, W. H. Propp, R. E. Friedman, D. Goodblatt, T. E. Levy, and A. Mosshammer for their input on earlier stages of this research. Any errors or deficiencies in the present work are, of course, solely the responsibility of the author.

WHO WAS THE CHRONICLER'S AUDIENCE?
A HINT FROM HIS GENEALOGIES

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In the past couple of decades the book of Chronicles has gone from being "the Cinderella of Biblical Studies"[1] to being one of the most studied and researched of all biblical books. One reason for this seems to be the fact that, while the date and authorship of the books that make up the so-called Primary History (the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History), so long thought of as solved, have recently been called into question once more,[2] opinion on the date, authorship, and situation of the Chronicler has almost reached consensus. So while scholars who either accept or disagree with the "traditional" dates of, say, the Yahwist in the tenth century B.C.E. or the Deuteronomist in the late seventh must immediately show that they recognize and can contend with the opposing views, most recent scholarship on Chronicles, my own included, can safely assume that (1) the Chronicler lived in late Persian-period Yehud, probably before the Macedonian conquest of 333 B.C.E.,[3] and (2) the author of

[1] J. W. Kleinig, "Recent Research in Chronicles," *CurBS* 2 (1994): 43.

[2] The studies on this topic are too numerous to list, but W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 23-44, despite its polemical nature, can serve as a useful source of references. One "revisionist" book that Dever does not deal with directly is I. Finkelstein and N. A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed—Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York: Free Press, 2001), which was apparently in press at about the same time. For a recent summary of these and other studies, see Z. Zevit, "Three Debates About Bible and Archaeology," *Bib* 83 (2002): 1–27. See also S. Japhet, "In Search of Ancient Israel: Revisionism at All Costs," in *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians* (ed. D. N. Myers and D. B. Ruderman; Studies in Jewish Culture and Society; New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1998), 212–33, for one of the many critiques of this position.

[3] For a summary of the various arguments on the date, see H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2*

Chronicles is distinct from the roughly contemporaneous author of Ezra-Nehemiah.[4] These two statements have achieved the status of "widely accepted assumptions" that do not have to be defended every time they are used.

The intention of this paper is not to question either of those assumptions but rather to address another question that has occupied Chronicles research in recent years, namely, the social and idealistic milieu in which the Chronicler operated—the audience for whom he wrote—as indicated by the information that he saw fit to include in his genealogies.

I. Recent Research on Biblical Genealogies

Of the various literary genres that are to be found in the Hebrew Bible, the genealogies are probably the most perplexing to scholars, exegetes, and lay readers alike. To the common reader or exegete, they often seem at best boring, at worst impossible to understand. Before the advent of modern critical biblical research, the biblical genealogies were considered to be either accurate statements of kinship ties between real historical persons or nations through their eponymous ancestors, or a subject for midrash or exegesis.[5] Only with the introduction of modern research, the discovery and decipherment of the literature of the ancient Near East, the beginning of anthropological study of present-day tribal societies and the development of the study of archaeology and historical geography of the biblical world did it become possible to understand the basic nature of the genealogies and their form and function in the society, the literature, and the thought of that world.

The Hebrew Bible contains two major collections of genealogical material:

Chronicles (NCB; Grand Rapids/London: Eerdmans, 1982), 15–16; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 3–7; Kleinig, "Recent Research in Chronicles," 46–47; J. E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Biblical Interpretation Series 33; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1998), 30–35.

[4] See A. C. Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and Its Date* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1938; London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 157; S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemia Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968): 330–71; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 5–82, and many others; *contra* J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 47–54; K. F. Pohlmann, "Zur Frage von Korrespondenzen und Divergenzen zwischen den Chronikbüchern und dem Ezra/Nehemia-Buch," in *Congress Volume: Leuven 1989* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 314–30.

[5] See *b. Pesaḥ.* 62b: "Rami son of R. Judah quoted Rav: From the day the book of genealogies was hidden, the sages' strength diminished and the light of their eyes darkened. Said Mar Zutra: Between 'Azel' and 'Azel' (referring to two parallel components of the two almost-parallel genealogies of Benjamin in 1 Chr 8:38 and 1 Chr 9:44) they loaded four hundred camels of *drash* (exegesis)."

the many separate lists that are incorporated into the narrative of the book of Genesis and the massive and complex genealogies, containing short narrative passages, town lists, and the like, that make up most of the first nine chapters of 1 Chronicles. The two collections contain both linear and segmented genealogies, sometimes combining the two forms (such as in Gen 4:17–22; 1 Chr 7:20–27). Shorter lists of the children of Israel appear in Exod 6:14–27 and in Num 26:5–65. Most of the genealogies recorded in the rest of the "historiographic" books (1 Sam 1:1; 2 Sam 5:13–15; 1 Kgs 11:26; 2 Kgs 9:2; Ruth 4:18–22; Esth 2:5; Ezra 7:1–5) are short (three to six generations) linear genealogies meant to introduce a central character into the narrative or to clarify such a character's position and importance.

Modern research on the genealogies has followed two paths: while some scholars have attempted to understand the literary and theological purposes of the biblical genealogies as they stand in the text, others have concentrated on the social, political, and historical uses of the genre, by comparing the biblical genealogies to the genealogical material found in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions and to the genealogical material collected from the oral traditions of present-day tribal societies.[6]

An additional aspect of the genealogical material in the Hebrew Bible is the geographical one. Most of the biblical genealogies not only provide lists of private people and their lineage but represent clans and families, their geographic diffusion and their administrative or economic structure. We can use the lists to reconstruct the history of the various clans and families, which can then be compared with other literary sources and with the archaeological evidence from the sites mentioned, in order to understand the geographical setting and historical background of the genealogies. Such combinations of genealogical, literary, historical, archaeological, and geographical research can also give us fresh insight into frequently overlooked chapters of biblical history. This is especially true when dealing with the long genealogical "introduction" to the book of Chronicles.[7]

In anthropological studies of recent "tribal" societies, the use of oral genealogies has been found to have three basic formal characteristics. The first is *segmentation*. In most nonurban societies, a person's status, rights, and obli-

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[6] A good example of the first approach is the now-classic M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies With Special Reference to the Genealogies of Jesus* (SNTSMS 8; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). The classic study in the second methodology is R. R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1977).

[7] This approach was pioneered by J. Wellhausen in his 1870 dissertation (*De Gentibus et Familiis Judaeis Quae 1. Chr 2.–4. Enumerantur* [Gottingae]) and has since been used by many scholars of biblical historical geography; see, e.g., Y. Levin, "Understanding Biblical Genealogies," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 29–30, and references therein.

gations are determined by the kinship ties that link him to other members of his community. In such societies kinship is often expressed in terms of lineage, represented by genealogies. In order to identify one's own place in society, a person must be able to point out kinship ties with other members of that society.[8] The second characteristic is *depth,* that is, the number of generations counted in the genealogy. In theory, a linear genealogy can include an almost infinite number of generations all the way back to the eponymous ancestor who founded the clan or tribe, though in practice very few of those informants asked could recount more than ten to fourteen generations. Beyond that, members of the lineage usually mentioned their tribal designation or the region in which they lived.[9] In most cases, a person would relate no more than *five* generations, along with several famous or important members of the clan. Since tribal genealogies are usually not learned systematically but rather are acquired over a member's lifetime, there is no complete, correct, or official version, and different members of the lineage will recount different parts of the genealogy differently, in accordance with the specific needs at the time of telling.[10]

The third formal characteristic of oral genealogies is *fluidity*. As the genealogies reflect familial and social ties between people and their status in society, they must adjust to shifts in those relationships. The lists can change in accordance with the narrator's memory or interest in emphasizing a certain component's ties or status. A person who is added to the list as a result of adoption or marriage may sometimes "import" his or her own relations into the list. A group will sometimes "move" from one lineage to another, reflecting changes in its economic, social, or political affiliation. In addition, names of people (usually deceased) who in the narrator's opinion have no specific function will occasionally be "erased" from the list, either temporarily or permanently. The names immediately following the founder of the lineage, whom no one still alive actually remembers as real people, will disappear from the list together with "branches" of the family tree that did not produce living descendants. Several people bearing the same name may be combined in memory into a single figure. These phenomena are known as *telescoping*.[11]

According to these studies, oral genealogies function in three areas: domestic, politico-jural, and religious. In the domestic field, a person's status, rights, and obligations in a traditional tribal society are determined largely by one's pedigree. The genealogy that one recites will reflect one's place and standing in the community and will vary to reflect changes in one's status. Politically, a genealogy, especially a linear one, may be used to justify holding an

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[8] Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 19.

[9] Ibid., 21.

[10] Ibid., 22–23.

[11] Ibid., 27–36.

office or rank such as that of king or chief, whether inherently hereditary or not. In the religious sphere, a genealogy may be used as part of an ancestor cult, for worship of past rulers that are considered to have become deities, in determining membership in a religious society or eligibility to hold certain cultic offices, or in invoking ancestral intervention with the deity.[12]

A good example of the workings of such genealogies can be found in L. Bohannan's study of the Tiv of Nigeria, who consider themselves to be descended from an eponymous ancestor whose offspring became the progenitors of the various Tiv groups. The changing relationships between the different groups are reflected in changes in kinship patterns in the genealogies. Relationships between the Tiv and their non-Tiv neighbors are expressed in terms of "marriage" between the Tiv forebears and those of the tribe's neighbors.[13]

In his summary of the anthropological material, R. R. Wilson makes three additional points: first, in no case has it been shown that the preservation of a genealogy was intended purely for the purpose of transmitting historical information. A genealogy will *always* have a domestic, political, or religious function for which it was composed and for which it is recited. That fact, though, as well as the genealogy's inherent fluidity, does not mean that the list could not contain a great deal of historically accurate information. Its very function in the society that created it depends on its being accepted as an accurate statement of the lineage's social structure. A genealogy's fluidity does not mean that it is changed capriciously. Second, since an oral genealogy's function depends on its fluidity and that fluidity is largely lost once the genealogy is written down, there are clearly functional differences between oral and written genealogies. Wilson's final point is that although some oral genealogies seem to have been based on existing narrative traditions and some narrative traditions seem to have been built on preexisting genealogies, in no case have *oral* genealogies been proven to have been created for the purpose of linking preexisting narratives.[14]

Our basic question here, however, is Why? Why did the different biblical authors, and in this case the Chronicler, choose to use the genre that combined segmented and linear genealogies[15] in order to convey their messages?[16] It cer-

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[12] Ibid., 38–45.

[13] L. Bohannan, "A Genealogical Charter," *Africa* 22 (1952): 301–15.

[14] Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 54–55.

[15] Or as A. Demsky called it, "two-dimensional" genealogy ("The Genealogy of Gibeon [I Chronicles 9:35–44]: Biblical and Epigraphic Considerations," *BASOR* 202 [1971]: 17).

[16] Many prominent scholars, including Wellhausen, Welch, A. Alt, and R. de Vaux, have proposed that the genealogies of 1 Chr 1–9 are separate from "the Chronicler's" original work. Many others, however—myself included—prefer to see these chapters as an integral part of the Chronicler's literary scheme. See the recent commentaries on Chronicles, as well as Kleinig, "Recent Research in Chronicles," 44–46; Y. Levin, "The Historical Geography of the Chronicler" (Ph.D.

tainly was, as M. D. Johnson put it, "an alternative to narrative or poetic forms of expression,"[17] and the biblical authors could have chosen other forms, but they did not. The genealogical form was obviously especially well suited to the messages that the writers intended to convey. Since different biblical books were composed by different writers in different times, the messages obviously varied as well; but in order for the genealogical form to convey those messages to their intended readers, those readers must have been familiar with that form in their daily lives. In our present study, it is precisely "those readers" whom we are trying to define.

II. The Uniqueness of the Chronicler's Genealogies

In many ways, the genealogies in the first nine chapters of the book of Chronicles are quite different from those found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. The first major difference is in textual context: whereas the genealogies in Genesis are inserted into the narrative, serving as a thematic and chronological "framework" or "skeleton" for the entire book,[18] the Chronicler's genealogies are a "book" in themselves, running for nine chapters, with short "narratives" interspersed here and there. Second, the genealogies in Genesis are, for the most part, schematic, employing typological numbers (10, 12, 70, etc.) and they have clearly gone through a purposeful process of editing and redaction. Although these genealogies do have a theological purpose,[19] their *literary* purpose is mostly chronistic and historiographical. Consequently, they are more akin to the Mesopotamian lists than to the "living" genealogies recorded by the anthropologists.[20]

Most of the genealogical material in Chronicles is very different in character. Beyond the genealogies in the first chapter, which are totally dependent on Genesis and mostly serve the purpose of "placing" Israel among the nations

diss., Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1999) (Hebrew with English abstract), 52–53; G. N. Knoppers, "'Great Among His Brothers,' but Who is He? Heterogeneity in the Composition of Judah?" *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* [online] 3 (2001): 1.2 n. 3 (www.purl.org/jhs); idem, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 120 (2001): 15 n. 3.

[17] Johnson, *Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 82.

[18] See F. Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity: Israel's Self-Definition in the Genealogical System of Genesis," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. M. G. Brett; Biblical Interpretation Series 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 60.

[19] Ibid., 71–76; Levin, "Understanding Biblical Genealogies," 33–34.

[20] See also A. Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 163–73; R. S. Hess "The Genealogies of Genesis 1–11 and Comparative Literature," *Bib* 70 (1989): 241–54.

and defining the territory that belonged to that Israel,[21] the lists are neither schematic in content nor homogeneous in form. They contain a hodgepodge of personal, clan, and geographic names, using varying terminology to express the relationships between them, with different parts often seeming to overlap and even to contradict one another. They thus seem much more akin to those "living" oral genealogies studied by the anthropologists.[22] Many of the geneaolgies exhibit a large degree of *segmentation*, varying degrees of *depth,* and—in the comparison of the different lineages sometimes given to the same clans or tribes—a large degree of *fluidity*. The resemblance to the oral genealogies is unmistakable.

Notwithstanding all of the similarities, however, one thing must be said: however much the Chronicler's genealogies may *resemble* oral genealogies, they are not. Chapters 1–9 in the first book of Chronicles are a literary composition, the author of which chose to make use of a particular genealogical genre in order to get his message across.

One of the most conspicuous features of the Chronicler's genealogies is the disparities in length, form, and detail among the different tribal lists. The Judahite list, the first in the series, is two and a half chapters long, one hundred verses, and it includes several complex segmented lineages as well as a long and detailed linear genealogy of the house of David. Simeon's list is twenty verses long and includes a list of the tribe's towns, as well as various historical anecdotes. Reuben and Gad have lists of tribal chiefs down to the Assyrian conquest with stories and tribal territories and reference to a census.[23] Transjordanian Manasseh is represented by a territorial description, but with no real genealogical data. Levi, a chapter and a half long,[24] includes a mix of forms, much detail, and a list of towns similar (though not identical) to the one in Josh 21. Then come the northern tribes: Issachar, with mention of a military census "in the days of David" (1 Chr 7:2); and a first list of the descendants of Benjamin also with allusions to a military census.[25] The northern inheritance of Dan is hinted

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[21] Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 65.

[22] See also R. L. Braun, "1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Reconstruction of the History of Israel: Thoughts on the Use of Genealogical Data in Chronicles in the Reconstruction of the History of Israel," in *The Chronicler as Historian* (ed. M. Patrick Graham et al.; JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 98–101.

[23] B. Oded, "The Settlement of the Tribe of Reuben in Transjordania," in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel* (ed. A. Gilboa et al.; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1970), 11–36 (Hebrew with English abstract).

[24] Or, in most English editions, one long chapter.

[25] For evidence of members of the tribe living in the north, see A. Malamat, "*Ummatum* in Old Babylonian Texts and its Ugaritic and Biblical Counterparts," *UF* 11 (1979): 536.

at by the name "Hushim son of another."[26] Zebulun, perhaps due to scribal error, is not represented at all in the genealogies. For Naphtali, only the most basic "core genealogy" taken from Gen 46:24 is listed. The genealogies of Manasseh and Ephraim are once more segmented and full of geographical-historical information.[27] The genealogy of Asher starts with the "core" from Gen 46:24 and goes on to a segmented list of clans who dwelt in the central hill country.[28] Here also, there is mention of a military census. A second genealogy of Benjamin, along with a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, makes up the final two chapters and eighty-four verses.

Despite all of these differences, there is a basic structure that underlies the entire tribal genealogy. Some scholars view it as chiefly chiastic, framed by the "important" (in the Chronicler's day) tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin.[29] Others emphasize thematic structure.[30] M. Oeming argues that it is arranged in concentric "spheres" of world-Israel-Jerusalem-temple.[31] To yet others the arrangement seems geographical, as suggested by the counterclockwise arrangement of the tribal genealogies.[32] According to J. E. Dyck, it is based on

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[26] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1955), 68; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 174.

[27] Y. Levin, "The Territories of Ephraim and Manasseh According to Chronicles," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting 1993* (ed. Z. H. Erlich and Y. Eshel; Kedumim/Ariel: College of Judea and Samaria Research Institute, 1994), 55–64 (Hebrew with English abstract).

[28] See Z. Kallai, "The Settlement Traditions of Ephraim: A Historiographical Study," *ZDPV* 102 (1986): 68–74; D. Edelman, "Saul's Journey through Mt. Ephraim and Samuel's Ramah (1 Sam. 9:4–5; 10:2–5)," *ZDPV* 104 (1988): 44–58; eadem, "The Asherite Genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7:30–40," *BR* 33 (1988): 13–23; N. Na'aman, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogies of Asher and Ephraim," *JSOT* 49 (1991): 99–111; A. Demsky, "The Genealogy of Asher (1 Chron. 7:30–40)," in *Abraham Malamat Volume* (ed. S. Ahitub et al.; ErIsr 24; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 68–73 (Hebrew with English abstract); Y. Levin and A. Faust, "The Ties Between the Tribes Asher and Benjamin," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting 1997* (ed. Y. Eshel; Kedumim/Ariel: College of Judea and Samaria Research Institute, 1998), 225–31 (Hebrew with English abstract) and references therein.

[29] Knoppers, "Great Among His Brothers," 1.1.

[30] See T. Willi, "Late Persian Judaism and its Conception of an Integral Israel According to Chronicles: Some Observations on Form and Function of the Genealogy of Judah in 1 Chronicles 2.3-4.23," in *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period* (ed. T. C. Eskenazi and K. H. Richards; JSOTSup 175; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 152–53.

[31] M. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die "genealogische Vorhalle" 1 Chronik 1–9* (BWANT 128; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990).

[32] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 46–47; M. Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Land-theologie in I Chronik 1–9* (ConBOT 28; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989), 166–67. There actually seem to be several discrepancies in this arrangement; see S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. from the original 1977 Hebrew edition by A. Barber; BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 352–55; Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 69–71, and references there.

"status . . . the priority of Judah and the centrality of Levi," though he does admit geography as "a complementary ordering principle."[33] What is clear is that the structure is the Chronicler's own, unlike any other in the Hebrew Bible.

III. The Social and Ideological World of the Chronicler

In order to understand the purposes of the genealogical lists in Chronicles, as well as the differences among the lists, it is necessary first to define the Chronicler's background and possible intended audience. It is now generally agreed that the Chronicler, although writing about the monarchic era, lived in the province of Yehud, during the fourth century B.C.E. In the postexilic period, the monarchy was gone; the Judean province was ruled by Persian-appointed governors, some local and some not. The priesthood was becoming more and more powerful, assuming a role in political leadership. The northern kingdom was replaced by the usually hostile province of Samaria. This was the reality known to the Chronicler's intended readers.

Up until several decades ago, the assumption of most scholars was that the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, taken together with the relevant parts of Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and perhaps Trito-Isaiah and a few of the Psalms, gives us a fairly accurate reflection of Judean society under Persian rule and that the book of Chronicles should be interpreted along the same lines.[34] Joseph Blenkin-sopp, following Joel Weinberg, has described the Ezra-Nehemiah group as an imperially instated "dominant elite of proven loyalty . . . a semi-autonomous temple-community controlled by the dominant stratum of Babylonian immi-grants, the *beⁿê haggôlâ*."[35] These "elite" were almost totally cut off from the local inhabitants, importing their own, Diaspora-developed way of life. Dyck sees this group as developing a "vertical ethnic ideology" to the exclusion of others such as the "remnant" Judahites.[36] Other scholars, however, have argued that Persian-period Yehud was much more diverse and that the temple theoc-racy of Ezra-Nehemiah represents only one facet, perhaps a minority one at

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[33] Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 129.

[34] P. R. Ackroyd, *Israel Under Babylon and Persia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 162–90, 210–46, 294–305; idem, *The Chronicler in His Age* (JSOTSup 101; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 358–59.

[35] J. Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah," in *Second Temple Studies 1: Persian Period* (ed. P. R. Davies; JSOTSup 117; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 50–51; J. Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community* (JSOTSup 151; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) is the English translation of the older works referred to by Blenkinsopp.

[36] Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 109–17.

that.[37] This "*Golah*" group, the returnees from Babylon who were entrusted by Cyrus and Darius I with rebuilding the temple and resettling the city of Jerusalem, did not come back to an empty land. The "remnant" population left over from Nebuchadrezzar's campaigns (2 Kgs 25:12) has long been under-appreciated.[38] Recent analyses have given more recognition to these "remnants," though the problem of source material does remain.[39]

The same is true for the question of the authorship and audience of Chronicles. As long as it was assumed that the author of Chronicles and the author of Ezra-Nehemiah were one and the same, it was also presumed that they were intended for the same audiences. That view, too, has been changing. Most scholars now agree that Chronicles is not intended as anti-Samaritan rhetoric.[40] The Chronicler's frequent mention, without any negative comment, of the Judahite kings' foreign wives, is now contrasted to Ezra-Nehemiah's known aversion to such marriages.[41] The same is true for his failure to mention any cases of desecration of the Sabbath. In our opinion, that which is true for the book of Chronicles in general, would probably also be true for the Chronicler's genealogies.

The Chronicler, writing his version of the history of the old kingdom, chose to use the genealogical form in order to convey his picture of ancient Israel, its territory and its place among the nations.[42] As we have already seen, the form that a genealogy takes must always follow its intended function. Segmented genealogies are especially useful for describing the relationships between the subunits that make up a "tribal" society. But what "tribal society" was the Chronicler trying to describe? Sarah Japhet, in her discussion of the Chronicler's genealogies, stressed that the Chronicler attempted "to infuse life" into a twelve-tribe system pictured "as a functioning ethnic body . . . as background to the events of the monarchic period."[43] In doing so, however, was he using a "dead" literary convention that had no real meaning to his readers, who

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[37] See R. A. Horsley, "Empire, Temple and Community—but no Bourgeoisie! A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," in *Second Temple Studies 1*, ed. Davies, 163–74.

[38] This was already realized by A. C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism* (Baird Lecture for 1934; Edinburgh/London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1935), 65–66. For more recent studies, see H. M. Barstad, *The Myth of the Empty Land* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996); O. Lipschits, "The History of the Benjamin Region Under Babylonian Rule," *Tel Aviv* 26 (1999): 155–90.

[39] For a summary of recent research and of the sundry opinions on the subject, see P. R. Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah* (JSJSup 65; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 2001), 1–39.

[40] See Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 325–34.

[41] Ibid., 350–51.

[42] For a discussion of the term "Israel" and its meaning in Chronicles, see Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 87–131; Willi, "Late Persian Judaism and its Conception of an Integral Israel." For the Chronicler's concept of territory, see Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten*.

[43] Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 279.

now lived in a world very different from that of their ancestors? Or was fourth-century Judean society still sufficiently "tribal" to appreciate the segmented, complex genealogical lists? In other words, to what extent was the Judean society of the fourth century a direct extension of preexilic Judah?

The basic unit of Iron-Age Israelite society was the בית אב, the patriarchal family unit, which was part of a משפחה, a "clan" or "phratry," which was in turn part of a שבט, "tribe." The term "tribe" is used here loosely, since the similarity of the structure and organization of the Israelite "tribe" to that of present-day "tribal" societies is unclear.[44] Israelite society, even in the monarchical period, was mainly agrarian, and the various levels of social organization—family unit, clan, and tribe (see Josh 6:16–18)—had specific functions in the ownership and the operation of flocks, vineyards, orchards, and fields. The typical biblical "town" was the habitat of one or more of such family units, and the "tribal" society functioned within such towns.[45] Both the census and the military and labor drafts were based on family and clan units.[46] And as Shunya Bendor and others have shown, Israelite society continued to be "tribal," based on family and clan units, throughout the monarchical period and later.[47]

Several recent studies by Joel Weinberg, Hans G. Kippenberg, and Jonathan E. Dyck have suggested that the term בית אבות, common in Chronicles and in Ezra-Nehemiah, denotes a social construct that is significantly different from the preexilic בית אב: the postexilic groups were larger (similar to the preexilic משפחה). Morever, since these groups were a part of the repatriated *Golah* community, Weinberg, Kippenberg, and Dyck consider them to be more "artificial," less land-based, and basically not a direct extension of preexilic society.[48] Put in Dyck's rendition of Marxist terminology, "the *batei ʾaboth* com-

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[44] See, e.g., A. O. Mojola, "The 'Tribes' of Israel? A Bible Translator's Dilemma," *JSOT* 81 (1998): 15–29.

[45] R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (2d ed.; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1965), 20; L. E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *BASOR* 260 (1985): 1–35; H. Reviv, *Society in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1993), 47; S. Bendor, *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of the Family (Beit ʾAb) from the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1996), 98–107; J. Blenkinsopp, "The Family in First Temple Israel," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. L. G. Perdue et al.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 49–57; A. Faust, "The Rural Community in Ancient Israel During Iron Age II," *BASOR* 317 (2000): 29–32.

[46] Bendor, *Social Structure of Ancient Israel*, 108–15.

[47] Ibid., 216–28; Demsky, "Genealogy of Gibeon," 18, 23. For a similar assessment of the Transjordanian kingdoms of the Iron Age, see Ø. LaBianca, "Salient Features of Iron Age Tribal Kingdoms," in *Ancient Ammon* (ed. B. MacDonald and R. W. Younker; SHCANE 42; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1999), 19–23.

[48] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple Community*, 49–61; H. G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa: Eine religions-soziologische Studie zum Verhältnis von Tradition und gesellschaften Entwicklung* (2d ed.; SUNT 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 25–28; Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 188–98.

prised the 'community' while the heads as a group comprised the 'higher community,'" to the exclusion of those who were not part of this *Golah* community.[49] While it may be true that the social structure of the *Golah* community, both in exile and after its partial return, was radically different from that of pre-exilic Judah,[50] we think that this cannot be proven from such a slight semantic change. Beyond this, we would also argue that this *Golah* community was indeed no more than a minority, albeit a ruling one, not representative of the general society of Persian-period Judea at all.

As we have already noted, the archaeological, historical, and textual research of recent years has tended to minimize the extent of the destruction and exile that followed the fall of Judah in 586 B.C.E. It would appear that while the city of Jerusalem and other major towns in Judah were indeed destroyed, the Babylonian conquerors did not uproot most of the agrarian populace, preferring to allow the land to be tilled and taxes to be collected.[51] These people continued to lead their lives in the traditional manner, probably thinking of themselves as the "true" remnant of Judah.

As many have pointed out, the arrival of the repatriate בני הגולה, backed by the Persian crown, to "reclaim" the land for the "true holy seed" must have caused all sorts of tensions between them and the "remnants," that are reflected, rather one-sidedly, in Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and other literature of the period. This literature was produced by and reflects the experience of this group.[52]

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[49] Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 198.

[50] See also P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 31–38; idem, *Israel Under Babylon and Persia*, 19–34; D. L. Smith, *The Religion of the Landless: The Social Context of the Babylonian Exile* (Bloomington, IN: Meyer Stone, 1989), 92–120; Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah*, 41–83.

[51] See O. Lipschits, "Nebuchadrezzar's Policy in 'Hattu-Land' and the Fate of the Kingdom of Judah," *UF* 30 (1998): 473–76.

[52] For various descriptions of Persian-period Yehud and its society, based mainly on these very sources, see F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975): 4–18; E. Stern, "The Persian Empire and the Political and Social History of Palestine in the Persian Period," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism,* vol. 1, *The Persian Period* (ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 70–87; Ackroyd, *Israel Under Babylon and Persia;* idem, *Chronicler in His Age*; Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah"; D. L. Smith, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of Postexilic Judaean Society," in *Second Temple Studies 1,* ed. Davies, 73–97; C. E. Carter, "The Province of Yehud in the Post-Exilic Period: Soundings in Site Distribution and Demography," in *Second Temple Studies 2,* ed. Eskenazi and Richards, 106–45; Z. Kallai, "Judah and the Boundaries of Jewish Settlement under Persian Rule," in *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography: Collection of Studies* (BEATAJ 14; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), 63–91; Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*; Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 41–51; Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah*, 85–299.

Despite the tensions that existed between the two groups, in time they were drawn together. Even during the first generations of the restoration, some of the returnees were "absorbed" by their relatives.[53] By the Chronicler's time, almost two centuries after the original restoration and a century after Ezra and Nehemiah, the friction between the descendants of the returnees and those of the "lower," mostly agrarian stratum of Judahite society that had not been exiled in the first place had probably lessened significantly.[54] The Chronicler certainly makes no distinction between the two groups. Beyond that, it has long been recognized that the Chronicler also makes no *genetic* differentiation between members of the tribes of Israel that had been ruled by the house of David and those that had been part of the northern kingdom. The Chronicler does not explicitly mention the exile of either the Galilean tribes or those of the Samarian hill country—as opposed to his description of the demise of the Transjordanian tribes (1 Chr 5:25–26). In several passages (such as 1 Chr 9:3; 2 Chr 30:1–11; 34:6) the Chronicler makes it clear that he considers the north to be populated by "Israelites," at least in part, even after the Assyrian conquest. In fact, according to 1 Chr 9:1, it was the people (or rather the kings) of *Judah* who were exiled to Babylon.[55] Moreover as Japhet has pointed out, the account of the destruction, exile, and message of return in 2 Chr 36 is so worded as to "reduce the dimensions . . . of the destruction itself . . . to Jerusalem . . . in the Chronistic version of events . . . Nebuchadnezzar never harmed the kingdom as a whole. . . . The destruction of the Temple did not really entail a break in continuity; the majority of the people remained in the land."[56]

Regarding the origins of the Chronicler's view of the tribal composition of Israelite society, Japhet concluded that by his period that tribal society was gone, except as a literary convention.[57] My own research into the geographical background of the Chronicler's genealogies, however, has led to the opposite conclusion. In my opinion, much of the Chronicler's geographical information can be matched with the situation in his own day.[58] One example of this is the

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[53] Smith, "Politics of Ezra," 96.

[54] For a synopsis of the debate on the dates of Ezra and Nehemiah, see A. Demsky, "Who Came First, Ezra or Nehemiah? The Synchronistic Approach," *HUCA* 65 (1994): 1–19.

[55] See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 206.

[56] Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 369.

[57] Ibid., 300–302.

[58] Levin, "Territories of Ephraim and Manasseh"; idem, "The Burial Place of Joab son of Zeruiah, Chief of David's Hosts," in *Judea and Samaria Studies: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference* (ed. Y. Eshel and Z. H. Ehrlich; Ariel: College of Judea and Samaria Research Institute, 1995), 53–58 (Hebrew with English abstract); idem, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 80–83, 91–92, 127–46, 159, 304–5.

reduced position of Shechem, once a key phratry within the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:31; Josh 17:2) and now a minor clan at the end of the list in 1 Chr 7:19. This seems to reflect the actual reality at the site of Tell Balatah, which was practically abandoned by 480 B.C.E.[59]

Bendor wrote of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles, that they "reflect a conception that was recently past or is contemporaneous with their composition or their compilation."[60] In my opinion as well, much of postexilic Judean society—which included both returnees and descendants of those left behind—seems to have retained its "tribal" character.[61]

IV. The Sources of the Chronicler's Genealogical Material

We can take this line of reasoning one step further. Despite the Chronicler's well-defined geographical concept of the tribal inheritances, they are in no way schematic in character. We have seen the differences among the genealogies of the different tribes, both in length and in content: beyond the basic "core material" taken from earlier sources, the Transjordanian tribes are represented by lists of tribal leaders, the Galileans by records apparently taken from censuses, while only the "central" tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Ephraim, Manasseh, and (southern) Asher have true segmented genealogies representing the geographic diffusion of their component families and clans. The cause of this disparity seems to be related to the source material available to the Chronicler for the different tribes. In the case of the Galileans, the Chronicler's only source of information beyond that given in the Pentateuch was apparently a series of old military censuses, which may or may not have dated to the time of David. The mention in 1 Chr 5:17 of a census in Transjordan during the reign of Jotham, king of Judah (mid-eighth century, just before the exile) would serve as a source for that material.[62] By the Chronicler's day, these tribes were truly gone. But the genealogies of Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Ephraim, Manasseh, and (southern) Asher are too complex to have come entirely from an old archival source. They display the depth, segmentation, and fluidity that we would associate with oral genealogies in a "living" tribal society. And as we have stated above, they also contain information that seems to reflect the Chronicler's own day. The logical conclusion would be that these genealogies were adapted from the "living" oral traditions of the people of Judah, Ben-

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[59] G. E. Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (London: Duckworth, 1965), 166–67.

[60] Bendor, *Social Structure of Ancient Israel*, 103.

[61] See, e.g., Levin, "Burial Place of Joab Son of Zeruiah," 56–57.

[62] So, e.g., Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 138.

jamin, Levi, Ephraim, Manasseh, and (southern) Asher in the late Persian period and were intended to reflect the situation of those tribes' clans at the time.

We can now understand that the Chronicler was indeed using a literary device that could be appreciated by his readers: the genealogical framework was part of their day-to-day lives, and its transferal from the sphere of village life to that of national reality was only natural. Just as an individual's status is determined by one's place in the family lineage, so is the clan's or tribe's determined by its pedigree, and so are nations' positions determined by their place in the family of humankind. The lists' segmented form was intended to express the relationships between the different clans and phratries that made up that society. The "core genealogies" and whatever ancient sources were incorporated in the lists gave them the depth that connected those clans to their preexilic ancestors. And the discrepancies among different "versions" of the same list (such as the *four* different Benjaminite lists in Gen 46:21; Num 26:38–40; 1 Chr 7:6–12; 1 Chr 8:1–40) represented the fluidity that was essential to that form of list. The Chronicler, in writing his history of ancient Israel, chose a literary device that was well known to his intended audience and would easily convey his intended message.

V. The Chronicler and His Audience

What does this tell us about the Chronicler himself? We agree with the assumption that he lived in Yehud, probably in the mid-fourth century B.C.E. He was also quite obviously somehow connected with the temple, as is evident both from his interest in its cult and from his extensive knowledge of that cult, of the Priestly and Levitic genealogies and so on. This kind of information seems to imply that the Chronicler had access to the temple and its archives. Those archives may also have been a source for some of the additional preexilic information he seems to have had, such as old census reports, building records, and "prophetic" materials.[63] Adam C. Welch seems to have been the first to suggest that the Chronicler was a descendant of "the community which had never been in exile."[64] Weinberg suggested that rather than one of the "repatri-

[63] See J. Weinberg, "Das Wesen und die funkionelle Bestimmung der Listen in I Chr 1–9," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 113.

[64] Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*, 157; Welch was apparently also the first to dissociate the Chronicler from the author of Ezra-Nehemiah (pp. 186–87). One might add that Welch considered the first six chapters of Ezra to be part of the Chronicler's work, and argued for a rather early—even sixth-century—date for that work (pp. 241–42), which we do not accept. Welch also believed that the genealogies in 1 Chr 1–9 were not a part of that original work; see *Post-Exilic Judaism*, 185–86; idem, *Work of the Chronicler*, 1.

ant" priests who ran the "citizen-temple community," the Chronicler was part of a preexilic "scribal clan" whose descendants were among those who remained in the land.[65] This is not a tenable option, since there is no evidence of such preexilic clans in places outside of Jerusalem that would not have been among those who were exiled. Further, with all his access to temple archives and records, the Chronicler must have been part of the Jerusalem priestly elite. R. Zadok has suggested that he was one of the temple musicians rather than a member of the ruling priesthood.[66] This is certainly possible, though there does not seem to be much evidence for it. In any case, the Chronicler would still have been part of the "elite." Dyck sees the Chronicler as a part of "the ruling and priestly classes in Jerusalem" who used "the (imminent or actual) demise of the Persians . . . to think big."[67] We have already seen that the Chronicler's outlook was different in many ways from that of the Priestly writer of Ezra-Nehemiah. In two recent articles, Gary N. Knoppers stresses the fact that the Chronicler's genealogy of Judah includes many disparate and seemingly unrelated elements, some of them non-Israelite in origin.[68] We have further pointed out the inclusion of Mesopotamian elements in the Manassite list, and Dyck has called this "a lateral ethnic ideology," as opposed to Ezra-Nehemiah's "vertical" ideology.[69] Such an ideology would have been impossible in the Ezra-Nehemiah circles; the Chronicler was clearly of a different "school." So while the Chronicler was obviously a member of the Jerusalem elite, that elite in the late fourth century seems to have been very different from the "Golah-returnee" elite of the mid-fifth century, as represented by the author of Ezra-Nehemiah.

Despite the claim made several years ago by Kent H. Richards that the Persian period "has gone from being described as the dark ages to being acclaimed as *the* most generative time for the formation of the library of books that we call the Hebrew Bible,"[70] we actually know relatively little of the social or political history of the Judean province during the fourth century B.C.E. and in the period of frequent revolts and wars that characterized the latter half of Persian rule in the Levant. A few coins, some unclear archaeological evidence,

[65] J. Weinberg, "The Book of Chronicles: Its Author and Audience," in *Abraham Malamat Volume,* ed. Ahituv et al., 216*–220*.

[66] R. Zadok, "On the Reliability of the Genealogical and Prosopographical Lists of the Israelites in the Old Testament," *Tel Aviv* 25 (1998): 228.

[67] Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 162–64.

[68] Knoppers, "'Great Among His Brothers,' but Who is He?"; idem, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah," 15–30.

[69] Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 129; Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 117–21.

[70] K. H. Richards, "Introduction: The Persian Period: Coming of Age," in *Second Temple Studies 2*, ed. Eskenazi and Richards, 13.

and perhaps a few undatable biblical texts are all we have to work with.[71] The same is true for the early Hellenistic period, the first years of Ptolemaic rule. In the Judaism that emerged from that obscure period into the relative clarity of the Seleucid and Hasmonean eras, however, there is no evidence that a division remained between the descendants of the *Golah* and those of the "remnants." In the Judaism of the Hellenistic period and later, the division was once more between the urban, easily hellenized "elite" and the agrarian populace, who continued to practice their "traditional" way of life.

These "people of the land," within and without the political boundaries of the Judean province, were both the object and the audience of the Chronicler.[72] This audience, living in a society that was still to a large extent "tribal," could easily understand the Chronicler's message of the basic unity of all Israel in all of its land, in the past and in the present. The Chronicler, as opposed to the separatist, maybe anti-Samaritan, Priestly author of Ezra-Nehemiah, is not telling his "history" from the perspective of the urban elite of Jerusalem. When the Chronicler, in his genealogical "introduction," lays out the ethnic and geographical framework of his "Israel," his perspective is that of the tribal, village society, which was very much alive and functioning in his day. The villagers of the hill country of Judah and Benjamin, but also those of Ephraim and Manasseh, were both the Chronicler's source of information and his audience.

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[71] For the little we do know, see Stern, "Persian Empire and the Political and Social History of Palestine," 70–87; D. Barag, "The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine," *BASOR* 183 (1966): 6–12; J. W. Betlyon, "The Provincial Government of Persian Period Judea and the Yehud Coins," *JBL* 105 (1986): 633–42; see also E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990), and the many references there.

[72] For the development of the term עם הארץ and especially for the insight that the difference between its negative usage in Ezra-Nehemiah and its positive use in Haggai and Zechariah lies in the different dates and backgrounds of the books, see Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple Community*, 62–74. Building upon this, we would suggest that the Chronicler used the term in an inclusive way, meaning "the people of Israel," but this must await further study.

NEW RESOURCES
for OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

PURITY BEYOND THE TEMPLE IN THE SECOND TEMPLE ERA

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In the first line of the article on ritual purity in *Encyclopedia Judaica,* we read that purity is "a concept that a person or object can be in a state which, by religious law, prevents the person or object from having any contact with the temple or its cult."[1] A number of more recent studies have adopted a similar view, claiming that the purity laws of Second Temple Judaism derive their essential warrant from the existence of the temple cult. In the present study, I refer to such a view as "minimalist" and argue that, in Second Temple times, there was no necessary connection between purity and the temple.

I. Critique of the Minimalist View

I must first attend to an important study that puzzlingly combines aspects of both the minimalist and maximalist views: E. P. Sanders's *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM, 1990). By correcting universal misconceptions about ritual purity, and by provoking further investigations into these issues, Sanders has successfully moved the scholarly discussion of ritual purity laws and practices to a higher level. Sanders's principal objective was to overturn the view, represented chiefly by Gedalyahu Alon and Jacob Neusner, that the Pharisees applied the laws of *priestly* purity to their own lives. As Sanders argues, Alon and Neusner made a series of mistaken assumptions regarding both the biblical and the Pharisaic purity laws: "It is not the case . . . that the purity laws of the Bible affect *only* the temple and the priesthood. Some scholars . . . mistakenly think that 'the settled halakah' of purity had to do only with

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[1] "Purity and impurity, ritual," *EncJud* 13:1405–14. The authorship of the article is attributed to the editorial staff of *Encyclopaedia Hebraica.*

these, but that is not so even in biblical law."[2] Unfortunately, Sanders allows the view that he is challenging to determine his options. Although he demonstrates that the purity halakah went beyond the temple, he continues to regard the sanctity of the temple as the motivating principle behind purity in general, even to the point of formulating Pharisaic practice as "a minor gesture toward living like priests." In this respect, even Sanders has not broken completely free of the minimalist understanding. He writes that, for most of the daily threats to ritual purity, "[t]he only consequence of the impurity is nonaccess to the temple."[3]

Others have charged Sanders with underestimating the daily impact of ritual purity. This charge is based on his comments on the impracticability of avoiding all forms of impurity and on his dismissal of Mark 7:1–23 as evidence for Pharisaic hand washing before meals. In deciding whether he is guilty of minimalizing the daily impact of ritual purity, however, it should be noted that he often uses the term "purity" when he really refers to the hypothetical application of specifically priestly purity requirements to non-priests (as held by Alon, Neusner, and others). According to Sanders, "People who say that the Pharisees handled all food in purity have not paid attention to the realities of life."[4] Despite the welcome infusion of historical imagination, the difficulty that Sanders outlines obtains only with respect to the common belief that the Pharisees observed a priestly level of food purity. Given the presumed effect of their regimen of hand washing, there is nothing realistically remarkable about their efforts to "eat ordinary food in purity," so long as we understand "purity" according to a non-priestly standard. Sanders mentions that the institution of *tebul yom* would have answered the problem of daily purity, but he asserts, on the basis of their opposition to the "morning bathers" in *t. Yad.* 2.20, that the Pharisees did not avail themselves of that device frequently enough to live a life of priestly purity. By dissolving the definitional monopoly of the priestly view, however, we open the question of daily purity to resolution through hand washing, rather than immersion. It is not unlikely that the morning bathers were simply a group of pietists who consciously opposed the Pharisaic expedient of hand washing.

The minimalist understanding of the purity halakah that Sanders propounds is argued in earnest by Hyam Maccoby, whose recent book *Ritual and Morality* represents the most sustained defense ever given for a minimalist understanding of the ritual purity laws.[5] Maccoby argues throughout that "[t]he

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[2] E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM, 1990), 147. Sanders writes: "Alon's argument founders in part because he took Lev. 11.32–38 to be a priestly law. Neusner made the same mistake, and elaborated on it" (p. 132).

[3] Ibid., 145.

[4] E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM, 1992), 221.

[5] Hyam Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality: The Ritual Purity System and its Place in Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

vast majority of Jews were not expected to be in a state of ritual purity except at festival times, when they entered the Temple area."[6] While Maccoby's study may soon take its place alongside that of Sanders, its problems are much more significant. Maccoby's book demonstrates the weaknesses of the minimalist approach much more clearly than the strengths, as his attempt to tie all ritual purity concerns to the temple involves him, not a few times, in special pleading. Furthermore, the fact that he completely ignores the criticisms of the minimalist position that have been issued in response to Sanders's book, especially the *realia*-rich study by Roland Deines,[7] makes one wonder whom this book was meant to persuade. Maccoby writes as if these studies do not exist.

Equally problematic, however, are Maccoby's attempts to make the evidence that he does discuss conform to the temple-oriented view. There are places where he holds a lot of contrary (and well-known) evidence behind his back. On p. 2, he writes:

> After the destruction of the Temple, the focus of Jewish worship shifted to the synagogues, and in these the exclusion of impurity was no longer a requirement. On the contrary, it became imperative not to turn the synagogues into miniature Temples, since the sacramental function of the Temple was not transferred to the synagogue.

I have no idea how Maccoby can state that "the exclusion of impurity" was not required in synagogues. The synagogue did not require the profound levels of purification prescribed for the temple, but it did require purifications. The connection of *miqvaʾot* with the remains of pre-70 Palestinian synagogues strongly suggests that one could not enter without taking care of one's own purity status,[8] and while only one Diaspora synagogue is known to have had a *miqveh* (Delos), most have left remains of cisterns and basins near the entrance (for

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[6] Ibid., 149.

[7] See Roland Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit: Ein archäologisch-historischer Beitrag zum Verständnis von Joh 2,6 und der jüdischen Reinheitshalacha zur Zeit Jesu* (WUNT 52; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1993), 228–33; Hannah K. Harrington, "Did the Pharisees Eat Ordinary Food in a State of Ritual Purity?" *JSJ* 26 (1995): 42–54; Martin Hengel and Roland Deines, "E. P. Sanders' 'Common Judaism', Jesus, and the Pharisees," *JTS* 46 (1995): 1–70, esp. 41–51.

[8] Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees* (SPB 39; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 373, 375; Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit,* 4–6; Ronny Reich, "The Synagogue and the *Miqweh* in Eretz-Israel in the Second-Temple, Mishnaic, and Talmudic periods," in *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (ed. Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher; 2 vols.; SPB 47; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1:289–97; Eyal Regev, "Ritual Baths of Groups and Sects in Israel in the Days of the Second Temple," *Cathedra* 79 (1996): 3–21. On the exclusion of impurity from the synagogue, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Purity and Piety: The Separation of Menstruants from the Sancta," in *Daughters of the King: Women and the Synagogue* (ed. Susan Grossman and Rivka Haut; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992), 103–15. For a

hand washing). As Anders Runesson notes, two Jewish prayer houses in early-second-century C.E. Arsinoë (Egypt) "seem to have used far more water than even a bath nearby."[9] (Some Diaspora synagogues may have used the local stream or seashore rather than *miqva'ot:* for example, Josephus tells us that the Jews of Halicarnassus won the right to build their "places of prayer" near the sea [*Ant.* 14.258], and, according to a variant reading of Acts 16:13, Paul expects to find the local body of praying Jews somewhere near the water.[10] As Runesson has shown, however, it may be that locations beside water were considered pure in themselves.)[11]

   There are many points at which the evidence does not cleanly connect with Maccoby's universalizing scheme, and it is at these points that his reasoning seems to take hidden shortcuts:

> Bathing after sexual intercourse has an interesting history even when no element of Temple-pollution is present. This is certainly true in rabbinic practice, in which bathing after intercourse survived long after Temple times, but more as a matter of decency than of pollution. . . . The fact that considerations other than purification were present is shown by the mitigation of the mode of washing: instead of the requirement of full immersion in the ritual pool, it was declared sufficient to rinse "the head and most of the body" with "drawn water" (i.e. water which would not qualify for the contents of a ritual pool). This mode of washing made it clear that no scriptural support for the practice was claimed; this was merely a rabbinic institution. Yet it was widely practised for a period, and was even extended to function as a purification before prayer or study, a form of purification unknown to Scripture.[12]

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minimalist response to Reich, see Benjamin G. Wright III, "Jewish Ritual Baths–Interpreting the Digs and the Texts: Some Issues in the Social History of Second Temple Judaism," in *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present* (ed. Neil Asher Silberman and David Small; JSOTSup 237; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 190–214. See now Ronny Reich, "They *Are* Ritual Baths," *BAR* 28, no. 2 (March–April 2002): 50–55.

   [9] Anders Runesson, "Water and Worship: Ostia and the Ritual Bath in the Diaspora Synagogue," in *The Synagogue of Ancient Ostia and the Jews of Rome: Interdisciplinary Studies* (ed. Birger Olsson, Dieter Mitternacht, and Olof Brandt; Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 4/57; Stockholm: Paul Åströms, 2001), 115–29, esp. 123.

   [10] A similar lack of *miqva'ot* compels the Falasha custom of building villages near streams of water. See Michael Corinaldi, "Purity and Conversion Norms among the Falashas," in *Between Africa and Zion: Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Society for the Study of Ethiopian Jewry* (ed. Steven Kaplan, Tudor Parfitt, and Emanuela Trevisan Semi; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1995), 113–24, esp. 116–17.

   [11] Runesson, "Water and Worship," 119–23.

   [12] Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality,* 60–61. Maccoby continues, "Yet there is evidence even in Scripture that bathing after emission of semen was required even if there was no intention of entering the Temple. It has been inferred that a war party was required to observe conditions of sexual purity (1 Samuel 21:5), and that even celebration of the New Moon required such purity (1 Samuel 20:26)."

Maccoby writes that "bathing after intercourse" in the post-temple era was "more . . . a matter of decency than of pollution." This is shown, he claims, by the fact that an unscriptural "mode of washing" (i.e., not full immersion, and not in living water) was allowed, demonstrating "that no scriptural support for the practice was claimed." But Maccoby never explains how a lack of "scriptural support" implies that a ritual washing has nothing to do with purity. Presumably, the real logic behind his conclusion proceeds from his dictum that all purity laws are related to the temple in some way. Maccoby finally adds that this practice was "extended [?] to function as a purification before prayer or study," admitting the existence of purification rituals that were not temple-related. Of course, it is more likely that this washing had been intended for purity all along. The relaxed form of the washing ritual was perhaps nothing more than a strategy for promoting mass participation in the purity halakah.

According to Maccoby, "most Jews (i.e. non-priests) were in a state of corpse-impurity most of the time without concern. It was only when they had to enter the Temple grounds, mainly at festival times, that they had to take care to remove their corpse-impurity or other impurity by the prescribed purifications."[13] However, washing one's hands before prayer or Torah study was a widespread practice from Second Temple times that the rabbis accepted into their system.[14] Indeed, the fact that it is not a temple-oriented practice, and yet was adopted by the rabbis, speaks of its universality outside of rabbinic circles.

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[13] Ibid., 3–4.

[14] Chaim Milikowsky's recent attempt to separate "impurity of the hands" from "washing the hands" is not convincing ("Reflections on Hand-Washing, Hand-Purity and Holy Scripture in Rabbinic Literature," in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* [ed. M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz; Jewish and Christian Perspectives; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 149–62) is not convincing. He argues that the ways in which the hands are rendered impure are all decreed for practical, rather than ritual-logical, considerations, so that the notion of impure hands is really a legal fiction designed to accomplish any of a number of desired halakic effects lying beyond purity concerns. There are two problems with Milikowsky's argument: (1) In discussing Scripture's power to render the hands unclean, he concentrates solely on the problematic nature of Menachem Haran's theories concerning Scripture's power to render unclean, and assumes, because the rendering of hands impure is elsewhere connected with practical effects, that the notion of hand impurity caused by Scripture is also motivated by practical considerations (although he does not know what they might be). Milikowsky shows no awareness that the inability of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs to render the hands impure might have to do with the fact that these books do not contain the Tetragrammaton. (Like many others, he assumes that questioning the power of these books to render hands unclean is a tacit contesting of their scriptural status.) (2) It seems unlikely that rendering the hands impure would have been the chosen legal fiction for practical effects, if it did not already exist as a bona fide purification ritual. One would rather expect to read about the whole body being rendered impure, since that concept was already an established one. Contra Milikowsky, it seems safer to assume that the ritual of hand washing in the NT is connected with the susceptibility of hands to impurity. See John C. Poirier, "Why Did the Pharisees Wash their Hands?" *JJS* 47 (1996): 217–33.

The evidence simply does not support Maccoby's belief that a temple-oriented understanding of ritual purity was the norm within ancient Judaism, both before and after the destruction of the temple. He mostly ignores the fact that washing one's hands, or immersing one's body, was a widely subscribed practice in Second Temple Judaism. To make his theory work, Maccoby must pretend that much of the Second Temple evidence is later than it really is, and that some of the rabbinic evidence goes back much earlier than we have reason to believe. He must also, at times, introduce details that are not implied. For example, he writes of *m. Toh.* 7:6, in which the owner of a house that has been rifled by an intruder must regard certain of his household items as being unclean,

> It should be pointed out . . . that the Mishnah is talking about a householder who is a member of the *haberim,* and is therefore dedicated to ritual purity; an ordinary person would not have to care about whether the contents of his house have become wholly or partially unclean.[15]

In fact, the Mishnah does not imply that the householder is a *ḥābēr*—this is an assumption that Maccoby reads into the text. It is simply the scenario required by Maccoby's minimalist interpretation of the purity laws. Similarly, in discussing Mark 7:1–23, Maccoby asserts that the hand washing referred to by the Pharisees, and passed over by Jesus' disciples, was not an act of ritual purification but one "promoting health or dignity," and that the details suggesting that ritual purification is really at issue are really redactional glosses importing later practices into Jesus' day. He assumes this to be the case, because the Talmud ascribes the institution of ritual hand washing "to the time of the Eighteen Decrees (about 66 CE)" (*b. Šabb.* 15a).[16] But as Peter Tomson persuasively argues, the ten items listed in *m. Zabim* 5:12 as requiring hand washing "had been existing, certainly in part, for some generations before" R. Yoshua, who compiled and subsumed them under the eighteen decrees.[17]

Upon finishing Maccoby's book, the reader is left wondering what evi-

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[15] Ibid., 150. Maccoby writes: "The vast majority of Jews were not expected to be in a state of ritual purity except at festival times, when they entered the Temple area. Only a tiny minority of Jews, known as *haberim,* or Associates . . . made a special undertaking to keep themselves in a state of ritual purity, as an exercise in piety and in order to perform the service to the community of separating the priestly dues (*terumah*) from the crop without causing them defilement" (p. 149).

[16] Ibid., 156.

[17] P. J. Tomson, "Zavim 5:12—Reflections on Dating Mishnaic Halakhah," in *History and Form: Dutch Studies in the Mishnah: Papers Read at the Workshop "Mishnah"* (ed. A. Kuyt and N. A. Van Uchelen; Publications of the Juda Palache Institute 4; Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 1988), 53–69, esp. 65. It is widely accepted that the eighteen decrees reflect long-held practices (see Abraham I. Schechter, *Lectures on Jewish Liturgy* [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933], 12–14), and Maccoby's failure to entertain the possibility is methodologically problematic.

dence really exists for the supposed temple orientation of the purity laws.[18] I will argue below that, apart from one dubious quotation from Josephus, *none* exists for the Second Temple period and that exegetes of the ritual purity laws in this early period should drop this construct altogether. I will then offer a suggestion as to how such an idea ever entered scholarship in the first place.

For most minimalists, the temple orientation of the purity halakah obtains in both the authorial meaning of Leviticus and the rabbinic interpretation of that book. They are under the impression that, when Leviticus invokes the purity laws in connection with the possibility of defiling the tabernacle/temple, it means to imply that the temple cult provides the justification for the purity laws. Of course, this way of reading Leviticus is based on a non sequitur: just because purity is of a more serious nature when connected with temple observances, it does not follow that it is not generally required apart from the temple. It is quite enough for Leviticus to say, "Do this," without explicitly justifying it, and we should not read the application of purity in connection with the temple as an efficient account of why the purity laws exist.

The difficulties of supposing that the temple-orientation theory is a valid universal key for the purity laws of Leviticus, or for the way Leviticus was read in late antiquity, are overwhelming. It is unlikely that Leviticus means to imply that all purity concerns are temple-centered, and it is just as unlikely that most Jews, apart from an ulterior motivation (see below), would have been impressed with such a reading. Within Leviticus's main sections on purity laws (5:2–3; 11:24–40; 12:1–15:33; 17:15–16), the warnings about polluting the temple (or "tabernacle") are infrequent (see 7:19–21; 15:31; 16:16). Concerns about polluting the temple appear to be logically pendant from the laws of purity, rather than vice versa. More warnings about polluting the temple are found in Lev 22:1–16, but it is hard to believe that this reprise provides an overarching interpretive key to everything that precedes it. The distinction that is often made between P and H in this connection—namely, that P lists a lack of access to the temple as the only consequence of impurity, while H also knows of the concept of the holiness of the land—seems to me to be valid only if we assume that the command to purify oneself after certain states or activities is not in itself a sufficient indication of the need for purification beyond the temple.[19]

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[18] More suspect readings can be found in Maccoby's account: for example, in discussing the demands for purity in the practice of mystical ascent, he insists that it is not the impending encounter with *sancta* in general that is at issue, but rather the fact that the ascent brings one to a particular *sanctum,* a heavenly *temple:* "If purity was required to enter the earthly Temple, it must surely be required to enter the heavenly Temple" (*Ritual and Morality,* 213). Thus, according to Maccoby, even the merkabists invoked a temple-oriented understanding of purity in their ascents.

[19] I am not questioning the existence of P and H, but only the belief that they convey different views of purity and holiness.

Even scholars who recognize how little the purity halakah of late antiquity had to do with the temple sometimes believe that the biblical purity laws themselves are all temple-related. Jacob Neusner writes: "All Levitical legislation on purity deals with the cult. By contrast, most of the rules [of the Mishnah] before us concern domestic or commercial utensils, and only a few, isolated pericopae even make reference to the cult."[20] In point of fact, numerous biblical purity laws have no connection with the temple whatsoever (as Neusner sometimes admits).[21] Eyal Regev is another case in point:

> Did the Jews who observed non-priestly purity regard this as a Biblical commandment or as a new perception that should be observed because it is necessary and self-understood in their religious life? Actually, any effort to interpret the laws in the Torah as implying non-priestly purity is a shot in the dark. After all, even the basic religious practices that had led to the notion of non-priestly purity—prayer and the study of the Torah—are merely implied in its legal sections. Therefore, we should admit that the daily life of the "common Jew" in the late Second Temple period had greatly exceeded the scope of the Biblical commandments.[22]

I do not accept Regev's presuppositions. His rejection of a biblical basis for non-priestly purity is part and parcel of his objection to Sanders's description of Pharisaic extra-temple halakot as "purity *for its own sake.*"[23] Regev does not explain his rejection of Sanders's term, except to ask what it really means, assuming that only a functional definition of purity (i.e., in terms of preparation for prayer, Torah reading, etc.) can really satisfy. As I see it, "purity for its own sake" is the correct way to describe the nonfunctional reasoning behind most of the purity injunctions in the Bible—that is, that purity is connected to holiness, which is enjoined upon all of Israel.[24] The liturgical occasions that make it a

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[20] Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities,* part 1 (SJLA 6/1; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 4. Although Neusner sometimes asserts the temple orientation of the biblical purity laws, he often properly qualifies this rubric (to the point of making it invalid) in discussing certain passages. For example, in discussing the sexual laws of Lev 18, he writes: "The purity of cult, land, and people signifies God's favor; the divine favor is joined to the specific rules concerning purity in food and sex" (*The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* [SJLA 1; Leiden: Brill, 1973], 21).

[21] For example, laws negotiating impurity contracted by parturition, leprosy and skin ailments (including "garment" and "house" leprosy), *zābîm* and *zābôt*, nocturnal emissions, menstruation, touching the carcass of an impure animal, and eating unslaughtered meat.

[22] Eyal Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity and Its Religious Aspects According to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings," in *Purity and Holiness,* ed. Poorthuis and Schwartz, 223–44, esp. 242–43.

[23] Ibid., 238. Sanders writes of "purity *for its own sake*" (*Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah,* 192 [emphasis his]).

[24] I regard Hengel's and Deine's rejection of "purity for its own sake" in favor of "the demand for holiness" to be a quibbling about semantics, although they see the two as quite different explanations for ritual purity ("E. P. Sanders' 'Common Judaism', Jesus, and the Pharisees," 46–47). For

special requirement only add a second-level regulation of the times when one may, for the sake of life's other commitments, relax his or her purity level.[25]

If the rabbis imagined that the purity laws were all temple-oriented, as the minimalists assert, their reading of Leviticus must have appeared rather artificial to most Jewish readers. The purity laws simply relate the circumstances that allow impurity to spread and list the respective remedies. They do not imply that the remedies exist solely for the sake of worship at the temple. Rather, the warnings against bringing impurity into the temple make the point that the temple is a very holy place, and tell Israel how it must respect that holiness. It is one thing to note that the Bible specifies purity halakot for the temple cult in all of its aspects. It is quite another to infer that the purity halakot existed for no purpose other than that of the temple cult.

Doubts should also be registered with regard to the interpretation of Leviticus in Jewish sources. Despite the fact that the Mishnah never states in so many words that the purity laws are all temple-oriented, such a rubric is intrinsically unlikely on account of the remoteness of these laws from temple associations, as well as their very extent. If the implied reader is not supposed to care about his/her ritual purity except when it came time to attend the temple, should we expect the purity laws to be so intrusive of the daily routine? If most pilgrims to the temple would have lived in a state of ritual impurity perpetually throughout the year, without care for that fact (as Maccoby and others suppose), why would the rabbis have deliberated so on the wherewithal of the spread of impurity? One would rather expect to find the rabbis prescribing purification rituals for the pilgrim per se, without care for how or when his/her state of impurity began during the time elapsing from the previous pilgrimage. Granted, the gathering of heave offering is a temple concern, which implies a sort of extension of the temple's holy precincts to the local village, but even this concern by itself does not help our understanding of the mishnaic purity laws. Certainly, deliberations about whose harps (*m. Kel.* 15:6) or which parts of a loom (*m. Kel.* 21:1–3) are susceptible to impurity can scarcely be elucidated by

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the relationship between purity and holiness, see Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[25] In my opinion, Aharon Shemesh's interpretation of Lev 11:43–45 ("You shall not make yourselves detestable with any creature that swarms . . .") is worded more helpfully: "There is no mention here of defiling the tabernacle. Instead, the obligation to cleanse oneself is present as an independent command, implied by Israel's duty to be holy in emulation of the hallowed deity. This duty is independent of any place, whether the place of the unclean person or the 'place' of the Lord's presence" ("The Holiness According to the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 19 [2000]: 369–82, esp. 371). The fact that there is some confusion between *kašrût* and ritual purity in Lev 11 does not detract from Shemesh's point. In fact, the way in which the prohibition against touching an unclean carcass is made determinative for something perpetual like *kašrût* supports a nonlocalizable understanding of ritual purity.

supposing that injunctions to purity are meant to be as episodic as the minimalists imagine. Neither the Bible nor the Mishnah implies that purity is a strictly temple-oriented concern, and the intrusively daily nature of the laws found in both strongly suggests the opposite.

Certainly, the fact that some Jews made a special point of eating ordinary food in purity does not imply that the greater majority did not adhere to a halakic regimen of frequent purifications. The eating of ordinary food in purity tells us what some Jews thought about the sanctity (or the purity-related fragility) of mealtimes, but it does not tell us what other Jews thought of the general notion of purity beyond the temple. It is sometimes assumed that the effort on the part of some to ensure ritual purity at mealtime constitutes a singular departure from an otherwise universal conception of purity as something strictly temple-related. There is, however, no logical or evidentiary basis for this assumption.[26]

II. The Evidence for Extra-Temple Purity

The evidence for a much wider application of the purity halakah is considerable. As early as Tobit, we see Jews purifying themselves immediately after contact with the dead (2:9; cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 3.206). A number of early sources testify to the practice of purifying oneself before prayer: Jdt. 12:6–10; *Sib. Or.* 3:591–93; 4:162–66; and *Let. Aris.* 305–6 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.106).[27] In all of these writings, the purpose of bathing or washing the hands is fulfilled by a liturgical action unconnected with the temple. A number of passages from the Mishnah and Tosefta point to the continuing importance of this practice in the tannaitic era (*m. ʿEd.* 1:3; 5:6; *m. Miqw.* 1:1–6:11; *m. Yad.* 1:1–2:4; *m. Ḥag.* 2:5–6; and *t. Demai* 2.11–12). As mentioned above, the archaeological remains of synagogues from this time show that either *miqvaʾot* or wash basins were used for regular attendance at the weekly services.[28] *Miqvaʾot* are also regularly

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[26] For hand washing before meals, see Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit,* 228–33. Jacob Neusner writes: "from the Scriptural rule that one should avoid unclean foods so as not to become unclean, and one should avoid being unclean because he cannot be holy if he is unclean [Lev 11:43–47], it is a very small step indeed to the conclusion concerning the cleanness of domestic meals that the Mishnah's rules take for granted is the requirement of the law" (*Purity in Rabbinic Judaism: A Systemic Account: The Sources, Media, Effects, and Removal of Uncleanness* [University of South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 95; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994], 116–17).

[27] The evidence is discussed in some detail in Runesson, "Water and Worship," 116–18. In *Life of Adam and Eve* 6–7, Adam and Eve are forbidden to pray until they complete their penance. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:200–212, esp. 200.

[28] Pursuant to the goal of accurately describing the extent to which extra-temple purity con-

found near tombs, which indicates that visitors to those tombs would have begun the process of gradual purification immediately and would not have waited until a state of purity was required by the handling of priestly dues or by an impending visit to the temple.[29] As Sanders writes, "the evidence in favour of general observance could not be more impressive."[30]

In an important study, Roland Deines argues that the evidence for hand washing before prayer and mealtime has been greatly underappreciated. After discussing the evidence, Deines turns to a detailed investigation of the stone jars. These jars were preferred in many contexts because they stopped the spread of ritual impurity at mealtime, when the danger of contracting impurity, particularly through the intensifying properties of liquids, was especially high.[31] *Mishnah Beṣah* 2:3 demonstrates the important role of stoneware in ensuring ritual purity at mealtime: "Howbeit they agree that [on a Festival-day] they may render [unclean] water clean by [surface] contact in a stone vessel, but they may not immerse it; and that they may immerse [vessels on a Festival-day] if they are to be changed from one use to another, or [at Passover] from one company to another" (Danby). Deines shows, through a lengthy survey of the archaeological evidence, that these jars were used throughout Palestine (not just by the priests serving in the temple), and that the variety of sizes for this jar type makes it difficult to imagine that they served only for the storage of temple dues. Rather, like the large stone jars mentioned in John 2:6, they served a more daily concern, according to a more comprehensive understanding of ritual impurity.[32] Regev also emphasizes the importance of the stone vessels for understanding ancient purity halakah:

> Is it possible that most of these vessels were used for eating and handling *terumah* without defilement, as the Bible requires? The enormous number

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cerns were adopted by the laity, Deines challenges Morton Smith's widely followed minimizing of the Pharisees' influence (*Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit,* 19–22).

[29] See Eyal Regev, "Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 176–202, esp. 185.

[30] Sanders, *Judaism,* 223.

[31] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit,* passim. See also Eyal Regev, "The Use of Stone Vessels at the End of the Second Temple Period," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceeding of the 6th Annual Meeting–1996* (ed. Yaᶜacov Eshel; Kedumim-Ariel: Research Institute, College of Judea & Samaria, 1997), 83.

[32] John Christopher Thomas comments on this passage, "The introduction of the stone vessel is neither contested, nor it seems, unexpected. It does not appear to be a late concern but the assumed way of rendering unclean water clean. It seems to be taken for granted that stone vessels are best suited for these practices. Neusner indicates that the idea of this section of the tractate is pre-70" (Thomas, "The Fourth Gospel and Rabbinic Judaism," *ZNW* 82 [1991]: 159–82, esp. 164). See J. Terence Forestell, *The Word of the Cross: Salvation as Revelation in the Fourth Gospel* (AnBib 57; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 155–57.

of vessels, and the fact that they were found in almost every known Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel, even the smallest, contradict this interpretation of the archaeological evidence. Thus, for example, in Iotapata (Iodphat), the Galilean town which Josephus claimed to have fortified against Vespasian in 67 CE, at least 120 fragments of stone vessels were found.[33]

Regev has published two helpful surveys of the evidence relating to what he calls "non-priestly purity."[34] He argues that ritual hand washing, whether before mealtime, prayer, or reading Torah in the synagogue, always involved the same "religious perception." The evidence, he contends, should not be subsumed under questions of Pharisaic influence–the impulse to non-priestly purity was much more widespread: "non-priestly purity was quite common, and was not restricted to local practice, social class, religious group, or halakhic school."[35]

A brief look beyond the Pharisaic-rabbinic trajectory also demonstrates that Jews, in general, did not view the pronouncements of Leviticus as bearing only on the temple cult and its extension into the community by way of the priestly dues. Most of the Hellenistic Jewish sources listed above have little to do with the Pharisees. Additionally, there is the matter of purity at Qumran. The Qumranites believed that purity was perpetually enjoined upon the community and was absolutely requisite for celebrating holy days (4Q512) and for observing one's personal prayer regimen (4Q274).[36] Of course, there are potential objections to using the Qumran evidence in this way. For example, one could argue that the Qumranites' self-understanding as God's true temple means that the Qumranic purity halakah is not really extra-temple after all. One could also argue that the Qumran understanding of ritual purity was influenced by the purity laws of Zoroastrianism.[37]

Attending to the superhistorical aspects of the Jewish reading of Leviticus, later movements like the Karaites and Falashas also merit mentioning. It is well

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[33] Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," 232.

[34] Regev, "Pure Individualism," 176–202; idem, "Non-Priestly Purity," 223–44a. Regev's two surveys overlap considerably—sometimes verbatim.

[35] Regev, "Pure Individualism," 185.

[36] Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 200–212.

[37] Klawans observes that the Qumranites held "a conception of defilement that is not unlike that of Zoroastrianism: What is evil is impure, what is impure is demonic, and foreigners are impure" (*Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism,* 88). For the question of Zoroastrian influence on Qumran, see Shaul Shaked, "Iranian Influence on Judaism: First Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism,* vol. 1 (ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 308–25. For a general comparison of Jewish and Zoroastrian purity laws, see Neusner, *Purity in Rabbinic Judaism,* 16–19, 171–205; Sorour Soroudi, "The Concept of Jewish Impurity and Its Reflection in Persian and Judeo-Persian Traditions," in *Irano-Judaica III: Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture Throughout the Ages* (ed. Shaul Shaked and Amnon Netzer; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1994), 142–65.

known that observant Falashas bathe after contact with outsiders, a practice reminiscent of Josephus's description of Essene halakah (see *J.W.* 2.150). We can scarcely use Falasha laws to reconstruct ancient Jewish halakah,[38] but the fact that these laws provide an independent witness to a Jewish reading of Leviticus bears on our attempt to understand the readings that are possible in late antiquity. Additionally, the fact that the Karaite and Falasha laws demonstrate the practicability of a maximalizing interpretation of the laws of Leviticus means that, contra Sanders, we can in no wise reject that interpretation as too impracticable for first-century Palestine.[39]

III. The Source of the Minimalist Interpretation?

It is not my purpose to give an exhaustive account of the case against a temple-orientation of the ritual purity laws. Far better discussions of the evidence are available elsewhere (see especially Sanders, Deines, Regev). Rather, my purpose is to explain how and when the contrary view arose.

If the primary sources, both biblical and Jewish, do not lead to the temple-orientation view of ritual purity, then the question arises: Whence did modern scholarship derive such an understanding? Perhaps one source of the confusion is found in Josephus's comment: "In view of the sacrifices the Law has prescribed purifications for various occasions: after a funeral, after child-birth, after conjugal union, and many others" (*Ag. Ap.* 2.198).[40] To be sure, Josephus's words appear to contradict the reading of Leviticus that I presume to have been more widespread, but we must bear in mind not only that Josephus was a priest and viewed everything from the perspective of the temple, but also that

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[38] Klawans writes: "The assumption that the practices of [Samaritans, Karaites, and Falashas] did not develop over time is naive" (*Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism,* 104). See Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1992). On the Falasha purity laws, see A. Z. Aescoly, "The Halakha and Customs among the Jews of Ethiopia (Falashas) in the Light of Rabbinic and Karaite Halakha" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 7 (1935–36): 31–56; see also the response in the same issue (pp. 374–77) by J. Faitlovitch, "The Presumed Laws of the Falashas" (in Hebrew); Corinaldi, "Purity and Conversion Norms among the Falashas," 113–24. I thank Dr. Peter Tomson for drawing my attention to the debate over Falasha purity laws that raged in *Tarbiz* in the 1930s.

[39] In connection with Sanders's argument, it should be noted that he sometimes makes things more difficult than they probably were. For example, both Harrington ("Did the Pharisees Eat Ordinary Food in a State of Ritual Purity?" 43) and Klawans (*Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism,* 108) point out that Sanders ignores the provisions of the *tebul yom* when he asserts that the impurities of married life would have prohibited the eating of many meals in purity. In point of fact, Sanders briefly mentions the *tebul yom,* but dismisses its applicability to the Pharisees' daily state because they were not morning bathers.

[40] Trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 1:373.

the broader context of these words is a discussion about the care and sanctity of the sacrificial system rather than about purity laws in general.[41]

The enormous influence of the twelfth-century scholar Moses Maimonides represents a more probable source for the minimalist view. Maimonides writes:

> All that is prescribed in the Torah and in other parts of Scripture regarding levitical cleanness and uncleanness applies only to the Temple, its holy things, heave-offering, and second tithe . . . but no prohibition attaches to ordinary food at all and it is permitted to eat unclean ordinary food. . . . Just as it is permissible to eat and drink ordinary food that is defiled, so it is permitted to defile ordinary food in Eretz-Israel. . . . Similarly a man may touch anything that is unclean and become unclean thereby.[42]

Within Jewish circles, Maimonides' influence would have been felt more or less directly, while many outside of Maimonides' circle of direct influence would have had his view mediated to them by Alon's important essay on "The Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness" (1937; Eng. trans. 1977).[43] Jonathan Klawans correctly refers to Alon's essay as the source of the present-day preoccupation with the geographical aspects of purity, noting that his view "is often taken as axiomatic."[44] In his opening paragraph, Alon writes:

> It is well known that the established Halakhic tradition prescribes the Pentateuchal laws of levitical cleanness only in respect of priests, the entering of the Temple, and the eating of consecrated foods. When the Halakha encounters verses that appear to imply that the law of impurity applies outside the Temple precincts and that the prohibition of defilement obtains in any circumstances, even for Israelites, it deflects them from their plain meaning and refers them to the Temple and the priests.[45]

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[41] See Neusner, *Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism,* 38. On the other hand, Josephus seems to recognize a possibly non–temple-oriented purity in his reference to the forced settlement of Tiberias (*Ant.* 18.36–38). I doubt that so many would have objected to contracting the seven-day impurity of dwelling on a burial ground if the only consequences had to do with restrictions on pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

[42] Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Tumat Okelim* 16.8–9; as quoted (with ellipses) in Gedalyahu Alon, "The Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness," in his *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977), 191 n. 2. Maimonides says much the same thing in *Guide for the Perplexed* 3.35, and in *Code* 19.6. As is well known, he considered ritual purity to be an "imaginary matter" (*Guide for the Perplexed* 3.47; cf. idem, *Hilkhot Mikvaʾot* 11.12).

[43] Alon, "Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness," 190–234. The minimalizing of the evidence for non-priestly purity began before Alon. See Adolf Büchler, *Der Galiläische ʿAm-haʾAres des zweiten Jahrhunderts: Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte des palästinischen judentums in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1906).

[44] Klawans: "Alon put forth the now widely accepted thesis that *the* major impurity debate among ancient Jews concerned the geographical boundaries of the realm of purity" (*Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism,* 7).

[45] Alon, "Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness," 191.

There is a need for caution here. A hasty reader might easily understand this paragraph to comprise the beginnings of a reconstruction of the ancient halakic view, when in fact Alon's reference to "the established Halakhic tradition" may have only the present-day halakah in mind. In the accompanying footnote, Alon cites Maimonides' acceptance of the temple-orientation view as a "general and outstanding expression of the current Halakha." Alon never claims that this view is representative of Second Temple Judaism, although his subsequent treatment of the ancient halakah may imply that he sees it that way. The previously mentioned article from *Encyclopedia Judaica* on ritual purity is more explicit about the supposed connection: it represents Maimonides' words as a summary of the halakah obtaining in biblical and Jewish antiquity: "[t]he laws of impurity and purity have no relevant consequences of any substance except for priests and the affairs of the Temple and its hallowed things."[46]

As we can see in Maimonides, the temple-oriented view of purity did arise at some point, but when and why? One of the most illuminating references to this view is found in the work of Yaʿqov al-Qirqisani, a Karaite scholar who lived two hundred years before Maimonides and had some fascinating things to say about the formula that Maimonides reproduces. In book 1 of his *Book of Lights and Watchtowers* (written in 937), al-Qirqisani made a number of interesting observations about the purity laws of the "Rabbanites," in comparison with those of the other Jewish sects of his time.[47] His observations not only provide another firm benchmark for the temple-oriented view—this time two hundred years before Maimonides—but they may also hold the key for understanding how late rabbinic writings came to preserve an understanding of ritual impurity that is so inconsistent with Second Temple sources. He records a rabbinic decree explicitly limiting purity to involvement with the temple: "Since the day when the Temple was destroyed, there is neither uncleanness nor cleanness" (מיום שחרב בית המקדש אין טמאה ואין טהרה [1.9.16]).[48] Al-Qirqisani spells out some examples of the Rabbanites' laxity that greatly exercise him (although not all of them dispense with the purity laws as totally as the above dictum would lead us to expect): they permit sexual intercourse on the Sabbath, disregard some of the ways of contracting corpse impurity (the most grave impurity of all!), and allow a menstruant to continue her chores uninhibited.

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[46] "Purity and impurity, ritual," 1410.

[47] See W. Bacher, "Qirqisani, the Karaite, and his Work on Jewish Sects," *JQR* 7 (1895): 687–710; Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Qirqisāni Studies* (Jews' College Publications 6; London: Jews' College, 1918), 6–10; Leon Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930): 317–97. For the various theories on the origins of the Karaites, see Nathan Schur, *History of the Karaites* (BEATAJ 29; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 13–28, 151–59.

[48] Bruno Chiesa and Wilfrid Lockwood, *Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī on Jewish Sects and Christianity: A Translation of "Kitāb al-anwār," Book I, with Two Introductory Essays* (Judentum und Umwelt 10; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984), 109. The origin of this logion is unknown, but, as Leon Nemoy notes, it is found in a Gaonic responsum (Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-Anwār wal-*

At first blush, the dictum that al-Qirqisani reproduces appears to give strong support to the minimalist reading of the rabbinic evidence. But two other aspects of al-Qirqisani's discussion must first be considered: (1) he clearly considers the theory of purity that the decree expresses to be exclusively rabbinic, with no significant overlap with other branches of Judaism;[49] and (2), more importantly, he apparently connects this decree with the rabbinic program of alleviating the burden of halakah.[50] According to al-Qirqisani, rabbinic Judaism

> abolish[es] the laws of uncleanness for all who live in the exile. This is to be found in their maxim: "Since the day when the Temple was destroyed, there is neither uncleanness nor cleanness." They assert that no uncleanness is contracted from a leper, and that there is no purification from a dead body. Thus they abolish all impurities because if, as they claim, there is no purification for contact with a dead body, which is the most unclean of things, then according to them in the present age all the people are unclean and they do not care what they have approached or what other unclean things they may have touched, since, if there is no release and no purification for them from the grossest of impurities which is impending over them, the lesser impurities are swallowed up in it.[51]

Al-Qirqisani elsewhere complains considerably about the rabbinic program of alleviating halakah, and he seems to think of the rabbis' connection of all purity concerns with the temple as an element within that program, since a temple-oriented understanding of purity allows the purity laws to be suspended in a post-temple era.

If al-Qirqisani's understanding of the rabbinic purity laws does not come by way of a reliable tradition, we can only admit that, whether or not it is correct, it is a brilliant reconstruction. We may ask, What if al-Qirqisani is right, and the temple orientation of the rabbinic purity laws is really a part of the pro-

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Marāqib: Code of Karaite Law [ed. Leon Nemoy; New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1943], 5.017). Louis Ginzberg notes the responsum of Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, שערי תשובה, 175 (*Genizah Studies in Memory of Solomon Schechter* [3 vols.; Texts and Studies of JTSA 7–9; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1928–29], 1:71, 78 n. 19).

[49] Al-Qirqisani's own understanding of ritual purity thinks nothing strange about maintaining purity for religious ends, in spite of the absence of the temple. He disagrees with the "Rabbanites'" allowance of sexual intercourse on the Sabbath, because, among other things, it involves "the contracting of impurity, which violates the holiness which is proper on the Sabbath" (Chiesa and Lockwood, *Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī on Jewish Sects and Christianity,* 108).

[50] For earlier periods especially, scholars associate the program of alleviating halakah with the Hillelites. See Isaiah Sonne, "The Schools of Shammai and Hillel Seen from Within," in *Louis Ginzberg: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), 275–91.

[51] Chiesa and Lockwood, *Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī on Jewish Sects and Christianity,* 109.

gram of alleviating the halakic burden? In that case, no amount of minimalizing exegesis of the purity laws on the part of modern scholars will help to demonstrate that pre-70 Palestinian Judaism followed an exclusively temple-oriented paradigm. If the exclusivist decrees on the temple orientation of purity are designed to make the purity code more livable (by making most of it obsolete), then it only follows that these decrees presuppose the obsolescence of the temple. According to this understanding of the rabbinic purity laws, we should not use their temple-oriented aspect to illuminate the purity laws of the (pre-70) Pharisees. The principle of the temple orientation of the purity laws, therefore, should be viewed as a *novum* precipitated by the destruction of the temple, and not as an instance of Maimonides' fortunate rendering of the ancient halakah. And what if al-Qirqisani's reasoning is wrong? Then his earlier points about the particularity of the rabbinic understanding would at least suggest that the many areas of Second Temple Judaism not directly moved by Pharisaic opinion would not have had such an exclusively temple-oriented understanding of purity.[52]

Unfortunately, al-Qirqisani does not tell us how old the rabbinic maxim that he quotes happens to be. So far, we have only met two very late testimonies to the adoption of the temple-orientation view within rabbinic circles: al-Qirqisani (tenth century) and Maimonides (twelfth century). What about the centuries between the destruction of the temple and al-Qirqisani? Can we narrow down the period when a significant portion of the rabbinic movement adopted the temple-oriented view? It should be noted that the temple-oriented view was presumably widespread by the beginning of the eighth century, when the Mandean *Ginza Rba* was compiled: that text complains about Jewish nonobservance of the purity laws and lists several of the same lapses as al-Qirqisani.[53] An earlier possible date stamp for the temple-oriented view is found in a variant of the account of Moses' defense against the angels who opposed his ascent into heaven to receive the Law. In the original version of the story, found in *b. Šabb.* 88b–89a and attributed to R. Joshua b. Levi (early third century), Moses demonstrates the human orientation of the Law by citing the Decalogue's words concerning the Sabbath, honoring one's parents, and abstaining from theft, murder, adultery, and covetousness (none of which can apply to angels). According to a variant in *Midrash Tehillim* 8 and *Pesiqta Rabbati* 25 (both post-talmudic midrashim), Moses cites four major divisions of

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[52] Maccoby insists on the continuity between the biblical purity laws and those of the rabbis, but this observation is true only at the level of form. The most we can say is that the rabbinic laws were the result of engaging the biblical laws. Al-Qirqisani's critique of specific rabbinic interpretations clearly shows that the rabbis did not pursue an altogether intentionalist reading of the biblical laws.

[53] *Ginzā: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (trans. Mark Lidzbarski; Quellen der Religionsgeschichte; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), 25, 225.

purity halakah (corpse impurity, leprosy, menstruation, and unclean foods)
instead of portions of the Decalogue.[54] Joseph P. Schultz has suggested other
explanations for the rise of this variant,[55] but the most probable explanation, in
my view, is that the encapsulation of the Torah as purity halakot is directed
against Jews seeking to relax the purity laws. (All four of these areas of purity
halakah are specifically listed by al-Qirqisani as no longer observed by the
"Rabbanites.") Although the extant versions of this variant attribute the account
to R. Judah ha-Nasi (ca. 200 C.E.), Abraham Marmorstein has argued that the
true author of this variant is R. Aḥa (fourth century C.E.).[56] If this interpretation
of the story is correct, and if Marmorstein's dating of the variant tradition is
accepted, the relevance of the purity halakot beyond the temple appears to
have been an unsettled question in Amoraic times.

To judge from the variety of viewpoints found in the talmudic and post-
talmudic sources compiled by Rebecca Lesses,[57] the relevance of purity was a
debated issue for much, if not all, of the period between the destruction of the
temple and the late Gaonic period. Variances in practice revolved not only
around the question of whether purity in general was even a valid concern after
70 C.E., but also around the geographical dimension of purity halakah, and
around the difference in requirements for prayer and Torah study.[58] Of course,
the farther back we push the evidence, the less certain we can be that the rab-
binic maxim preserved by al-Qirqisani goes back to the origins of the temple-
oriented understanding of purity,[59] but a loss of certainty with regard to the
maxim does not weaken al-Qirqisani's explanation as much as some might
think. To dispense with al-Qirqisani on grounds of his late date is to misunder-
stand the type of testimony he offers: certain of his observations are of such a

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[54] *Pirqe R. El.* 46 combines both variants.

[55] Joseph P. Schultz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of
the Law," *JQR* 61 (1970–71): 282–307, esp. 300–301.

[56] Abraham Marmorstein, "The Dispute of the Angels with the Creator," *Melilah* 3–4 (1946):
93–102, esp. 98.

[57] Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revela-
tion in Early Jewish Mysticism* (HTS 44; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1998), 125–39.

[58] There is also one item of evidence that may indicate a very early acceptance of the sophis-
tic maneuver that al-Qirqisani decries: Ronny Reich notes that *miqvaʾot* are no longer associated
with the synagogue in post-70 C.E. Palestine. Reich explains this through the decrease in Zealot
influence ("The Synagogue and the *Miqweh* in Eretz-Israel," 296), but it is also possible that the
destruction of the temple itself may have caused a reordering of the purity halakah.

[59] Al-Qirqisani's candor has disarmed virtually all criticism of what he has to say about his day
(see especially Nemoy: al-Qirqisani gives "the most detailed, accurate, and as far as it was possible
in the tenth century, the most impartial" account of the Jewish sects in his day ["Al-Qirqisānī's
Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," 317]), but that, of course, is a different matter from
whether the rabbinic dictum he produces goes back to the beginnings of the temple-oriented
understanding.

schematic, rational nature that they possess considerable value as plausible reconstructions, regardless of their value as historical remembrances. That is, the plausibility of al-Qirqisani's testimony lies chiefly in its explanatory power rather than in its worth as a historical source. (It is for a similar reason, I take it, that Neusner regularly cites Maimonides in *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities.*)

As far as I know, the minimalists have not considered the possibility that the rabbis' temple-oriented understanding of the purity laws was strictly intended to render those laws obsolete. But this explanation can go a long way. First and foremost, it explains why the rabbis adopted an exclusively temple-oriented understanding of the purity laws in the first place. (For the most part, the minimalists write as though the temple orientation is simply taken over from the Bible, which presumably means that those groups who did not adopt such a rigorously temple-oriented understanding simply were not reading the Bible closely enough.) This interpretation also explains why Maccoby must strain so much to make all the temple-oriented laws early and all the non–temple-oriented laws late.

IV. Conclusion

The notion that the ritual purity laws of Second Temple Judaism existed solely for the sake of the temple is a scholarly construct with little basis in reality. Unfortunately, this has not kept some from making it the central hermeneutical principle for their reconstructions of popular, Pharisaic, or tannaitic purity halakah. The failure of the most recent book on the subject to engage the arguments that have been made against this construct does little to improve our confidence in it.

In light of the shortcomings of the minimalist interpretation, I have suggested an alternative theory that allows the early sources testifying to extra-temple purity concerns to speak for their own time, does not require a strong revisionist reading of the Gospels, and gives frank recognition to the distinctiveness of the later rabbinic understanding of purity vis-à-vis that of other forms of Judaism: rabbinic Judaism justified relaxing the purity laws by basing them on the now defunct temple cult. The Karaite Yaʿqov al-Qirqisani writes that the "Rabbanites" adopted this rubric specifically in order to pronounce the purity halakot obsolete in post-temple Judaism. If there is anything to this testimony, then we obviously cannot extend this rubric back to a time when the temple still stood.

THE FOURTEEN TRIADS
OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT
(MATTHEW 5:21–7:12)

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Günther Bornkamm's seminal essay "Der Aufbau der Bergpredigt" rightly pointed out that the Sermon on the Mount is carefully constructed and symmetrically ordered.[1] Where we do not see the order, he argued, it is likely that it is we who are not seeing it; the orderly Matthew likely has an order there. He pointed out several unsolved puzzles and said we should look again more carefully. To look again more carefully is what I should like to do.

I. The Triadic Structure within Each Pericope in 5:21–7:12

Proposals for understanding the structure of the Sermon on the Mount have focused more on how to group the pericopes than on the structure within each pericope. Commentators see a high degree of careful craftsmanship and striking symmetry in the way the pericopes are grouped. My thesis is that the

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[1] Günther Bornkamm, "Der Aufbau der Bergpredigt," *NTS* 24 (1978): 419–32.

same is true within each pericope. Each pericope in the central section, 5:21–7:12, has a carefully crafted triadic structure, consistent across the pericopes, with one intriguing partial exception, and this unites them all as members of one family. The main section of the sermon, from 5:21 through 7:12, is composed of fourteen triads. The first member of each triad is traditional righteousness. The second member is the diagnosis of a vicious cycle and its consequence. The third member is a transforming initiative that points the way to deliverance from the vicious cycle.

The internal triadic structure of each unit has been missed largely because scholars have been thinking of a dyadic structure—antitheses. Commentators typically arrange most of the units in 5:21–48 as "antithesis proper" and then "illustrations." This implies that the basic meaning is in the antithesis proper, composed of a traditional teaching and Jesus' authoritative antithesis. For example, the traditional teaching is "Thou shalt not murder," and Jesus' authoritative teaching is to prohibit anger. Some "illustrations" of the basic prohibition against anger are added, but the basic meaning is the prohibition.

Several difficulties result:

1. A dyadic structure—antitheses—would be atypical for the Gospel of Matthew, which has about seventy-five triads but very few dyads.[2]

2. Placing the emphasis on the prohibition of anger, lust, and so on, makes the teachings primarily negative prohibitions and impossible ideals rather than positive ways of deliverance, as would fit the good news of the kingdom announced in the beatitudes.

3. Calling the antitheses "prohibitions"—as in Jesus' alleged commands against anger, lust, and so on—seems strained, since not one of the verbs in these "prohibitions" is an imperative. It is not that the sermon lacks imperatives; the central section of the sermon is well supplied with thirty-seven Greek imperatives. They occur, however, not in the "antitheses proper"[3] but in the "illustrations." I suggest that these are more than illustrations; they are the climaxes.

4. Not seeing the triadic structure makes it difficult to see the symmetrical structure in 6:19–7:12, which we are led to expect by the thoroughly symmetrical 5:21–48 and 6:1–18.

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[2] W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison list forty-four triads, not including chs. 5–7, 10, 13, 18, and 24–25 (*The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988], 1:86–87).

[3] For the purpose of objectivity in confirming the structural elements that I propose, I refer only to Greek imperatives, not to other verb forms that function as imperatives.

5. Not seeing the triadic structure causes hopeless bafflement about the context and meaning of 7:6—the mysterious verse-without-context about dogs, pigs, and holy things.

6. Emphasizing the prohibition of anger, lust, and so on, places the importance on the hard human effort not to be angry rather than on the good news of the gracious deliverance of the reign of God. Then, though commentators often may emphasize the theme of grace—in the latter part of ch. 4, in the beatitudes, in the theme of forgiveness—it seems lacking in the teachings of the main section of the sermon.

7. Placing the emphasis on the prohibition of anger, lust, and so on, leads to an interpretation of Jesus' good news as high ideals, hard teachings, impossible demands. Christians praise Jesus for his high idealism while actually following some other ethic, a condition most accurately called hypocrisy, which Jesus did not favor.

Dale Allison begins his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount by pointing out that the belief, first expressed in Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 10.2), that the sermon presents so high an ideal that no one can keep its commands "is precisely the great problem of the Sermon and its 'ultrapiety.' . . . The words may please, but who can live them? . . . How can good people stand by while evil people do what they will? . . . Should one stay married to an abusive husband just because he is not known to have committed adultery? Can Jesus really have been so obtuse as to imagine that he could banish the sexual impulse with an imperative?" Here Allison may not be speaking completely for himself, but instead situating the idealistic interpretation of Justin Martyr, the first apologist, in the context of Greek Platonism. Yet Allison still shows signs of the idealistic hermeneutic, assuming that the sermon is characterized by the "ultrapiety" that Justin saw there. Allison's commentary shows discomfort with this interpretation, at times trying to soften it but still never being able to get loose from it. In his conclusion, he translates 7:14, "the gate is narrow and the road is *hard,*" where the Greek says *compressed* or *narrow.*[4] It is, he says, "profoundly arduous." He calls it "the difficult path," and four pages later it gets yet harder—"a very difficult road."[5]

I propose that seeing the triadic structure helps us to see the way of deliverance in the teachings, their basis in grace, their participation in the good

[4] Dale C. Allison, *The Sermon on the Mount: Inspiring the Moral Imagination* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1989), 1. Davies and Allison argue that it may mean that the road of deliverance goes through the tribulation of persecution—not that it is a road of impossible striving for idealistic perfection (*Matthew,* 1:700).

[5] Allison, *Sermon,* 163–65, 169.

news of the breakthrough of the reign of God. As is usual in triads, the emphasis is on the third member, not the second member. None of the third members is a prohibition, and they are not hard teachings or "high ideals." They are all transforming initiatives. They point the way of deliverance from the vicious cycles identified in the second member of each triad. Seeing the triadic structure transforms our reading of the Sermon on the Mount so that it teaches the grace-based transforming initiatives that enable deliverance from bondage to vicious cycles.

II. The Better Righteousness (5:21–48)

Matthew 5:21–48 clearly consists of two groups of three teachings.[6] W. D. Davies has taught many of us not to call them antitheses, because they are not antithetical to the Law. They are fulfillments. "Antitheses" makes us think of dyads: "You have heard of old, *but I say. . . .*" Then the climax of the teaching is slighted, as I have just done with my ellipsis.[7] The six are not, however, dyads. They are triads, as I hope to show.

1. On Being Reconciled (5:21–26)

Donald Hagner rightly sees something like the triadic structure of the first unit.[8] He calls 5:21–22 the antithesis proper and sees that it has two parts: (1) the traditional teaching of Moses about murder, and (2) the new teaching of Jesus about anger. He then labels the third part, vv. 23–26, "two illustrations." Davies and Allison see the structure similarly:

I. 5:21–22: On murder
   A. 5:21: Traditional teaching
   B. 5:22: Jesus' teaching
      1. Being angry
      2. Uttering ῥακά (an insult)
      3. Uttering μωρέ, "fool"

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[6] Dale C. Allison, Jr., "The Structure of the Sermon on the Mount," *JBL* 106 (1987): 432.

[7] One paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature meeting focused on the question, "What kind of ethical norms does Jesus teach in the six 'antitheses'"? The author quoted each of the teachings as I have just done, with ellipses omitting the third part of each teaching, thus accidentally omitting every imperative in 5:21–48 from consideration, since the imperatives all occur in the third part of each teaching. The author then observed that no direct commands were actually present in the teachings [*sic!*], so in order to answer the question he was posing, he would need to *infer* the commands that Jesus *was implying,* and then ask whether these implied ethical norms were rules, principles, or ideals. It was an unintentional but dramatic demonstration of a habitual unconscious distortion: slighting the climactic third member, where the imperatives are.

[8] Donald Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (WBC 33A; Dallas: Word, 1993), 115–16.

II. 5:23–24: First application/illustration
- A. Situation: "If you are offering your gift . . ."
- B. Command: Leave gift, go be reconciled, give gift.

III. 5:25–26: Second application/illustration
- A. Command: "Make friends quickly . . ."
- B. Result of not obeying
- C. Concluding observation: "You will not get out . . ."

1. As Davies and Allison note, "This makes for an awkward paragraph. 5:25–26 is really not an apt illustration of 5:21–22" (p. 520). It does not illustrate murder, nor does it illustrate being angry or uttering "fool." In fact, it is no illustration at all, but a climax, a command, with an imperative, spelling out the normative practice of peacemaking, *instead* of anger or murder.

2. Point I gets a name, "On murder," but points II and III get no name, and therefore carry no clear meaning of their own. Nor are they presented as parallel to point I. Point I, in this outline, seems to be the heading for the whole saying. Thus the traditional teaching, not Jesus' teaching, provides the heading.

3. Point I.B. is labeled "Jesus' teaching," putting emphasis here. But II and III are also Jesus' teaching. Labeling them merely as application/illustration highlights I.B. and demotes II and III. But as Davies and Allison rightly see, all the imperatives are in II and III. Does this not suggest that the climax is where the imperatives are?

4. Nor does I.B. belong under the heading of "I. On murder." It is about murder only indirectly, but directly about being angry and engaging in the practice of insulting.

5. As II begins with "A. Situation," III (5:25) also names a situation: "while you are going with him to court." But unlike II, in III the situation comes *after* the command. So II and III are not fully parallel. Furthermore, II and III are presented by Matthew more as a single unit than as "two illustrations": I.B. is set off by beginning in v. 22 with "But I say to you," and II is set off by beginning in v. 23 with ἐὰν οὖν, "If therefore"; but v. 25 is not set off; it continues the thought and imperative mode of vv. 23–24. Objectively, the divisions should be at the beginning of v. 22 and the beginning of v. 23.

6. As Hans Weder comments, it does not make sense that a harmless insult would put you before the Sanhedrin.[9] Emphasizing the teaching on

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[9] Hans Weder, *Die "Rede der Reden": Eine Auslegung der Bergpredigt heute* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1987), 104. (Translations from German are mine.) Similarly, Davies and Allison comment, "One wonders how anger can be judged by a human court. . . . Perhaps we should simply

being angry and insulting as if it were a command—a prohibition—and as if it were the core of "Jesus' teaching"—gets us into insoluble difficulty making sense of the teaching. I suggest instead that the teaching on anger is a realistic diagnosis of a vicious cycle, a mechanism of temptation that leads to alienation from God and neighbor, and to murder and insurrection—therefore destruction and judgment.

Therefore, let us label the first part, v. 21, the *traditional teaching*. Its main verb is a future indicative quoted from the LXX form for an imperative. Let us label the second part, v. 22, concerning being angry and insulting, the *vicious cycle*. It has no imperative in it. No command never to be angry is given. Rather, its central verb is a continuous-action participle, ὀργιζόμενος (being angry). It names a continuous-action vicious cycle that leads to destruction or judgment. (Had the Jesus of the Sermon on the Mount commanded his listeners never to be angry, that would have been a hard teaching, a high ideal, probably impossible to practice. Instead he diagnoses a vicious cycle that leads to judgment, destruction, and murder, as when a doctor diagnoses an illness that will lead to death if I do not take actions of treatment; or as when Jesus says in 7:17 that a bad tree produces bad fruit, and calls for actions of obedience.) The third part, vv. 23–26, we may call the *transforming initiative*. It is not merely an illustration, but a new way of deliverance that is neither murder nor anger nor merely their negative prohibition. It is rather a command to take initiatives that transform the relationship from anger to reconciliation. To avoid ever being angry would be an impossible ideal, but to go and be reconciled with a brother or sister is the way of deliverance from anger that fits prophetic prophecies of the reign of God in which peace replaces war. Hans Weder rightly sees that the emphasis in the teaching as a whole is on the third part, the way of going to be reconciled or making friends with one's accuser: "Not just the anger is to be given up, but also the continuing anger is to be cleared away. And the question is turned from what is allowed to what is commanded." In the Sermon on the Mount, "Jesus thematizes the future reign of God so that it projects into the now. His real theme is that the course of life is the place where one can participate in the reign of God. In participation in the reign of God, which Jesus mediates to people, this *now* wins a relation to the *then*."[10]

So I propose that we outline the passage as follows:

I. Traditional teaching on murder
   a. You have heard of old that it was said

accept the difficulty as demonstrating that Jesus is uttering a parable and not describing a true-to-life situation" (*Matthew*, 1:512).

   [10] Ibid., 108–9.

    b. You shall not kill;

    c. and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment.

II. Jesus' teaching on vicious cycles that lead to murder/judgment

    a. being angry—you shall be liable to judgment.

    b. uttering ῥακά—you shall be liable to the council.

    c. uttering μωρέ—you shall be liable to hell.

III. Jesus' teaching on transforming initiatives that deliver from the vicious cycles.

    a. If therefore you remember someone has something against you, go be reconciled.

    b. Make peace with your accuser, if going to court.

    c. Explanation: otherwise you shall be liable to judgment.

Reasons for seeing these three (I, II, and III) as parallel members of a triad include the following:

1. Each begins with a transition and introduction: "You heard that it was said. . . . But I say. . . . If therefore."

2. Each ends with liability to judgment or prison (as also II a and b).

3. The third member begins with "if therefore," indicating the beginning of a new point. But III.b, "Make peace with your accuser," does not begin with a transitional word, so it should be part of III, not a separate main point. It is not another new topic but another transforming initiative of peacemaking and deliverance, with an imperative.

4. By contrast with the first two parts—the traditional teaching and the diagnosis of a vicious cycle—which have no imperatives, the transforming initiative is loaded with five imperatives in "staccato-like" succession.[11] The first

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[11] Robert Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding* (Waco: Word, 1982), 190. Many commentators have taken the indicative participle and the future, "everyone *being angry will be* subject to judgment," as if it were an imperative rather than a realistic diagnosis and prediction. Yet, as Allison points out, "early Christian tradition did not clearly know an injunction against all anger: Eph 4:26; Mark 1:41 (where the original text may have had Jesus 'moved with anger'), Mark 3:5, Matt 21:12–17. . . . For the most part later Christian tradition followed Eph 4:26 and did not demand the elimination of all anger—only anger misdirected." Matthew 23 shows Jesus angry, and in 23:17 Jesus calls his opponents fools, against the reading of 5:22 as a command (p. 71).

Some argue that "will be subject," though a future, is *intended as* an imperative. My point is fourfold: (1) Seeking a fairly precise and objective way to identify a pattern within the teachings of the sermon, I propose to note the actual grammatical form of the main verbs in each teaching, as they are in Greek, not as we may assume them to function. This procedure will be confirmed by the remarkably consistent pattern we shall discover: the imperatives occur in the third member, not the

two members get two lines each in Greek; the third member gets nine lines. Putting the emphasis here, on the transforming initiative with its imperatives, fits the rule that in a biblical triad, the emphasis comes in the climactic third part.

Surely the third member should receive the status of being a "member," not merely an "illustration" of practicing anger, which in fact it does not illustrate but rather is the way of deliverance from this practice. In a Gospel focusing on Jesus as the way of deliverance, the third member, the way of deliverance, deserves its own heading.

Let us therefore hypothesize that the first teaching gives us a threefold structure, and let us test whether this threefold structure continues in the other units that follow. In order to do this in an objective way, I shall assign fairly precise distinguishing characteristics to each member, as described in table 1.

We now have distinguishing characteristics that define a narrow gate through which, it seems, few other teachings will pass successfully. They are precise enough that we will surely know whether or not another pericope fits the criteria. My claim is that this triadic structure recurs with remarkable consistency throughout the central section of the Sermon on the Mount, and that this dramatic signal should guide interpretation of the sermon. Let us test this hypothesis by working through the rest of the teachings, Matt 5:27–7:12.

Of course Matthew is constructing out of preexisting traditions, and we cannot expect him to conform every detail to one pattern. The remarkable consistency that we shall observe is thus all the more striking. I shall focus on the literary structure of the sermon as it appears in Matthew, and not try to plow any new ground on questions about tradition and redaction.

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second. I am not denying that occasionally a future or, very rarely, a negative infinitive, can have an imperatival function. I am classifying by actual grammatical form. (2) Futures are nowhere used as imperatives in independent injunctions of Jesus and normally do not function as imperatives in the NT unless they are quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures (see BDF, 183; and Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995], 569). (3) Examining other passages, as in the above citations, we can see that the NT—including Matthew—does not take Jesus as having prohibited anger. (4) Reading the teachings as dyads (as antitheses) commentators have been led into the habitual assumption that the emphatic part of each teaching is the second part, the vicious cycle, and that therefore it must be understood emphatically as an imperative, a negative prohibition. This then becomes a legalistic, or high-ideal, or hard-teaching, or impossible-demand, or superpiety, or guilt-trip reading that baffles Christians and non-Christians alike. It leads to not practicing the Sermon on the Mount—just the opposite of what Jesus intends in Matthew's seventh chapter. My argument is that the emphasis is to be put on the third part of each teaching. The evidence for this will be cumulative as we proceed from 5:21 through 7:12.

Table 1

The *Traditional Righteousness* is presented as coming from Jewish tradition. It occurs first in a triad, and does not begin with a particle. Its main verb is usually a future indicative or a subjunctive with an imperatival function, as is typical in Matthew for many citations of OT commands; its mood apparently varies with the received traditional teaching.	The *Vicious Cycle plus judgment* is presented as Jesus' teaching, with authority. It diagnoses a practice and says it leads to judgment. Its main verb is a participle, infinitive, subjunctive, or indicative, but not an imperative. It begins with "but," "for," "lest," or "therefore" (δέ, οὖν, Διὰ τοῦτο, μήποτε), or a negative such as μή or οὐκ; and often includes λέγω ὑμῖν ("I say to you").	The *Transforming Initiative* is also presented as Jesus' teaching, with authority. Its main verb is a positive imperative—an initiative—not a negative prohibition, calling for a practice of deliverance from the vicious cycle and to participation in the reign of God. It usually begins with δέ and ends with a supporting explanation: that is, "he may deliver you to the judge."

2. *On Removing the Practice that Leads to Lust (5:27–30)*

The second triad begins with a traditional teaching, just as we expect: "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall not commit adultery.'" The verb is a future, as we expect. The second member (v. 28) begins with "but I tell you," ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, as expected. It is a vicious cycle with a continuous-action present participle as the verb, "looking." It does lead to judgment—committing adultery in the heart. The third member is a transforming initiative— not a prohibition but an imperative to take an initiative—as fits the criteria. It begins with δέ (and/but), as expected. There are four imperatives: take it out and throw it away; cut it off and throw it away. The expected supporting reason is present: to take this initiative is better than going to Gehenna.

Commentators agree that "cut it off and throw it away" is an exaggeration for effect, but what does it mean in practice? Hagner rightly says, "Radical action should be taken to avoid the cause of the temptation." Guelich likewise points to the causal relation: "These teachings appear to represent largely preventive measures to protect oneself from transgressing the seventh commandment." It commands us to engage in a specified practice that delivers us from the practices that cause the vicious cycle. This causative relationship is emphasized by the use of σκανδαλίζει (causes you to sin) twice. Of course, literally getting rid of the right eye or right hand would not prevent what causes the sin: one could go on looking with the left eye. It must mean something like "take an initiative to get rid of the practice that causes the lust—leering while imagining

sexual possession, touching with lust in mind, meeting surreptitiously, treating women as sex-objects." Guelich comments, "One can meet the requirements of this demand only by means of a new relationship between men and women." It is not simply a change of attitude, but a command that one change the practice that causes the looking with lust. According to Davies and Allison, "As with references to external acts in 5:22b–c [and 5:24–25], the references to eye and hand in 5:29–30 show that Matthew's concern is not with any contrast between action and intention." Guelich further states: "A quick look at the other antitheses demonstrates that the attitude/conduct or intent/action dichotomy is simplistic and untenable (cf. 5:28 with 5:32; 5:34, 37; 5:39; 5:44—all of which involve actions)." The untenable dichotomy of emphasizing attitudes but not actions arises from focusing attention on the second member of the triad—being angry and looking with lust—as a negative imperative.[12]

3. On Divorce (5:31–32)

The passage on divorce clearly begins with a traditional teaching. The main verb, "divorces," is a subjunctive. The second verb, δότω ("let him give") is an imperative, but it is a paraphrase of an OT legal command (Deut 24:1–4).

The vicious cycle is clear in Matt 5:32a and b: divorcing and remarrying (participles) causes adultery. It begins, as we expect, with "But I say to you," and is presented as Jesus' own teaching.

Surprisingly there is no transforming initiative; we are left in the vicious cycle. Jesus suggests no way of deliverance or grace. This demonstrates the objectivity and precision of the hypothesized criteria for the triadic pattern. The criteria show that a traditional teaching is clearly given, a vicious cycle is clearly named, but nothing like a transforming initiative is commanded. What could be the reason for this glaring omission in an otherwise consistent pattern? When I first began teaching the triadic pattern, I would say, "The empty place in this teaching where a transforming initiative should be is so glaring, and so lacking in grace, that surely Jesus must have taught a transforming initiative something like the first triad in Matt 5:24: 'Go, first be reconciled to your wife.'" I puzzled aloud why it might not have been handed down to Matthew so that he did not have a teaching from Jesus to place here. I hypothesized that a teaching such as "Go, first be reconciled to your wife" would place the responsibility for reconciling on the man and would imply more equality in talking the problem through than the patriarchal culture would readily allow. Then I would conclude with the bold claim: "So by the method of triadic transforming initiatives, we have now recovered a teaching of Jesus that has been missing for

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[12] See Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 121; Guelich, *Sermon,* 241–42, 186; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:524.

twenty centuries!" The laughter of the alert students would put the audacious claim in its proper place.

Three years later I was working through 1 Corinthians and came upon 7:10–11, where Paul says, "to the married I give this command—not I but the Lord. . . ." It comes, says Paul, from the Lord—a teaching of Jesus. First he names the vicious cycle twice, using χωρίζω ("to separate, divide, divorce"), as Matt 5:32ab names divorcing or leaving twice, using ἀπολύω. Then Paul gives the command, an imperative, καταλλαγήτω ("be reconciled"). The command that I had proposed to my students that Jesus probably taught is the verb in 5:24, διαλλάγηθι ("be reconciled"). The same root, the same meaning. So perhaps now I should say that by the method of transforming initiatives, and with a little help from Paul, we have now discovered the missing transforming initiative that belongs in Matt 5:32c.

My hypothesis of the resistance of the patriarchal culture to this command of Jesus to the man is possible. Jesus likely taught an initiative something like "be reconciled." But what the hearers most remembered was the shocking rejection of divorce. The initiative "be reconciled" was not handed on to Matthew because of that shock or because of its challenge to male prerogative. By the time of 1 Corinthians, about twenty-five years after Jesus, the oral tradition still gave Paul the teaching, but it had been changed to the woman's responsibility. By Matthew's time, fifty-five years or so after Jesus, it was missing from the tradition. Since Matthew was not inclined to make up a teaching he had not been given, he had nothing to put in the third member.[13]

The implication of the triadic structure is that Jesus' teachings should be read not as legalistic prohibitions but as pointing the way of deliverance. This is supported by Paul's noteworthy freedom in explicitly reporting a teaching from the Lord against divorce, and then immediately teaching what to do if a woman does divorce or separate from her husband (1 Cor 7:11). Paul says that "if the unbelieving partner separates, let it be so; in such a case the brother or sister is not bound. It is to peace that God has called you" (v. 15).

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[13] Gordon Fee points out that in 1 Cor 7 "the argument alternates between men and women (12 times in all). And in every case there is complete mutuality between the sexes" (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 269–70 [citing Robin Scroggs], 290, 294–95; see also Richard Hays, *First Corinthians* [Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster-John Knox, 1997], 115–16, 118–20). Here, however, is the one exception: Paul reports Jesus' teaching as urging the wife to be reconciled, but the parallel obligation of the husband is missing. This suggests that Paul has not created the one-way teaching but is reporting the Jesus tradition as he has received it—turned from an admonition to men that would have made sense in a Jewish context where only men could initiate a divorce to an admonition to women. Or alternatively, the unusual one-way teaching might suggest the presence in Corinth of "eschatologically spiritualized women" who thought they should be celibate and separate from their husbands.

4. On Telling the Truth (5:33–37)

First comes the traditional teaching, with future verbs, ἐπιορκήσεις ("shall swear falsely") and ἀποδώσεις ("carry out") referring to similar material in Lev 19:12; Num 3:2; 30:3–15; Deut 23:21).

Second comes the vicious cycle, beginning with δέ: ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν. The verb for "swearing" in v. 34 (ὀμόσαι) is a negative infinitive (not an imperative, though with implied imperatival meaning), and in v. 36 the verb is a negative subjunctive, again with imperatival meaning. The verb δύνασαι ("to be able") in v. 36 is an infinitive. Recall the criteria for the vicious cycle identified above: the vicious cycle diagnoses a practice that leads to judgment or destruction; its main verb is a participle, infinitive, subjunctive, or indicative; and it begins with δέ, γάρ, ὅπου, or a negative such as μή. By contrast, in a transforming initiative the main verb is a positive imperative—an initiative, not a negative subjunctive with imperatival meaning—calling for a practice of deliverance. Jesus is naming and criticizing a practice based on a relationship of distrust, deceit, and manipulation. What is far worse, the practice uses symbols for God's name (since in first-century Judaism God's name was too holy to be pronounced) as a witness in order to manipulate those to whom one is making deceitful promises into belief and eventual betrayal. So this is a vicious cycle that leads to judgment: using an invocation of God who is faithful to betray those who give their trust. "In the explanation that follows, i.e., particularly in the ὅτι (because) clauses, it seems to be assumed that oath taking is in practice more often a means of avoiding what is promised than of performing it (cf. the polemic specifically against the Pharisees in 23:16–22)."[14]

Third comes the transforming initiative, beginning with an imperative, ἔστω ("let"), and δέ ("but"). The way of deliverance from the deceit and distrust of oaths that are not real, and from fine distinctions designed as escape clauses, is the transforming initiative of straightforwardly telling the truth.[15] Truthfulness rather than deceit is a characteristic of the prophetic reign of God. Here again, Hagner is close to the pattern I am suggesting, calling v. 37 "the fundamental principle." And Weder, with his emphasis on Matthew's theme of the breakthrough of the reign of God, sees the way of deliverance in the third triad as the main emphasis of the teaching.[16] "In church history, again and again this teaching is reduced to the legalistic, 'a Christian may swear no oath.'" That "passes right by the actual intention of Jesus: not on the not-swearing does he really aim, but on the truthfulness of every word."

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[14] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 127.

[15] Craig Keener is correct that the emphasis is on the transforming initiative of simply telling the truth (*Matthew* [InterVarsity Press NT Commentary; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1997], 125). He concludes, "the point of this passage is integrity."

[16] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 127; Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 127.

As we expect, the imperative is followed by a supporting reason ("anything more than this comes from the evil one").

5. Transforming Initiatives of Peacemaking (5:38–42)

Matthew 5:38 is a traditional teaching, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," as expected. The vicious cycle in 5:39a is a practice that leads to destruction, resisting violently or vengefully by evil means (see discussion below). It begins with ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν and is Jesus' teaching, as expected. The transforming initiative (5:39b–42) has four imperatives (plus a prohibitive subjunctive that functions as a fifth imperative, μὴ ἀποστραφῇς) that call one to engage in practices that constitute the way of deliverance from the vicious cycle of violent or vengeful resistance. It begins with ἀλλ᾽ ("but"), as other transforming initiatives begin with δέ. This too is presented as Jesus' teaching—with authority.[17]

The explanation seems to be missing, and as Ulrich Luz points out, something is odd about v. 42: "The admonition to give and lend (v. 42) is much more general and lacks in its Matthean formulation the pointedness which is characteristic of vv. 39b–41. It fits into the tradition of Jewish exhortations to benevolence. . . . The problem of force is no longer in view. . . ."[18] "Force," *Gewalt* in Luz's German, connotes both violence and domination. Domination is certainly present in the first three teachings, and violence is present or in the background; but neither appears in v. 42. Commentators sometimes try to make v. 42 fit with the other three initiatives by suggesting that beggars can be aggressive, so it *almost* deals with force.

Could v. 42 be different because it functions as the expected explanation? John R. Levison sees v. 42 as Jesus' teaching of delivering righteousness in the kingdom.[19] The righteousness of the inbreaking kingdom may underlie each of Jesus' initiatives toward enemies.

The consistent triadic structure of the central section of the sermon from 5:21 to 7:12 places the emphasis on the third member of each triad, which is therefore to be interpreted not primarily as a negative prohibition but as a transforming initiative. This focus is seen in some commentators, who call attention to the creative, surprising, transforming initiatives of peacemaking in this pericope (e.g., Hans Dieter Betz, David Garland, Walter Grundmann,

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[17] Hagner observes: "In form the pericope again gives us the threefold pattern of the preceding antitheses: (1) the OT teaching, in this case through verbatim citation (v 38); (2) the antithetical perspective offered by Jesus (v 39a); and (3) illustration of the point (vv 39–42)" (*Matthew 1–13*, 130).

[18] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7* (Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 329.

[19] "Jesus demands that his disciples give back goodness in response. In this way their actions are governed not by evil but by the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven" (John R. Levison, "Responsible Initiative in Matthew 5:21–48," *ExpTim* 98 [1987]: 233).

Donald Hagner, Clarence Jordan, Pinchas Lapide, Ulrich Luz, Willard Swartley, Walter Wink, and my own writings). Hagner emphasizes that "[t]he true disciple does more than is expected. . . . The conduct of the disciple is filled with surprise for those who experience it. This element of surprise relates closely to and reflects the grace that is central to the gospel. . . . [As the unworthy] have experienced the surprise of unexpected grace, so they act in a similar manner toward the undeserving among them (cf. Luke 6:34–35)."[20] Hans Dieter Betz also sees the point as preventive measures instead of revenge.

> The original purpose of the *talio* principle was to limit, or even to eliminate, revenge by revising the underlying concept of justice. . . . The *talio* principle is closely related to the ethical principle of the Golden Rule. . . . The Golden Rule as an ethical principle considers and recommends preventive initiatives to be taken after the offense has occurred and instead of the expected revenge, so as to break up the cycle of violence and counterviolence.[21]

Others interpret 5:38–42 as a negative message: renouncing rights, not retaliating, not resisting. But there is nothing here about rights: there was no right not to carry a soldier's pack a mile, and begging for money is not infringing on rights. Nor was legal vindication possible in these cases.[22] Furthermore, to say that Jesus' point is renouncing rights places the emphasis on the vicious cycle, which is described in four words in the middle of the teaching, μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ, with no mention of rights. The transforming initiatives are given fifty-one words and come last, as the climax of the triad. The negative teaching has no imperative, but the transforming initiative has four imperatives. Each of the transforming initiatives emphasizes positive, surprising action to take, and each goes beyond what one would be forced to do. The emphasis of the teaching is not on renunciation of rights but on surprising, transforming initiatives of peacemaking.[23] The context of the triad is the whole series of transforming initiatives in the Sermon on the Mount, and the consistent pattern is transforming initiatives, not legalistic prohibitions.

The interpretations that key on the transforming initiatives see the theme as peacemaking or restitution rather than revenge. By contrast, interpretations geared to idealistic renunciation focus on μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ and translate it as "do not resist evil." But surely Jesus resisted evil, confronting it directly

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[20] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 132.

[21] Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 276, 280–81.

[22] Contra Guelich, *Sermon,* 219–22 and 250–52, who in seeking to refute an interpretation as "Do not resist evil," argues for "Do not seek legal vindication from one who is evil."

[23] Contra Georg Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount: An Exegetical Commentary* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 83 and passim.

and repeatedly. Guelich's solution seeks to limit the applicability of the teaching to legal resistance in the law court,[24] but this would not apply to the instruction about going the second mile or giving to one who begs and would be only indirectly related to the idea of turning the right cheek. Guelich cites Deut 19:15–21, but this concerns bearing false witness in a law court, not violence or revenge, or whether to take a question to court. Walter Grundmann seems more on the mark in suggesting Lev 19:17–18 and 24:14–22 as the OT context, both of which concern revenge and restitution and follow instruction on oaths and using God's name. This teaching similarly follows Jesus' words on oaths (Matt 5:33–37).[25]

In a seldom-noticed insight, Clarence Jordan points out that the dative τῷ πονηρῷ can be instrumental, "by evil means," as well as substantive, "the evil person." The decision must come from the context—Jesus repeatedly confronts evil, but opposes the evil means of vengeful violence—which favors the instrumental "do not resist by evil means."[26] John Ferguson and Willard Swartley argue similarly. Likewise, Hagner says that μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ means, "as we learn from the context, 'do not render evil for evil.' The articular τῷ πονηρῷ here clearly does not mean 'the evil one,' i.e., Satan. . . . It is much more likely that the evangelist has in mind 'the evil deed.'" Therefore the likely connotation of ἀντιστῆναι is "to resist *violently,* to revolt or rebel, to engage in an insurrection."[27] What we are to renounce is violent or vengeful resistance, not nonviolent resistance, and not rights.

This is reinforced by Paul's reporting in Rom 12:17–21 the teaching as he understands it—as an instruction about vengeful resistance and evil means: "Do not repay anyone evil for evil. . . . Beloved, never avenge yourselves. . . . If your enemies are hungry, feed them; if they are thirsty, give them something to drink. . . . Do not overcome evil by evil [means], but overcome evil with good."[28] Paul also commands transforming initiatives of peacemaking: feed a hungry enemy and water a thirsty one.

The teaching is echoed also in Luke 6:27–36; 1 Thess 5:15; and *Did.* 1.4–5,

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[24] Guelich, *Sermon,* 219–22.

[25] Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (THKNT; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), 169.

[26] Clarence Jordan, *The Substance of Faith and Other Cotton Patch Sermons* (New York: Association Press, 1972), 69.

[27] John Ferguson, *The Politics of Love: The New Testament on Nonviolent Revolution* (Nyack: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1979), 4–5; Willard Swartley, "War and Peace in the New Testament," in *ANRW* 2.26.3 (1996): 2338; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 130–31; Pinchas Lapide, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1986), 134; and Walter Wink, "Beyond Just War and Pacifism; Jesus' Nonviolent Way," *RevExp* 89 (1992): 199.

[28] See Dale C. Allison, "The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels: The Pattern of the Parallels," *NTS* 28 (1982): 1ff.

and there is a somewhat similar teaching in 1 Pet 2:21–23. Not one of them refers to an evil person, speaks of not resisting evil, or mentions renouncing rights in a law court. All emphasize the transforming initiatives of returning good and not evil, using good means and not evil means; and Luke and the *Didache* give almost the same four transforming initiatives (cheek, coat, mile, begging). First Thessalonians 5:15 says "See that none of you repays evil for evil, but always seek to do good to one another and to all." The focus in interpretation should be not on renouncing rights in a law court but on the meaning of the transforming initiatives.

6. Love Your Enemy (5:43–48)

Matthew 5:43 begins, "You have heard that it was said," and so serves as a traditional teaching, coming from Qumran and not the Hebrew Bible.[29] Its key verbs, love and hate, are futures, as fits our pattern. In this section-concluding triad, the transforming initiative comes second and begins with ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, and the vicious cycle comes third—perhaps to indicate the climax of the section by varying the pattern. As we shall see, other section-concluding triads also have small variations in pattern. As expected, 5:44–45, the transforming initiative, is an imperative, "Love your enemies." And, as expected, it is followed by a supporting explanation, "so that you may be children of your Father in heaven, for he makes his sun rise on the evil. . . ." The vicious cycle in 5:46–47 says that if you practice loving (subjunctive) only those who love you, your righteousness does not exceed the tax collectors and Gentiles, and you can expect no reward from God—you are not living in the gracious breakthrough that is the reign of God.

This climactic triad ends the first six triads with a summarizing explanation: "You will be complete as your Father in heaven is complete" (or perfect or all-inclusive). It does not mean to live up to an ideal of moral perfection, as if one could say that God lives up to an ideal of perfect virtue. It points to God's creative care for the just and unjust, giving sunshine and rain to all. It is no legalistic demand, no idealistic self-perfection. "It means to launch out with the love of God for the enemy, which goes out to all."[30] It points to being whole, complete, or all-inclusive in love toward others, including enemies, as God is inclusive in love toward the just and unjust alike.[31]

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[29] W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (1964; repr. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 245–51.

[30] Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 151–52.

[31] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 181; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:561–62.

III. Practicing Righteousness in God's Presence (6:1–18)

7, 8, 9, and 10. Almsgiving, Prayer, and Fasting

As the first six teachings were in parallel form, so here the four traditional practices are also in parallel form: giving alms (6:2–4), praying (6:5–6, 7–13), and fasting (6:16–18). Davies and Allison point out that these units reduplicate the form of the first triad in 5:21–26 (on which we based our hypothesized triadic structure): "For the legal form, conditional particle + (οὖν +) present subjunctive + imperative see also 6:2, 5, 16."[32] Comparing the section on almsgiving, prayer, and fasting with the six units in 5:21–48, Allison points out:

> the structure of this section is remarkably close to its predecessor. Both have a general introduction employing δικαιοσύνη. . . . Furthermore, the examples in both, which consistently begin in similar fashion ("You have heard that it was said" or "it was said" for 5:21–48, "Whenever you" + verb for 6:1–18), are formulated with δέ constructions, with statements about traditional teachings and practices preceding contrasting positives. And while the positive statements in 5:21–48 commence with "But I say to you," those in 6:2–18 are introduced by "Amen, I say to you."[33]

One amendment should be added: "Amen, I say to you" actually introduces the negative consequence of the vicious cycles: praying for show gets them no reward from God. The positive transforming initiatives are introduced by δέ, as predicted in our hypothesized triadic structure above, or, in the case of the Lord's Prayer, a continuation of the topic of praying, by οὖν.

1. As in his introductory statement in 5:17–21 indicating that the following teachings would concern traditional *commands,* so in his introduction in 6:1 to the next section, Matthew indicates that the *traditional righteousness* will now concern traditional *practices.* Thus the form will differ a bit: it will begin with a practice, not a teaching. But we can observe that the criteria hypothesized above are followed faithfully. Each of the four following triads begins by naming a traditional practice of righteousness, as expected (6:2a, 5a, 7a, 16a). Each is a subjunctive (or participle in v. 7), as hypothesized. Each begins with when (ὅταν) except that 6:7, being a continuation of the topic of praying, has no ὅταν:

> Thus, when you give alms, . . .
> And when you pray, . . .
> And praying, . . .
> And when you fast, . . .

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[32] Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:516.
[33] Allison, "Structure," 433.

Almsgiving, prayer, and fasting went together as the three traditional Jewish practices of righteousness in the first century. "The three disciplines were almost certainly traditionally associated with one another. . . ."[34] Clearly these are "traditional righteousness," as expected.

2. In each case there is a warning against succumbing to the temptation, the *vicious cycle,* of practicing righteousness for show and expecting a reward from God (6:2b, 5b, 7b, 16b). Again, 6:7–8, being a continuation of the topic of praying, does not complete every detail of the parallel; it has μὴ οὖν where the other three have λέγω ὑμῖν. In each case, the warning begins with "do not" (μή or οὐκ), and the outcome of the vicious cycle is that one receives no reward from God. Weder speaks of a vicious cycle (*Teufelskreis*) and of deliverance from the vicious cycle.[35]

Alternatively, we could hypothesize that the traditional teachings also included the admonitions not to practice the righteousness for show, so that the vicious-cycle judgments begin with the ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν of 6:2c, 5c, 16c, and the μὴ οὖν of 6:8a.

3. Finally, there is a *transforming initiative*—in the imperative, as expected—to practice it in God's secret, knowing, and merciful presence, along with an explanation (as expected) that your Father will reward you (6:3–4, 6, 9–15, 17–18).

All four triads conclude with "Your Father who sees in secret will reward you," or "knows what you need" or "will forgive you." The reference to God as "your Father" means the practices of righteousness are based on trust in the prophetic hope of God's renewal and deliverance being effected through Jesus' mission, a relationship of grace and presence.[36] The light of God's presence is a crucial mark of the kingdom of God in Isaiah, and the promise of reward here is surely eschatological. Our practices of righteousness are participation in God's delivering love. They show God's light, so that when people see them they give glory to our Father who is in heaven (5:16). If Jesus' listeners do not demand that God's grace requires human passivity, but rather delivers them into active participation in God's delivering love, then this is a celebration of God's grace.

Two triads form a doublet devoted to the practice of prayer here, and prayer is emphasized also in 5:44 and 7:7–11. Each time "your Father in heaven" is mentioned. Similarly, the next two triads (6:19–34) form a doublet devoted to the practice of generosity with money, which is taught also in 5:42

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[34] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:575; Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 158; Davies, *Setting*, 305–15.

[35] Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 163.

[36] See Marianne Meye Thompson, *The Promise of the Father: Jesus and God in the New Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 18, 34, and passim.

and 6:2–4. So each gets a doublet plus two other mentions. Clearly the Sermon on the Mount places special emphasis on prayer and economic generosity or justice. Thus the doublet on prayer is no surprise; it is symmetrical with the following doublet on economic justice.

III. Righteousness toward Possessions and Enemies (6:19–7:12)

11. Storing Treasures (6:19–23)

With 6:19–7:12, we come to the third section, where scholars disagree widely on which verses form a unit. Betz gives up grouping them and simply sees eight separate teachings.[37] Others group them in clusters, but disagree about how to combine them. Scholars are thoroughly puzzled about how to treat 7:6. Let us see if the triadic structure that has been so consistent thus far can be confirmed and perhaps help us find our way through this otherwise confusing territory.

All agree that 6:19 begins a new unit with a traditional or proverbial teaching, a negative imperative resembling the traditional negative teachings in 5:21–26: "Do not treasure up for yourselves treasures on earth." The picture of gathering treasures was widespread in the traditions of Judaism.[38] The vicious cycle is "where moth and rust consume and thieves break in and steal." The transforming initiative is the imperative, "But store up for yourselves treasures in heaven." The expected explanation is 6:21–23, with the focus on the eye and the heart, which most see as connected with 6:19–20.

A brief suggestion may be in order to show that the transforming initiatives are not "impossible ideals." Heaven is "the sphere of God's rule where his will is done. . . . To have one's treasure in heaven" means to submit oneself "to God's sovereign rule." It is this motif that follows in 6:22–23, 24, 33, not to mention the parallels in 5:8, 7:21, and 12:34.[39] The contrast is not this life and the life after, but this life where there is injustice and God's reign characterized by peace, justice, and joy in the Spirit. Betz argues that the hermeneutical principle for the whole section from 6:19 to 7:12 is the golden rule. "What is to be done with material goods according to the Golden Rule? Their purpose is to go to charities. In other words, one is to accept God's generosity in the spirit of human generosity. . . ."[40] The teaching does not reject all possessions, but "treasuring up treasures"—stinginess or greed. The evil eye in the OT and Judaism connotes stinginess, jealousy, or greed, and the healthy eye connotes generos-

[37] Betz, *Sermon,* 423.
[38] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 210.
[39] Guilich, *Sermon,* 327–28.
[40] Betz, *Sermon,* 432.

ity.[41] An impossible ideal would be to practice piling up wealth for oneself but not letting it be consumed and not letting it affect where one's heart is. Jesus' transforming initiative is more realistic: invest it in God's reign, in justice and charity, and your heart will be invested there as well.

12. *Serve First God's Reign and Justice (6:24–34)*

Robert Gundry and Betz treat v. 24 as independent of either the preceding or the succeeding verse, but Grundmann, Eduard Schweizer, Davies and Allison, Craig L. Blomberg, Guelich, Craig Keener, Luz, Hagner, and Jan Lambrecht treat 6:24 as belonging with 6:19–23.[42] If the majority are right, we may then see the admonition against worry in 6:25 as beginning the next triad. Then 6:25–30 is the traditional teaching plus explanation; 6:31–32 is the vicious cycle beginning with μὴ οὖν and a negative subjunctive with imperatival function; and 6:33–34 is the transforming initiative beginning with δέ and an imperative, as expected. This fits our pattern, except that the traditional teaching includes three imperatives: "be not anxious . . . look . . . observe."

Alternatively, the triadic pattern might better suggest that we cluster 6:24 with 25–34, and see v. 24 as the traditional teaching that begins the triad. 6:24ab, "No one is able to serve two masters. For either one will hate . . . ," is in the form of a traditional Jewish wisdom proverb.[43] Hillel is reported as saying "the more possessions, the more care."[44] The idea that one cannot serve God and money "was far-flung in antiquity."[45] As expected, it is negative, not imperative.

Then the vicious cycle is named directly in v. 24c, "You are not able to serve God and mammon." It begins with a negative, as we saw in the previous four triads of ch. 6, and its verbs are an indicative and an infinitive, as fits our pattern. "Do not be anxious" in v. 25 continues naming the vicious cycle. It is a negative verb, and so we expect it to belong with the vicious cycle, and its meaning also fits: it names the vicious cycle of trying to serve mammon and

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[41] Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:640.

[42] Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); Betz, *Sermon;* Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 213; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 163–64; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:626, 641; Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew* (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 124; Guelich, *Sermon,* 367–68; Keener, *Matthew,* 147; Luz, *Matthew 1–7,* 398; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 159; and Jan Lambrecht, *The Sermon on the Mount: Proclamation and Exhortation* (Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1985), 159.

[43] Guelich, *Sermon,* 333; Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 213; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:642; and Betz, *Sermon,* 456.

[44] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 159.

[45] Allison, *Sermon,* 145.

thus being anxious about possessions. Numerous times before we have seen a vicious cycle begin with "Therefore I say to you." As in the other vicious cycles, it is characterized by not trusting or obeying God—not participating in the dynamic, gracious, delivering presence of God. But it is an imperative, and so is an exception to the pattern that the imperatives come only in the transforming initiative member of the triads.

The positive transforming initiatives are three imperatives: look to the birds, observe the lilies, and seek first God's reign and God's justice (vv. 26, 28, 33). The climactic transforming initiative in v. 33 begins with δέ, as we have come to expect. This climactic initiative again puts listeners in the midst of the grace of the reign and righteousness of God, as we have seen in most of the transforming initiatives. It is the way of deliverance from seeking to serve both God and mammon, and it makes this triad parallel in meaning and form with the previous triad about investing treasures in God's reign rather than in treasures that moth, rust, and thieves consume. The expected explanation follows the transforming initiative: today's trouble is enough for today.

The transforming initiative in 6:33 points explicitly to the inbreaking reign of God and God's delivering justice.

> Since God's sovereign rule and all the benefits for our material needs come from God to us, this passage suggests by implication that we can become a part of God's redemptive force in history by sharing these benefits with those who are in need. . . . Part of the presence of the Kingdom is indeed material blessings. Therefore, we can hardly live under God's reign, receive his blessings, and not use them to help alleviate the evil of hunger and need elsewhere. . . . Not only do we recognize that all we have comes from God, but we also recognize that sharing that with others to remove their suffering is to defeat the enemy and to "seek the Kingdom . . . on earth as in heaven.[46]

What arguments do scholars offer for clustering v. 24 with vv. 19–23 rather than with 25–34? Davies and Allison argue that the two masters fit with the two eyes and the two treasures. Yet this also fits with the following verses, which have two anxieties, food and clothing. Hagner argues that vv. 19–21, 22–23, and 24 "contrast the pursuit of the wealth of this world with the single-hearted desire of the disciple to do the will of the Father, wherein alone lies true wealth." But so does 6:25–34. In addition, "each of the pericopes reflects a wisdom genre and is set forth in striking parallelism of form." But so does 6:25–34, as Hagner points out extensively.[47] In sum, the reasons advanced associate 6:24 equally well with what follows and with what precedes. Almost all scholars agree that both halves of the larger unit, 6:19–34, are highly unified around the

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[46] Guelich, *Sermon,* 373.
[47] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 156, 162; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:641.

theme of serving wealth versus serving God's reign, and so it makes sense that 6:24 would have connections with what precedes as well as with what follows.

In Weder's interpretation we can see some problems that arise when v. 24 is left in the preceding section, separated from what follows.[48] (1) Matthew 6:25–34 is disconnected from the context of serving mammon, so it is psychologized into merely an admonition not to worry, or to quit work and return to nature, in spite of Weder's declaration that he does not intend to psychologize. (2) Weder emphasizes that the *cantus firmus* is the imperative, "don't worry." He neglects to point out that "*seek* first God's reign and justice/righteousness" is also an imperative, in fact the climactic imperative, and so he has only "see" or "look" as the alternative to worry. (3) He neglects to discuss what the key terms "seek first," "kingdom," and "righteousness" mean; they are left undeveloped, uninterpreted, and unemphasized. Weder has nothing to say about righteousness/justice, which is surely the climax of the teaching.

Three facts argue for understanding v. 24 as part of the triad from 6:24 through 34. (1) The consistent triadic pattern that we have observed suggests that v. 24—a traditional teaching—precedes and belongs with the vicious cycle and transforming initiative that follow. (2) Verse 25 begins with Διὰ τοῦτο, literally "on account of this." This surely refers to what preceded, and connects v. 25 closely with v. 24. (3) Verse 25 also begins with "I tell you," λέγω ὑμῖν. This has occurred nine times previously—in each of the six antitheses and on 6:2, 5, 16. In none of these cases did it begin the unit. One further reason will become clear when we consider the structure of 6:19–7:12 as a whole, with assistance from the insight of Dale Allison and W. D. Davies.

13. Judge Not, but Take the Log out of Your Own Eye (7:1–5)

The structure of the next triad is straightforward. The traditional teaching is in proverbial form: Do not judge, for you will be judged with the judgment with which you judge.[49] Again we have a negative imperative (or indicative) and a future consequence.

The vicious cycle is criticizing or trying to correct the fault in the brother's eye while having a log in one's own eye. The verbs are indicatives of repeated practice, and the saying begins with δέ, as we have come to expect. The question "How can you say to your neighbor, 'Let (ἄφες) me take out the speck'?" does use an imperative, but it is a quotation, not a command.

What Guelich calls the "concluding admonition" is a positive imperative, a transforming initiative of repentance, "First remove the log from your own

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[48] Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 212–15.
[49] For traditional parallels, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:669.

eye."[50] The explanation comes next, as expected: "Then you will see clearly to remove the speck from your brother's eye." "First," πρῶτον, has occurred also in 5:24, *first* be reconciled, and in 6:33, seek *first* the reign of God. Each time it has come in the transforming initiative part of the teaching. This confirms the triadic pattern, with the emphasis on the third member. In its echo of the transforming initiative immediately preceding, "seek first the reign of God," it suggests that the initiative of repenting for the log in one's own eye is a practice that participates in the coming of the reign of God.

14. Place Your Trust Not in Gentile Dogs, But in Our Father God (7:6–12)

We have now arrived at the verse that is the most puzzling, mysterious, and indeed baffling of all in the sermon: 7:6. Scholars try to interpret it either in the context of the teaching against judging that we have just examined,[51] in which case it seems to contradict what Jesus has just taught, now saying that one *should* actually judge who are dogs and pigs and deny them what is holy. Most of the same scholars, however, see that it does not really fit that context, and therefore take it is an independent logion. Other scholars argue that it does not fit with or connect with 7:1–5, and they conclude that it lacks context and therefore lacks discernible meaning.[52]

> This word deals with a riddle that can never be clarified. . . . The picture is as clear as the meaning is unclear. Should this be understood as saying that the gospel should not be given to the heathen? Should it be understood as saying that renouncing judging should only be valid for the worthy (whom to find and assess is not so easy)? These are all presumptions that only obscure the fact that the sentence is thoroughly a riddle and remains that way for the time being.[53]

Luz—with admirable honesty—gives up:

> The meaning in the Matthean context is just as uncertain. The widespread allegorical interpretation as a warning against the Gentile mission is not fitting for Matthew. The warning against Christian apostates fits just as little. . . . The thesis that v. 6 is a mitigating gloss which is intended to restrict

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[50] Guelich, *Sermon,* 349.

[51] Blomberg, *Matthew,* 128–29; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:626; Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 220–22; Guelich, *Sermon,* 363; Gundry, *Matthew,* 122–23; Lambrecht, *Sermon,* 160–62; Schweizer, *Good News According to Matthew,* 167–68; Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 216.

[52] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 171; Bornkamm, "Aufbau der Bergpredigt," 428; Betz, *Sermon,* 454; Luz, *Matthew 1–7,* 418–19.

[53] Weder, *"Rede der Reden,"* 216.

vv. 3–5 is popular: there are limits to brotherliness. But in vv. 3–5 the subject was the reprimand of the sinful brother or sister, in v. 6 the subject is not sin but that which is holy.

I propose not to interpret the logion at all in its Matthean context. Matthew was a conservative author; he took it over from his tradition because it stood in his copy of Q.[54]

I propose instead that the triadic pattern we have seen to be so consistent thus far also applies here. It suggests a different context and gives a strong clue to the meaning. By now we are accustomed to seeing teachings that begin with a negative admonition in the subjunctive: 7:6 looks exactly like a *traditional teaching* that begins a new triad. Many traditional Jewish teachings call Gentiles dogs or pigs. Like the other traditional teachings, 7:6 does not begin with a particle. Also like the other traditional teachings in 6:1–7:5, it begins with a negative. All the signs point to 7:6 being a traditional teaching that begins the fourteenth triad.

As we are now used to seeing, the *vicious cycle* and its consequence follow: they will trample them under foot and turn and tear you into pieces. It begins with μήποτε, a negative equivalent of γάρ, which also begins the vicious cycles in the sixth, twelfth, and thirteenth triads. Its verbs are an indicative, a participle, and a subjunctive, as is fitting.

The *transforming initiative* is missing the expected δέ, perhaps because Matthew is making this the climax of the fourteen triads. He regularly alters the symmetry of the climactic member (see 5:11–12; 5:43–48; 6:7–15; 7:6–12). But the transforming initiative does have the imperatives, as expected: ask, seek, and knock. They are all positive initiatives, not negative commands, just as we expect. The expected explanation follows in 7:9–11. And as in the previous teachings, the transforming initiative brings Jesus' listeners into the presence of the dynamically present Father, who graciously gives good things. He is worthy of trust.

Now we have a very strong clue. The meaning of the transforming initiative is clear: give *your trust, your loyalty, and your prayers,* to your Father in Heaven. It is not only about prayer; it is about how trustworthy, how merciful, how caring your Father in heaven is; God knows how to give good gifts. God deserves your trust and loyalty much more than the "dogs" and "pigs" do.

What then, logically, can the traditional teaching mean? Do not give *your trust and loyalty* to the dogs and pigs instead of to God. The clear meaning of the transforming initiative tells us what the theme of the unit is: trust and loyalty to God rather than to the "dogs and pigs"—just as 6:19–34 taught us to give our trust and loyalty to God rather than to treasures and mammon, and just as

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[54] Luz, *Matthew 1–7,* 419.

6:1–18 taught us to give our trust and loyalty to God rather than to prestige before others.

Who are the dogs and pigs? "Dogs and pigs are also named together by the rabbis; both are unclean animals. The rabbis characterize dogs in the Torah as unlearned people, evil-doers, as already in Psalm 22:17, 21. . . . Equally are the heathens named dogs by the rabbis. . . . Also swine are used as a designation of non-Israelite people, above all the Roman empire (cf. Str-B, I., s. 449f.)."[55] Grundmann and Luz stand out among commentators in even mentioning the possibility that the reference could be to the Roman Empire, not merely to Gentiles in general.[56] But in the Strack-Billerbeck commentary, the references from the Talmud and Midrash to swine *as Rome* fill twice as many lines as do references to swine as the heathen world in general. Furthermore, those references that do refer to the heathen world seem to refer to nations, not merely individual Gentile persons. There are several sayings in which dogs stand for non-Israelites, but seemingly for nations in a more collective sense. Not one saying in Strack-Billerbeck applies either "dog" or "swine" to an individual Gentile or to a specific group of Gentiles smaller than a nation (Str-B 1:449f.; 725). This suggests that "dogs and pigs" more likely refers to Rome than to particular kinds of Gentiles—for example, those who do not receive the gospel willingly. We have learned greater respect for the varieties in the Judaism of the first century, and therefore the Strack-Billerbeck commentary must be used with caution. The number of references, however, probably points to a widely used image.

Turning to the NT, in Mark's story of the healing of the demon-possessed man in the Gerasene region, a Gentile region (Mark 5:1–13), Jesus asks his name. He answers: "My name is Legion," as in Roman Legion. The unclean spirits are sent into a herd of pigs, who rush into the sea, as many Jews wished the Roman Legion would do. The association between pigs and the Roman Empire—and demon possession—is transparent. Ched Myers comments:

> [Legion] has only one meaning in Mark's social world: a division of Roman soldiers. Alerted by this clue, we discover that the rest of the story is filled with military imagery. The term used for "herd". . . —inappropriate for pigs, who do not travel in herds—often was used to refer to a band of military recruits. . . . The phrase "he dismissed them" connotes a military command, and the pigs' charge . . . into the lake suggests troops rushing into battle. . . .

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[55] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 221; see also Luz, *Matthew,* 1:419.

[56] I am affirming that dogs symbolize Gentiles. See Matt 15:26–27, in which the Syrophoenician woman, a Gentile, is in the role of "dog." Romans, of course, are Gentiles, so "dogs" can mean Romans, as "pigs" are most likely to be Romans. Jesus probably also saw temptations to apostasy and idolatrous loyalties coming from Gentile culture in general, not only the Roman-established power structure.

The conclusion is irresistible that we are here encountering imagery meant to call to mind the Roman military occupation of Palestine.[57]

Rikki Watts comments that pigs, tombs, and demons are likely indictments of idolatry, with Isa 65:1–7 probably in the background: "There is evidence for the widespread sacrifice of pigs to Roman gods. . . . Evidently, in the Roman world, pigs were favourite sacrificial animals, no Roman tomb was legally protected without a pig being sacrificed, and demons were understood to have a particular liking for them."[58] The other NT passage about swine occurs in the parable of the Prodigal Son, who goes into "a far country," a country where people eat swine, and attaches himself to "a citizen" (πολιτῶν, Luke 15:15). This "far country" with its swine and citizens fits Rome or its empire well.

The temptation to give loyalty and trust to the Roman Empire, in search of prestige, power, and wealth, was real in the first century, as was the outcome of being trampled under foot (Matt 7:6) and torn in pieces by the Roman troops by Matthew's time. Being "trampled under foot" is the fate salt deserves when it has lost its distinctiveness by compromising with the world (Matt 5:13). Matthew 22:21//Mark 12:21//Luke 20:25, on whether to give loyalty to the Roman Empire in the form of the poll tax, uses the same key word as in Matt 7:6–12, δίδωμι, with the prepositional prefix, ἀπό. Jesus often warns against the temptation of seeking prestige, honor, and wealth within the system of the powers and authorities while neglecting the weightier matters of the Law—justice, faithfulness, and mercy. Jesus' own temptation was to seek to rule over the world by Satan's means, and he opposed it by teaching loyalty to God alone: "Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him" (Matt 4:8–10). Is this not what the concluding triad teaches —worship the Lord your God, and serve only him, not the prestige and power of the Roman Empire? Psalm 22:17, 21, which scholars cite as the most likely traditional teaching behind 7:6, concerns trusting in the Lord when Israel is under attack by the nations and the rich of the earth, and it teaches that "dominion belongs to the Lord, and he rules over the nations" (22:28). Second Peter 2:22, the other passage most similar to 7:6, speaks of being "slaves of corruption, for people are slaves to whatever masters them," and of being "entangled" in "the defilements of the world" and being "overpowered" by them (2 Pet 2:19–20). Being corrupted by giving loyalty to the defilements of the Roman world is the temptation against which the Apocalypse also warns.

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[57] Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1988), 190–94; quotation from 191.

[58] Rikki Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 157–58. Luke 8:26–39 and Matt 8:28–34 have the same elements—Gentile region, "my name is Legion," the demons in the herd of swine rushing into the sea and drowning—except that Matthew lacks the name "Legion."

A similar contrast between trusting in God for one's needs and being tempted to give loyalty to Rome is found in 1 Pet 5:7–10:

> Cast all your anxieties on him, for he cares about you. Be sober, be watchful. Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour. Resist him, firm in your faith, knowing that the same experience of suffering is required of your brotherhood throughout the world. And after you have suffered a little while, the God of all grace, who has called you to his eternal glory in Christ, will himself restore, establish, and strengthen you.

Additional support comes from Warren Carter's commentary *Matthew and the Margins*, which I had not read before developing this interpretation.[59] He demonstrates the presence of Rome's power and temptations in Matthew's Gospel and sees throughout the Gospel the theme of encouraging the disciples to be faithful and to resist Rome's power and temptations. He argues that 7:7–11 concerns faithfulness to God's ways rather than Rome's ways: "H. D. Betz correctly argues that the language of asking, seeking, and knocking is not exclusively the language of prayer, though it is that, but is language that describes a lifestyle of focusing on and doing God's purposes. The section links prayer and human action." Carter concludes: "Disciples live a lifestyle that is out of step with and resistant to Rome's imperial ways. . . . In these difficult circumstances, they must remain focused on God's empire, strengthened not only by the words of Jesus and disciplines of prayer and fasting (6:1–18), but also by one another."[60] This fits the meaning we have seen perfectly.

Yet Carter fails to connect 7:6 with the theme of his commentary. In spite of his observation that in 7:1 and 6:19 a negative command begins a new subsection (as it does in 6:2, 5, 7, and 16), he fails to observe that the negative command in 7:6 probably also begins a new subsection. Instead, he lets custom guide him into interpreting v. 6 in the context of v. 5—the speck in the brother's eye. Therefore he interprets giving *holy things* to dogs as giving character correction to those who are not receptive. Yet at the beginning of the same paragraph, he had said "the term *the holy* comes from passages such as Exod 29:33 and Lev 2:3, which refer to sacrificial offerings set apart for divine service (see 4:5; 6:9)."[61] The holy as service to God does not cohere with interpreting it as character correction of brothers. It perfectly fits interpreting the holy as prayer, trust, and service to God rather than the Roman powers. Once we see v. 6 in the context of vv. 7–12, as Carter's own logic suggests, his contradiction will be cleared up and the passage will become a strong confirmation of the theme of his commentary.

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[59] Warren Carter, *Matthew and the Margins: A Sociopolitical and Religious Reading* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000).
[60] Ibid., 183, 185.
[61] Ibid., 180, 182.

The assumption that the unit begins with v. 7, so that the teaching about prayer comes without a context, leads many commentators to conclude that "ask, and it will be given to you" and "everyone who asks receives" means that all prayers will be answered with good things, which then seems a pious illusion. Jesus prayed in Gethsemane that this cup pass from him, and he did not receive an affirmative answer. In the context of the full triad, however, beginning with v. 6, it means God is faithful as the Roman power structure is not. They will trample you under foot and tear you to pieces (as they did in 70 C.E.), but God gives good gifts. It is not a general, context-free abstraction claiming that God gives whatever anyone asks in prayer but a context-specific claim that God answers prayer by contrast with members of the Roman power structure, which, if we put our faith in them and let them shape our ethics, will turn on us and tear us to pieces. Then 7:12 is part of the same theme, as its beginning with "therefore" suggests: as God gives good gifts to those who ask, therefore you should give good gifts of love to others, rather than following the ethics of giving gifts to those who might advance your prestige and wealth as those who put their trust in the Roman power structure do. Verse 12 is rightly seen as the climax of the whole central section, forming an *inclusio* with 5:17–20 on the law and the prophets; but it also fits the theme of 7:6–12: let God's trustworthy love be the norm for how you love. It thus resembles 5:48, which is the climax of 5:21–48, but also fits the theme of the last unit of that section: let God's inclusive love for the enemy be the norm for how you love.

Now the teaching fits the theme of the whole section as Guelich describes it: "The impossibility of serving two masters completes this three-unit section (6:19–21, 22–23, 24), the common denominator of which remains the call for total allegiance."[62] Surely 6:24–34 is also about serving God's reign and righteousness with total allegiance; 7:1–5 is about the log in our own eye, which may be the log of divided loyalties, just as Jesus' other teaching about the eye (6:22–23) is about having double vision because of loyalties to treasures on earth; and 7:6–12 is about serving God with total allegiance rather than serving the dogs and pigs who will trample us under foot and tear us to pieces.

Adopting the alternative assumption that the unit begins at 7:7, Guelich expresses surprise that a unit would begin with such a verse: "In contrast to the previous units in 6:19–7:11, this one opens with a positive admonition."[63] Indeed, if the unit did begin with a positive admonition, the contrast with the previous patterns would be even starker: not only the units in 6:19–7:11 but also the four units beginning in 6:2–18 open with a *negative* admonition in the form of "when giving alms, do not sound a trumpet . . . ; when praying, do not be like the hypocrites. . . ." If our unit begins with v. 7 and not v. 6, it would

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[62] Guelich, *Sermon,* 332.
[63] Ibid., 357.

stand starkly alone as the only one of eight units beginning with a positive admonition. This in itself should raise questions for the standard assumption.

If on the other hand, the unit begins with 7:6, then it fits exactly: It begins with μὴ δῶτε, just as 7:1 began μὴ κρίνετε. This supports the pattern we have seen regularly, beginning with a traditional practice to be avoided, and climaxing with a transforming initiative. Nowhere else does Matthew throw in an isolated verse that does not fit in the context of the unit, and just as μὴ κρίνετε began the fivefold repetition of forms of the verb κρίνετε in 7:1–5, so μὴ δῶτε begins the sixfold repetition of forms of the verb δίδωμι in 7:6–12 (vv. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11a, 11b). When scholars take the unit to be 7:7–11, they may notice that it is characterized by the fivefold occurrence of the verb "ask" (αἰτεῖτε) and state that this is "the key word of our section," but they fail to notice the sixfold occurrence of the verb "give" (δίδωμι) the other key word of the section, beginning with μὴ δῶτε in v. 6, and thus uniting 7:6–12.[64]

We have now seen a consistent pattern from 5:21–7:12 (see table 2 on p. 296).

V. Comparison with Other Structural Proposals

One additional way to check the validity of the triadic structure is to ask how it coheres with the overall structure of the Sermon on the Mount—specifically as proposed by Davies and Allison, Luz, Bornkamm, and Grundmann.

We began with Bornkamm's statement that several puzzles need solving. He asked why the order and organization of the section from 6:1 to 7:12 seem less clear than the other sections; why Matt 6:19 is not more closely connected with what precedes it; why Matt 7:6 on not offering what is holy to dogs or pigs does not seem to relate to its context in 7:1–5; why its meaning eludes interpreters; and why Matthew closes the long section from 6:1 through 7:12 with sayings on prayer, instead of placing them immediately after the Lord's Prayer, as Luke does.[65]

Allison writes similarly: "The disparity among scholars who have attempted to fathom the structure and theme of 6:19–7:12 could hardly be greater. Some, in fact, have despaired altogether of comprehending Matthew's procedure in this section." Guelich, too, comments: "These units neither relate directly to the 'doing of righteousness'. . . nor do they exhibit any visible interrelationship with each other. The evangelist or his tradition appears to have randomly gathered diverse admonitions together in order to fill out the Sermon (cf. the various headings and groupings given this material by the commentators that share little or no agreement)."[66]

[64] See, e.g., Allison, *Sermon,* 156.
[65] Bornkamm, "Aufbau der Bergpredigt," 424.
[66] Allison, "Structure," 434; Guelich, *Sermon,* 322–23.

Table 2
The Fourteen Triads of the Sermon on the Mount

Traditional Piety	Vicious Cycle	Transforming Initiative
1. You shall not kill	Being angry, or saying, You fool!	*Go, be reconciled*
2. You shall not commit adultery	Looking with lust	*Remove the cause of temptation* (cf. Mark 9:43ff.)
3. Whoever divorces, give a certificate	Divorcing involves you in adultery	(Be reconciled: 1 Cor 7:11)
4. You shall not swear falsely	Swearing by anything involves you in a false claim	Let your yes be yes, and your no be no
5. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth	Violently/vengefully resisting by evil means	*Turn the other cheek* *Give your tunic and cloak* Go the second mile *Give to beggar and borrower*
6. Love neighbor and hate enemy	If you love those who love you, what more is that than the Gentiles do?	*Love enemies, pray for your persecutors; be all-inclusive as your Father in heaven is*
7. When you give alms	blowing a trumpet like hypocrites	but give in secret, and your Father will reward you
8. When you pray,	making a show like the hypocrites	but pray in secret, and your Father will reward you
9. When you pray,	babbling like Gentiles, thinking the wordiness will be heard	*Therefore pray like this: Our Father . . .*
10. When you fast,	appearing gloomy to others, like the hypocrites	but dress with joy, and your Father will reward you
11. *Do not pile up treasures on earth* (Luke 12:16–31)	*Where moth and rust destroy, and thieves enter and steal*	*But pile up treasures in heaven*
12. *No one can serve two masters*	*You are not able to serve God and wealth, being anxious about food and clothes*	*But seek first God's reign and God's justice/ righteousness*
13. *Do not judge, lest you be judged*	*By the measure with which you judge, you will be judged*	*First take the log out of your own eye*
14. Do not give holy things to dogs, nor pearls to pigs	They will trample them and tear you to pieces	*Give your trust in prayer to your Father in heaven*

Italicized items are repeated in the Sermon on the Plain or in other locations indicated in parentheses.

W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison's Structure of
Matthew 6:19–24 as Parallel with 7:1–11

Davies and Allison offer a brilliant proposal that 6:19–24 and 7:1–11 are parallel in structure, based mostly on key words and symmetry.[67]

Table 3	
6:19–21 exhortation	7:1–2 exhortation
6:22–23 parable (on the eye)	7:3–5 parable (on the eye)
6:24 second parable (two masters)	7:6 second parable (dogs, pigs)
6:25–33 the heavenly Father's care	7:7–11 the heavenly Father's care
(argument *a minori ad maius*)	(argument *a minori ad maius*)

The parallels between the metaphor of the eye in each case and between the two masters and the two dogs/pigs, and the parallel arguments from human care to the Father's care, are highly insightful and persuasive.

Some awkward problems arise, however:

1. What are the definitions of an exhortation and of a parable that determine which elements belong in each category? Matthew 6:19–21 is a complete exhortation, with the negative prohibition and its bad consequence in v. 19, the positive command (lay up treasures in heaven) in v. 20, followed by a supporting explanation in v. 21 (where your treasure is, there your heart will be also). But 7:1–2 is not a complete exhortation: the positive command does not come until 7:5a (take the log out of your eye) followed by a supporting explanation in 7:5b (then you will see). So 7:1–5 should be placed as parallel to 6:19–23.

2. Matthew 6:22–23, which the scheme calls a parable, simply diagnoses a vicious cycle, an evil eye leaving the whole self in darkness. No deliverance is offered, no command; we are left with, How great is the darkness when one is not seeing clearly! Matthew 7:3–5, the parallel "parable," also diagnoses a vicious cycle, the distortion of vision from the log in one's own eye. But it then climaxes in the way of deliverance, the command to take the log out of one's own eye, and the supporting conclusion that then we shall be able to see to take the speck out of the brother's eye. Matthew 7:2–4, which diagnoses a vicious cycle and leaves us not seeing clearly, should be parallel with 6:20–21.

3. Matthew 6:24 and 7:6 are nicely parallel, as Davies and Allison suggest. Both name a wrong activity and the vicious consequence, and do not yet command the way of deliverance.

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[67] Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:626–27; see also Allison, "Structure," 423–45.

4. Matthew 6:24 and 6:25 seem to be exhortations, yet the scheme calls 6:24 a parable, and 6:25 a statement about the Father's care. "No one can serve two masters," and "you are not able to serve God and mammon" look not like parables but like exhortations or explanations. "Be not anxious" is not a statement about the Father's care, but an exhortation. Similar comments apply to 7:3–5, 6, and 7.

5. The scheme labels 6:25–33 and 7:7–11 as "the Father's care" and makes them the final element in each unit. But 6:25 begins with Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, and a negative "do not," followed by a doublet (do not be anxious about your life . . . nor about your body). This is a typical pattern we have come to expect at the beginning of the second element of a triad, the vicious cycle. Matthew 7:7–11, by contrast, begins with a positive command and a triad (ask, seek, and knock). Nowhere have we seen a unit beginning with a positive command.

6. Matthew 6:34 is missing in Davies and Allison's scheme, because it does not fit that scheme: it is neither an affirmation of the Father's care nor an argument *a minori ad maius*. It matches 7:11 (μὴ οὖν matches εἰ οὖν). Both are what we have seen regularly as "explanations" following the imperatives of the transforming initiative, the third member of a triad.

The discovery of the triadic structure of each teaching indicated that there are four teachings in 6:19–7:12: 6:19–23; 6:24–34; 7:1–5; and 7:6–12. Now we notice that these four match the four teachings in 6:1–18 with nice symmetry. Particularly important is placing 7:6—"the verse without a context whose meaning no one knows"—in a clear context as the beginning of the triad 7:6–12, which does suggest a persuasive meaning. This then suggests a modification of Davies and Allison's scheme (see table 4 on p. 299).

The two teachings on relating to possessions climax with a triad that has double transforming initiatives in parallel, as the climax of the two teachings on relating to enemies (the fourteenth triad, 7:7–12) has double transforming initiatives in parallel. This recalls the first unit, 5:21–26, which began the fourteen triads with double transforming initiatives in parallel. In addition to the striking parallels obvious in the chart above, the key words "ask" (αἰτεῖτε) and "give" (δῶτε) recur five and six times respectively in 7:6–11, and the key word "be anxious" (μεριμνάω) recurs five times in 6:25–28.[68]

Furthermore, as the climax in 5:43 gave us a reversal of order, so the parallels here also include a reversal, with key elements of 6:33 being parallel to key elements of 7:7–8: the key word "seek" (ζητεῖτε), the reliance on God's providence, the assurance that God will provide—all in the transforming initiative part of the triad in both cases. Matthew 6:25 may be parallel to 7:12a: each

[68] As Davies and Allison point out (*Matthew,* 1:626).

Table 4	
Relating to Possessions	**Relating to Enemies**
6:19a: Trad:* Do not hoard treasures on earth.	7:1a: Trad: Do not judge.
6:19b: VC: Your treasures will be consumed by moth, rust, thieves.	7:1b–2: VC: You will be judged by the same measure.
6:20–23: TI: Store up treasures in heaven. Ex: Heart and eye: Your eye will light up your body.	7:3–5: TI: First remove (ἔβαλε) log from eye. Ex: Log and eye: You will see clearly to help your brother.
6:24a, d: Trad: No one can serve two masters, God and Mammon. [6:24abcd is a chiasm]**	7:6: Trad: Do not try to serve Gentile dogs and pigs. (Βάλητε, throw). [7:6 is a chiasm]***
6:24b, c: VC: He will hate one, love the other; or be loyal to one, despise the other.	7:6b: VC: They will trample you under foot and turn and maul you.
6:25: TI: Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο), do not be anxious about food and clothes; are not life and body more than these? [God will care for them.]	7:7–8: TI: Ask [God], seek (ζητεῖτε), knock and you will receive; you will find; it will be opened to you [by God].
6:26–32: Ex: Two parables of Father's care: food for birds, and clothing for lilies. argument *a minori ad maius*	7:9–11: Ex: Two parables of Father's care: stone for bread, and serpent for fish. argument *a minori ad maius*
6:33: TI: But seek (ζητεῖτε) first the reign and righteousness of God, and all things will be added to you.	7:12a: TI: Therefore (οὖν) do for others as you would have them do for you.
6:34: Ex: For tomorrow will worry for itself.	7:12b: Ex: For this is the Law and the prophets

* Trad = traditional teaching; VC = vicious cycle; TI = transforming initiative; Ex = explanation.

** Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 157.

*** Ibid., 171; David Garland, *Reading Matthew: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the First Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 86.

begins with "therefore" (οὖν, διὰ τοῦτο), and the obverse of putting our anxiety in getting food and clothes for ourselves is putting our care into doing for others, which we do because God cares for us and cares for others.

Thus the third section (6:19–7:12) has four symmetrical teachings, in parallel with the second section (6:1–18), which also has four symmetrical teachings.

Ulrich Luz's Proposal for Symmetry
with the Lord's Prayer as Central

Ulrich Luz offers a simple but persuasive proposal for symmetry around the Lord's Prayer. Here I will present only the main section, since that is our focus, but the symmetry extends out to 5:1–2 and 7:29–8:1a:[69]

> 5:21–48 Six Teachings, 59 lines in Nestle
> 　　6:1–6 Righteousness before God
> 　　　　6:7–15 The Lord's Prayer with frame
> 　　6:6–18 Righteousness before God
> 6:19–7:11 Three teachings—possessions, judging, prayer, 59 lines in
> 　　　　Nestle

His actual exegesis of 6:19–7:11, however, divides it into five separate teachings: 6:19–24 on possessions, 6:24–34 on worry, simple living, and seeking the kingdom, 7:1–5 on judging; 7:6 on dogs, pigs, and holy things; and 7:7–11 on prayer. This would not be symmetrical with 5:21–48, which most all commentators agree is clearly divided into two halves of three teachings each. Furthermore, the Lord's Prayer is clearly divided into two halves, the second-person petitions and the first-person petitions. Our suggestion that 6:24 on not serving mammon is the beginning of the second teaching makes 6:24–34 more clearly a teaching on possessions, as Luz's diagram indicates (instead of a teaching mostly on worry and the simple life, as his exegesis suggests). Hence 6:24–34 forms a pair with 6:19–23, both on possessions. Our suggestion that 7:6 is the beginning of the final triad makes 7:1–5 and 7:6–11 a pair on relating to others with whom we have a significant difference. So now 6:19–7:11 is divided into two halves of two teachings each, as 5:21–48 is clearly divided into two equal halves. Hence our modifications nicely enhance Luz's postulated symmetry.

Walter Grundmann and Günther Bornkamm's Structure
with the Lord's Prayer as Central

Walter Grundmann proposed not only that there is symmetry around the Lord's Prayer, as Luz says, but also that the order of the petitions in the Lord's

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[69] Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 212. I have rotated Luz's outline to a vertical axis and removed some lines so its form corresponds more with the other diagrams.

Prayer guides the order in which the units are presented in the overall structure of the sermon. Ten years later, Günther Bornkamm modified this, applying it only to the structure of 6:18–7:12. Both based their proposals more on themes or concepts in the units than on key words or symmetry. How does our proposed triadic structure cohere with their insights? For ease in comparing the proposals, I set them forth in parallel columns in table 5.

Table 5			
Lord's Prayer	**Bornkamm**	**Grundmann**	**Triadic Proposal**
1. Our Father in heaven, hallowed be Thy Name	6:33 Seek first God's reign and justice	5:16–16 and 7:7–12 and other references to your Father in heaven	5:1–2 Jesus teaches on the mountain, symbolic of Sinai
2. Thy reign come	6:33 Seek first God's reign and justice	5:3–16 Beatitudes and Salt, Light Deeds	5:3–16 Beatitudes and Salt, Light Deeds
3. Thy will be done on earth as in heaven	6:19–24 Treasures not on earth but in heaven	5:17–48 The better righteousness	5:17–48 The better righteousness
4. Give us today our daily bread	6:25–34 Do not be anxious; God cares	6:19–34 treasures, food, and clothes	6:19–34 treasures, food, and clothes
5. Forgive us our sins	7:1–5 Judge not, but repent	7:1–6 Judge not, but help rightly	7:1–5 Judge not, but repent
6. Lead us not into temptation	7:6 dogs, pigs, and holy things	7:13–23 false prophets	7:6–12 Trust God, not dogs and pigs
7. But deliver us from evil	7:6 dogs, pigs, and holy things	7:13–23 false prophets	7:13–27 false prophets

As the fourth column indicates, I believe there is truth in Bornkamm's proposal as it relates to 6:25–7:5 but that it has problems at the edges. Lambrecht sees validity in Bornkamm's proposal, but the major "ticklish point" is the explanation of 7:6. "To argue that this verse is truly a comment on 'lead us not into temptation . . .' seems somewhat farfetched."[70] Hagner also sees this as Bornkamm's major weak point.[71] A related "ticklish point" is that Bornkamm's proposal, intended to explain the structure of 6:18–7:12, leaves out 7:7–12—the climax of the whole section. He could not see how to place a teaching on prayer under the heading "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Prayer is hardly an evil temptation.

[70] Lambrecht, *Sermon,* 164.
[71] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13,* 172; see also Betz, *Sermon,* 425.

We have seen that 7:6 is exactly about a temptation—the temptation to place our trust and loyalty in the promises of advancement and security afforded by the power structures and values of the Roman Empire. This not only coheres with Bornkamm's proposal but strengthens it greatly. Moreover, noticing that 7:6 is the traditional teaching that heads the whole unit, 7:6–12, solves the other problem as well: now all of 7:6–12 belongs under the heading "Lead us not into temptation."

Lambrecht's other uncertainty about Bornkamm's proposal is that "it is not so obvious that Matthew, in 7:1–5, intended to explain the forgiveness petition of the Lord's Prayer. One may justifiably doubt that 'judge not, that you be not judged' is a development of 'forgiving others to receive God's forgiveness oneself.'"[72] Our transforming-initiative interpretation says that the main point of the triad is not "judge not" but "take out the log in your own eye"—the command that is the climax of the teaching. The log in the eye is precisely a sin that needs forgiveness.[73]

The other shift indicated by the triadic structure makes 6:24 the heading of the teaching that extends through 6:34. Now the teaching focuses more clearly on serving God rather than mammon, on possessions, and on anxiety about food and clothing, not anxiety in general. Hence it coheres more closely with the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, praying that God will give daily bread. It strengthens Bornkamm's proposal where it was somewhat weak, and it strengthens Grundmann's proposal on the same point. Grundmann too connects the petition for daily bread with the two triads in 6:19–34 on not hoarding possessions or serving mammon but placing our trust and loyalty in serving God's reign and justice.[74] Not only are both teachings about possessions and physical needs, but they are based on the providential care of God for the needy, as is the petition for daily bread.

Not having seen that 7:6–12 was about temptation, Grundmann put 7:6 with the fifth petition, about forgiveness. Then he had no place to put 7:7–12, about prayer, so it stands out awkwardly in his scheme. When he explains how the Lord's Prayer unites the whole sermon, he says that he will postpone the discussion of 7:7–12 until he gets to his exegesis of that unit.[75] But when he does get to that exegesis, he fails to connect it with the sixth petition. Having seen that 7:6–12 is a unit concerning temptation, we can connect it properly with the sixth petition (see right-hand column). This then removes another awkwardness in Grundmann's proposal: he had only 7:13–23 yet to connect, so he connected it with both the sixth and seventh petitions. Having seen that 7:6–12 concerns the temptation of giving loyalty to Rome, and so relates to the

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[72] Lambrecht, *Sermon,* 164.
[73] See Luz, *Matthew 1–7,* 418.
[74] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 215, 217.
[75] Ibid., 204–6.

sixth petition on temptation, we can straightforwardly connect the final petition, "Deliver us from evil," with 7:13–27 on avoiding the evil of the false prophets who fail to do Jesus' teachings.

Thus the fourteen-triad structure strengthens both Bornkamm's and Grundmann's schemes. This provides yet one more confirmation of its validity. Yet I am struck by the awkwardness and disorder of Bornkamm's attempt to relate 6:19–34 to all of the first four petitions of the Lord's Prayer. Luz agrees: "In my opinion, 6:19–24 cannot be made plausible in detail as an interpretation of the first three petitions."[76] Furthermore, it seems intuitively asymmetrical that the Lord's Prayer stands in the center of the sermon but guides the order of only half the sermon.

Therefore I am led to consider Grundmann's proposal more thoroughly. Betz explains his neglect of it by stating only that Grundmann provides no arguments to support his proposal.[77] But Grundmann, if read carefully, does provide arguments supporting the connections he sees to the Lord's Prayer.[78] Betz is not alone in overlooking Grundmann. Presumably this is because during the Third Reich, Grundmann was Director of the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on Church Life, which published New Testaments and hymnbooks with Jewish elements deleted and in other ways embodied astounding anti-Semitism. Grundmann himself wrote a book arguing that Jesus was not a Jew but a Galilean, most likely an Aryan. One wonders if the ideology of his *Deutsche Christen Tendenz* still shows itself in his 1968 commentary.

Grundmann interprets Jesus' emphasis on δικαιοσύνη, on economic justice toward the poor and not hoarding money for oneself, as individual righteousness without attention to prophetic themes of economic justice, and says it boils down to love.[79] He shows a two-kingdoms split: the sermon "concerns personal conduct and personal decisions, not a public program."[80] Grundmann's dualism of gospel versus law produces a situation ethics in which the sermon is forgiveness and love without much concrete ethical guidance and teaches the pure will of God not fulfillable in the real world.[81] These interpretive moves cohere with the tendency of many theologians during the Third Reich to neutralize Jesus' social criticisms and to emphasize an individualistic and otherworldly picture of Jesus and his teachings.

Nevertheless, I shall attend to Grundmann's support for his structural pro-

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[76] Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 390.

[77] Betz, *Sermon*, 424.

[78] See Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 119–35, 140–41, 177–79, 188–90, 204–6, 215, 217, 220ff., 225, 229, 235.

[79] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 112, 115–18, 217.

[80] Ibid., 172.

[81] Ibid., 189.

posal, published in 1968, as objectively as I can, as a commitment to treat all people with respect rather than prejudice.[82]

Walter Grundmann's Proposal
That 5:1–5:48 Coheres with the Second-Person Petitions

The first petition of the Lord's Prayer, "hallowed be thy name," is overlooked by Grundmann. He joins it with "Our Father in heaven." Grammatically and in terms of parallelism with the next two petitions, however, it is a petition in its own right.

The symmetry of Grundmann's proposal would be complete if Matt 5:1–2 were connected with this first petition (see table 5 above), and that connection might be quite straightforward. The key word in Matt 5:1–2 is surely *the mountain,* as is recognized universally in the title, "the Sermon on *the Mount*," and Jesus' ascending the mountain likely parallels Moses' ascending Mount Sinai in Exod 19–20, as Allison argues convincingly.[83] So Matt 5:1–2 is likely connected

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[82] After the war, Grundmann passed de-Nazification tests by presenting himself as a persecuted victim of the Nazi regime and its opponent. Pressed by church officials in 1945 to acknowledge the sovereignty of Christ rather than the government by affirming the Barmen Confession, he agreed. But, as Susannah Heschel states, "he wrote no statement of regret" (see Susannah Heschel, "Nazifying Christian Theology: Walter Grundmann and the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Church Life," *Church History* 63 [1994]: 597, 601; see also eadem, "Redemptive Anti-Semitism: The de-Judaization of the New Testament in the Third Reich," in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts* [ed. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998], 238, 246–47, 249, 253, 255, 257–58; and her essay in *A Multiform Heritage* [ed. Benjamin G. Wright; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999], 303–21).

For deep personal and family reasons as well as a lifelong commitment to justice and opposition to such anti-Jewish propaganda, I shudder at such racism. I prefer not to ignore it, but to name it explicitly and deal with it directly. By 1968 Grundmann must have seen the errors, but he was reluctant to admit them directly (Heschel, "Redemptive Anti-Semitism," 253). In writing on Matthew he chose the most Jewish Gospel to interpret. In it he highlights that Matt 4:14–16, 23 is fulfillment of the prophets (*Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 112–13), emphasizes the influence of Isa 61 and Pss 37 and 137 in shaping the beatitudes, and systematically sees Jesus' teachings as rooted in the OT (for a few examples, see pp. 165, 169, 172–75, and 177). He does learn positively from rabbinic teachings that he sees as making the same point Jesus made (pp. 127, 171–75, 217, 224, and passim). And he cites and quotes approvingly theologians who opposed anti-Semitism such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth. One would hope that Grundmann's interpretation included dimensions of repentance and, perhaps in part subconsciously, a plea for forgiveness, but one would rather it were direct and explicit.

[83] Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 172–73, 176–77, 180. Allison demonstrates the connection between Matt 5:1–2 and Moses ascending Sinai in Exod 19 and 20; he also shows that it was understood well before Matthew's time that Moses ascended to heaven to get the commandments . This could be another connection with "Our Father who art in *heaven.*" Allison's account does not connect Matt 5:1–2 with 6:9, although in a personal communication, he did connect Matt 6:9 with the Tetragrammaton. For insightful discussion, see also Davies, *Setting,* 85, 93, 99, 116–18.

with Exod 19 and 20. "Hallowed be thy name" (surely the Tetragrammaton, YHWH) in the first petition of the Lord's prayer is probably also connected with the revelation of YHWH in Exod 19 and 20. The narrative of Moses going up to Mount Sinai in Exod 19 emphasizes the holiness of the mountain with great drama, and the revelation of YHWH in thunder, lightning, a thick cloud, smoke, and the blast of the trumpet. Exodus 20 begins with the Tetragrammaton; "I am YHWH your God." Its first commandments forbid having other gods or idols besides YHWH, and the very next commandment is "You shall not make wrongful use of *the name* of YHWH your God" (20:7). Hence a connection between Jesus' Mosaic ascent to the mountain in 5:1–2 and "hallowed be thy name" in the first petition of the Lord's Prayer may be likely, especially since it completes an otherwise coherent structure.

The second petition, "thy kingdom come," Grundmann connects naturally with the beatitudes, each of which climaxes in a description of the coming kingdom: "theirs is the kingdom of heaven . . . they will be comforted . . . they will inherit the earth . . . they will be filled . . . they will receive mercy . . . they will see God . . . they will be called children of God . . . theirs is the kingdom of heaven." He writes that the first beatitude announces the reversal of the kingdom: "Those judged by humans as pitiable become blessed as God's chosen, and salvation as the power of reversal is promised to them. . . . The opening up of hope in the gift of the kingdom of God to them points the way out from their affliction and toward participation in the coming kingdom of God." In the second beatitude, "the reference to Isaiah 61:1–3 allows us to recognize that Jesus is the promised anointed one of Isa 61:1f, who is the gift of joy to the poor, the comforter of the mourning and the deliverer of those in bondage, . . . so that God's lordship is the real comforting of all those who mourn." He relates the third beatitude as well to the kingdom of God, and having interpreted the fourth, "hunger and thirst for justice," in the context of the prophetic and messianic hope for justice, he concludes: "the context of the first four beatitudes is defined through the hope for the new heaven and new earth, in which righteousness dwells (2. Petr. 3:13)." He interprets the remaining beatitudes with similar attention to the inbreaking of the kingdom and the gift of participation in the kingdom.[84]

The third petition, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," sets the tone for the six triads concerning the will of God in 5:21–48. The will of God is not only what God wills that we do but also what God does, as in "Thy will be done,"[85] and it centers in love.[86] Grundmann writes of the inclusiveness of

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[84] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 120, 122–24, 126–30, 132, 135.

[85] See also Thompson, *Promise of God the Father*, 108: "In Matthew, the word 'will' is always connected with the Father, rather than with God."

[86] Grundmann, *Evangelium nach Matthäus,* 177–78.

God's love for the unjust as well as the just, and of this love, as Jesus' unique teaching, setting the pattern for discipleship. This will of God, closely bound together with the proclamation of the reign of God, is the will of the Father of Jesus Christ for humankind.[87]

> The will of God, as it is announced in the demands of the Sermon on the Mount, directs us toward the liberating action that breaks through the vicious cycle of retaliation and group exclusiveness, and creates new community among people through forgiveness, reconciliation, and peacemaking.
>
> The preacher of the Sermon on the Mount discloses the way to the fulfilling of the will of God. This way is forgiveness and reconciliation; it is determined by God's own action in relation to guilty humans. . . . So shall you act in your concrete situation, corresponding with the example, and so you fulfill the will of God.[88]

Accordingly, Grundmann's interpretation of the first six triads highlights themes of reconciliation, peacemaking, healing of community relationships, and the double love command. On going to be reconciled to the brother in 5:23–24, he writes: "The word of Jesus is determined from its connection with the two commands of the love of God and the love of neighbor." On oaths and truth telling, he concludes: "God wants to have people truthful, and the fellow-human has a right to the truthfulness of his partner, because untruthfulness destroys community." On retaliation versus initiatives of peacemaking in 5:39, he writes that Jesus' teaching "arises from the recognition that the injuries under which human community suffers cannot be healed or rebuilt anew by way of the right of retaliation." Having been alerted by the Lord's Prayer to the God-centered, grace-based, and reconciliation-oriented nature of the six triads, Grundmann gives proper attention to the four transforming initiatives of peacemaking in 5:38–42. What some have called "the antithesis proper" in 5:38–39a receives slightly over one page of discussion; the four transforming initiatives that should receive the emphasis according to the triadic structure get three full pages of explanation. He writes of these initiatives as "the proclamation of the will of God." They are not law or clever rules, but are real examples that aim to conquer vengeful thinking in the direction of "an inexhaustible, boundless, and unrestricted readiness to give and to forgive" that alone speaks to "what God Himself is and does. . . . All of the examples aim at an unexpected, surprising conduct that does not deepen the rift in the community, but heals it." On giving the coat as well as the shirt, he writes: "That God is the helper of the poor and damaged person is not expressly stated in this example, but it is expressed clearly in the Old Testament context, and is confirmed in the Beati-

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[87] Ibid., 177–79, 188.
[88] Ibid., 188–89.

tudes. Only from this belief is the astounding and surprising conduct of which the examples speak possible."[89] He speaks repeatedly of "surprising and astounding" initiatives. Thus seeing the beatitudes as the inbreaking of the kingdom, and 5:21–48 as God's will being done rather than mere prohibitions, leads Grundmann to some insights parallel to what follows from the transforming-initiative structure.

The three teachings on almsgiving, praying, and fasting in 6:1–8 and 16–18 are missing from Grundmann's and Bornkamm's schemes. These were the three traditional practices of righteousness, and they were most likely already grouped together in the tradition Matthew received. The Lord's Prayer was then inserted into that grouping.[90] Therefore the Lord's Prayer did not need to provide an order for these three traditional practices; they were already there. Together with the Lord's Prayer they formed the central part of the Sermon on the Mount, as Luz's arrangement shows. What needed organizing were the preceding and subsequent teachings, Matt 5:1–48 and 6:18–7:27. The Lord's Prayer, divided in half by the "thy" and "our" petitions, provided that organizing scheme, with the second-person petitions organizing the preceding material, and the first-person petitions organizing the subsequent material.

In sum: the proposals of Davies and Allison, Luz, Bornkamm, and Grundmann each have merit, and each is fruitful, especially as modified by the triadic proposal in the right-hand column of table 5. When that modification is made, the insights are fully compatible with each other, and in fact support each other. The result is a synthesis, rendering each as modified a dimension of one unified proposal. Together they show that 6:19–7:27 is carefully crafted and organized, as we had long expected.

VI. Conclusion

The triadic transforming-initiative structure has been confirmed in seven ways:

1. It is remarkably consistent with the hypothesized criteria for each member throughout the fourteen triads, with strikingly few exceptions.

2. It fits Matthew's consistent tendency to prefer triads over dyads.[91]

3. It even fits Matthew's beginning the Gospel with three times fourteen generations from Abraham to Jesus. Numbers like this were important to

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[89] Ibid., 157, 167, 171, 172, 173.
[90] Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:574.
[91] See n. 4 above.

Matthew, and Matthew's rival group also claimed that their teachers were descended from a triad of fourteen generations. So Louis Finkelstein explains:

> The number "fourteen" is not accidental. . . . It is clear that a mystic significance attached to this number, in both the Sadducean and the Pharisaic traditions. . . . This may seem like a weak argument for the authenticity of a tradition; but antiquity was apparently prepared to be impressed by it. So impressive indeed was this argument, that the Gospel of Matthew, the early Christian apologist, directing his argument against the Pharisees (and also the Sadducees), adopted a similar claim for Jesus.[92]

4. It gives a fruitful clue for the likely meaning of the hitherto baffling Matt 7:6 and helps solve each of the scholarly puzzles identified by Bornkamm.

5. Its argument that the emphasis should be placed on the third member of each triad, the transforming initiative, is confirmed by the tendency of Luke's Sermon on the Plain to present the transforming initiatives even when it does not present the other two members of the triads (see the italicized items in table 2).

6. The verbs confirm the triadic structure remarkably consistently, with futures and subjunctives in the traditional piety, continuous action verbs in the vicious cycles, and imperatives in the transforming initiatives. This can hardly be coincidental.

7. It coheres with and improves the symmetry of other proposals for the overall structure of the sermon, rendering each more persuasive and fruitful exegetically.

Furthermore, the triadic structure shows Jesus teaching transforming initiatives that participate in the reign of the gracious God who acts in love toward enemies, who is present to disciples in secret, who is faithful and trustworthy, and who brings deliverance from the vicious cycles that cause violations of traditional righteousness. The Sermon on the Mount is not high ideals or antitheses. The Sermon on the Mount from 5:21 through 7:12 is structured as fourteen triads, each a transforming initiative of grace-based deliverance.

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[92] Quoted by Davies, *Setting,* 303–4.

WHY DID MATTHEW GET
THE *SHEMA* WRONG? A STUDY OF
MATTHEW 22:37

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In his influential article "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," Kenneth W. Clark argues not only that the primary orientation of the Gospel is to demonstrate that Gentiles have displaced Jews in the divine salvific plan but, moreover, that such a claim could have originated only from an author who was himself a Gentile.[1] This identification of the author's background stood in opposition to the universal consensus of Clark's day that Matthew was a converted Jew. However, Clark argued that the thesis of Gentile authorship aligned with the Matthean *heilsgeschichtliche* scheme, which was understood as depicting the transference of divine favor from the Jewish people to Gentiles who accepted the kerygma centered on Jesus. From this perspective Clark argued:

> The Matthean picture of judgment and rejection is not presented as a warning to Judaism to repent. The author believes that the warning has already been sufficient, and penitence is no longer to be expected. Judaism as such has definitely rejected Jesus as God's Messiah, and God has finally rejected Judaism. This Gentile bias is the primary thesis in Matthew, and such a message would be natural only from the bias of a Gentile author.[2]

The paradigm shift involved in Clark's thesis is illustrated by W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison's table "Opinions on the Authorship of Matthew,"[3] which traces scholarly views on the authorship of the Gospel from the work of H. J. Holtzmann in 1886 onward. It is possible to see in the table the monolithic view that

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[1] K. W. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *JBL* 66 (1947): 165–72.

[2] Ibid., 167–68.

[3] W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 1:10–11.

the author was a Jewish Christian.[4] Not until the appearance of Clark's article was this consensus challenged in the modern era.[5]

Clark's thesis concerning the Gentile authorship of the first Gospel has never seriously threatened to displace the majority view that the author was a Jewish Christian, or the more recent notion that the author was a self-conscious Jew with messianic beliefs;[6] nonetheless, after the appearance of his provocative paper there has been a small minority of scholars attracted to this position. A number of these scholars have basically reiterated Clark's arguments, which include the supposed final rejection of Israel contained in Matthew's Gospel, other statements in the first Gospel that are perceived to be incompatible with Jewish authorship,[7] and also the judgment that the author lacked facility with

[4] T. Zahn (1899), while still identifying the author as a Jewish Christian, is the only scholarly author listed prior to 1950 who would argue for the traditional identification of the author as the apostle Matthew (*Das Evangelium des Matthäus* [4th ed.; Leipzig: Deichert, 1922]).

[5] See the discussion in G. N. Stanton, "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel: Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980," in *ANRW* 2.25.3 (1983): 1889–1951.

[6] The notion that the author of the first Gospel should be seen as a Jew first and foremost is usually based on an application of sociological theory that suggests that the bitterness of the Matthean polemic is best understood as reflecting *intramuros* tensions between the evangelist's community and their synagogue opponents. Further, it is argued that no decisive breach had occurred between these two groups at the time of the composition of the Gospel. Rather, there was an ongoing struggle involving claim and counterclaim, along with sloganeering, in an attempt to attract unaligned Jews either to the messianic community behind the first Gospel or to the emergent normative Judaism whose power base was focused in synagogues. This was, therefore, a battle between competing Jewish ideologies. In effect, what is at stake in Matthew's Gospel is the right to claim the title of legitimate interpreter of Jewish tradition in the post-destruction period. J. A. Overman, holding this position, contends that "within the post-70 period there were some who would contest the claim made by formative Judaism that they possessed the authoritative understanding and interpretation of the law. Matthew's community debated with this movement over issues of the law. They held the conviction that they completely understood and fulfilled the law" (J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 70). For similar perspectives, see A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); A. F. Segal, "Matthew's Jewish Voice," in *Social History of the Matthean Community* (ed. D. L. Balch; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 3–37. A more extreme perspective is advanced by D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998). For Sim, not only was the Matthean community Jewish at the time of the composition of the Gospel, but it remained so throughout its history. Moreover, it is seen as never having participated in a Gentile mission, but maintaining strict observance of Torah until it "eventually faded from history" (p. 302).

[7] Two Matthean "doctrines" that Clark presents as being incompatible with an author of Jewish origin are the virgin birth and the view in Matt 22:41–46 that the Messiah was not a Davidide. In relation to the former, Clark argues not only that there are no Jewish parallels while many exist in pagan literature but, more tellingly, that divine involvement in primogeniture is antithetical to Jewish thinking. The second example is also seen as being demonstrably un-Jewish especially in light of the emphasis on Jesus as a Davidic descendant elsewhere in the gospel tradition.

Aramaic.[8] Others, however, have attempted to strengthen Clark's case by look-ing for additional material in the first Gospel that could be seen as reflecting non-Jewish authorship. John P. Meier has advanced some exegetical points that he takes as reflecting the composition of the Gospel by a Gentile hand. First, he sees the misreading of the synonymous parallelism contained in Zech 9:9, which results in the description of two animals in Matt 21:2, 7 and the ludicrous depiction of Jesus mounted on both (presumably simultaneously!) as the prod-uct of an author with no sensitivity to the nuances of the poetic nature of the underlying Hebrew text. Meier comments on the way in which Matthew depicts Jesus' literal fulfillment of the Zechariah citation.

> [Matthew] does so because he understands the text to speak of two separate animals, not the one animal which in fact is mentioned twice because of the Hebrew parallelism. Such a misreading of the intent of the OT text is hardly understandable if the writer is an intelligent, well educated Jew (the sup-posed converted rabbi of the school of Johanan ben Zakkai!).[9]

However, the tendentious reference to ben Zakkai aside, this argument is effec-tively countered by Davies and Allison. They note that "rabbinic texts contain numerous tendentious renderings of Scripture which ignore the rules of poetry in favor of excessively literal interpretation . . . [and] some rabbis found two ani-mals in Zech 9.9."[10] Alternatively, Robert H. Gundry suggests that the phrase ἐπάνω αὐτῶν in fact refers specifically to "the garments only on the colt, the garmented mother makes a kind of wide throne."[11] A second piece of evidence

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[8] Examples of supposed misunderstanding of Aramaic are seen in a number of places, includ-ing (1) the description of *tephillin* as φυλακτήρια; (2) the multiple use of terms for the devil, instead of strict adherence to Σατανᾶς, as in Mark and Paul; and (3) the avoidance of Aramaisms such as Βοανηργές, ταλιθα κουμ, κορβάν, and Βαρτίμαιος. For further details, see Davies and Allison, *Gospel According to Saint Matthew,* 1:17–21.

[9] J. P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel: A Redactional Study of Mt 5:17–48* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1976), 17.

[10] Davies and Allison, *Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 3:121. In vol. 1, Davies and Alli-son (p. 28) draw attention to Str-B 1:842–44, where some rabbinic sources agree with Matthew in finding two animals; however, they concede in vol. 3 (p. 121 n. 6) that it is necessary to "raise the question of Christian influence."

[11] R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Per-secution* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 409. However, B. Repschinski rejects this argu-ment, suggesting: "Gundry does not provide a solution to the problem. Matthew has just explained that the garments lie on top of both animals. If Jesus now sits on the garments, he still rides two donkeys" (B. Repschinski, *The Gospel Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form und* [sic] *Relevance for the Relationship Between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism* [FRLANT 189; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 32). In Gundry's defense, however, Repschinski's counterargument only holds if we demand a strict logic from Matthew and take sitting on the garment as necessarily equivalent to sitting on *all* of the garments.

that Meier proposes as supporting Gentile authorship is the reference in 16:12 to τῆς διδαχῆς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων. The association in this statement of two antithetically opposed parties is once again seen as evidence of an author who lacks insight into Jewish religious culture. Meier states: "No Jew aware of the conflicts in Judaism before A.D. 70, and *a fortiori* no Jew aware of the Pharisees' triumphant branding of the Sadducees' doctrine as heretical after A.D. 70 (cf. *Sanhedrin* 10.1!), could write such a sentence."[12] However, Stanton demonstrates a number of weaknesses in Meier's argument. First, it is anachronistic to read back mishnaic statements as though they historically and objectively reflected first-century relationships between religious groups. Second, there is little detailed evidence about the interactions between parties in the first century, so it is not easy to make definitive statements about what was or was not possible, although the limited traditions that are available do reflect disputes concerning both halakic and ritual issues.[13]

While Meier's objections have been shown not to be fatal to the thesis of a Jewish-Christian author for the first Gospel, there is another exegetical argument against this identification that has not yet been satisfactorily answered. Clark himself had already identified Matt 22:34–40 as a passage that supported his thesis that the evangelist's key concern was to show that the Gentiles had displaced the Jews in the soteriological plan. Referring to this text he writes: "The gentile bias of the primary theme in Matthew rises to a climax as the author declares the Great Commandment is the epitome of the Law and the Prophets; in Mt 22:40 there is no scribe, as in Mk and Lk, to agree with this extreme conclusion."[14] Although Clark had identified an important passage in the debate concerning the ethnic background of the author of the first Gospel, he had not recognized the more fundamental argument that could be used to support his thesis of Gentile authorship. That important insight had to wait fifteen years after Clark's paper before being brought to bear on the debate.

Georg Strecker, like Clark a defender of Gentile authorship, also turned his attention to Matt 22:34–40. Unlike Clark, however, he did not give his attention to the absence of the concurring scribe, but rather to the Matthean form of the *Shema* cited in v. 37. The form in the first Gospel differs significantly from its Markan counterpart, and Strecker correctly asserted that it showed clear signs of redactional activity. The abbreviation of the fourfold Markan form to

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[12] Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel*, 19.

[13] As Stanton argues, "We know comparatively little about the Sadducees either before or immediately after A.D. 70: most of the information we have comes from opponents of the Sadducees. So perhaps it is not surprising that the evangelist's usage is so puzzling. . . . There are simply too many gaps in our knowledge of Judaism in the period 70–100 A.D. to enable us to pronounce a confident verdict on the extent and accuracy of the evangelist's knowledge of Judaism" ("Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel," 1919).

[14] Clark, "Gentile Bias in Matthew," 167.

the threefold Matthean form might well be the type of change that one would expect an educated Jew to make. Unfortunately, as Strecker observed, Matthew appears to drop the wrong element from the Markan source. Matthew preserves the two synonyms for לֵבָב, καρδία and διάνοια, but deletes the Markan term ἰσχύς, which stands as the equivalent to מְאֹד. Thus Strecker argues that while Matthew may have replicated the form of the *Shema* with three elements as in the Hebrew tradition, he reveals a fundamental misunderstanding, for in the process he mutilates its content. He observes, "davon wird auch Matthäus abhängig sein, der die Dreiteilung übernahm, aber dem Markustext anglich, indem er ἰσχύϊ (Q) durch διανοίᾳ (vgl. Mk.) ersetzte. Daß er nicht erkannte, daß damit ein Äquivalent zu מְאֹד fehlt."[15] For Strecker, this perceived ineptitude in dealing with the underlying biblical tradition can lead to only one conclusion: "Auf die Matthäusfassung haben demnach Markus und Q, nicht der hebräische Text eingewirkt."[16] The clear implication that Strecker draws from this observation is that the redactor of the first Gospel is not Jewish in background but Gentile. In order to assess the cogency of this reasoning it is necessary first to study the Matthean form of the quotation and to compare this to the sources that may have been available to the first evangelist.

I. The Form of the Citation

As has been noted, the Matthean form of the quotation from Deut 6:5 presents a list of three attributes. This three-membered list aligns with the structure of the MT, but the content differs in the final element. Moreover, this threefold form is present in all extant forms of the LXX, but none of those texts preserves the form that is attested in the first Gospel. The Matthean citation is as follows:

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου
1.   ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου
2. καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου
3. καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. (Matt 22:37)

By comparison, the Markan text, which commences with the opening creedal rubric of Deut 6:4, continues with the citation from Deut 6:5 in the following form.

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[15] G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 26.

[16] Ibid.

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου

1.   ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου
2.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου
3.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου
4.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου. (Mark 12:30)

The two most striking differences between these forms of the quotation are, first, the Markan use of the preposition ἐξ with the corresponding genitive case, whereas Matthew has ἐν with the dative; and, second, the absence from the Matthean account of the fourth element in the Markan version. In relation to the difference in preposition, a number of commentators have argued that ἐν better represents the construction of the Hebrew text,[17] and hence is evidence that the first evangelist has made use of a text form in line with the *Vorlage* of the MT.[18] F. W. Beare describes this choice of terminology in the following manner, "Mark keeps to LXX in using the preposition ἐξ, 'out of' for the Hebrew *b*, Matthew changes throughout to ἐν, 'with.'"[19] This assumed translational equivalence of ‏ב‎ and ἐν is seen by Victor Paul Furnish as demonstrating at least minor use of a Hebrew text. He advances the conclusion that "Matthew's ἐν represents the Hebrew *b*[e] and is the only way in which Matthew seems to be dependent on the Masoretic text."[20]

However, Strecker rejects the conclusion that Matthew's choice of preposition demonstrates a use of the Hebrew text. Since he views Matthew as a Gentile, he seeks to demonstrate that the switch to ἐν is not to be accounted for in terms of the evangelist's knowledge of Hebrew, albeit in a limited form. The switch can rather be explained by dependence on the Q form of the text. Strecker presents his case in the following manner: "daß der MT als Vorlage nicht in Betracht kommt; und da die Lesart ἐν durch Lukas gestützt wird, ist sie ebenfalls nicht auf den MT, sondern auf die Logienquelle zurückzufuhren."[21]

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[17] D. A. Hagner, however, suggests that the change in the preposition to ἐν is motivated not by a desire to conform the quotation to the Semitic construction, but to improve Mark's Greek. He states: "Matthew (v 37) has altered Mark's Greek (Mark 12:30) in these phrases, changing ἐξ, "from," and the genitive (as also in the LXX) to the better Greek of ἐν, "with," and the dative" (D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 14–28* [WBC 33B; Dallas: Word, 1995], 645). While Hagner makes a parenthetical reference to the LXX, he does not attempt to explain the deviation from this text form, which is often preferred by the first evangelist.

[18] A few scholars have claimed that the choice of ἐν reflecting the Semitic idiom is evidence that Matthew's account is more original than the Markan counterpart. See B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 137; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974), 125; J. Jeremias, "Die Muttersprache des Evangelisten Matthäus," *ZNW* 50 (1959): 272.

[19] F. W. Beare, *The Gospel according to St Matthew* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 443.

[20] V. P. Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1973), 31 n. 18.

[21] Strecker, *Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 27.

Consideration of the Lukan form of the text will illustrate Strecker's argument.

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου
1.   ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου
2. καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ σου
3. καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου
4. καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. (Luke 10:27)

Strecker argues that the preposition ἐν was therefore already contained in the Q tradition and that Matthew used only these Markan and Q sources. However, he does not explain why Matthew should not only have chosen ἐν over ἐξ but also have made its usage uniform since Luke uses both prepositions.[22] This is more than an arbitrary choice of following one source or the other; it involves a redactional change that presents a new reading through the modification of the preposition in the first element of the Q list. In addition, this decision appears to be motivated by something more than a simple desire for homogeneity, for if this had been the only factor behind Matthew's rearrangement he would have

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[22] C. M. Tuckett comments on the divergence in textual tradition for Luke 10:27. He notes: "The Lukan text itself is not certain. The usual printed text has one ἐκ and three ἐν's; further the last phrase ἐν ὅλη τῇ διανοίᾳ is omitted by D 1241 it Marc. If one accepts this Western 'non-interpolation' then one has a coherent text with three faculties mentioned which correspond in sense, if not in actual wording, to the texts of the MT and LXX of Deut. vi. 5, and it might well be that this is the original reading here" (*The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis* [SNTSMS 44; Cambridge: Cambridge Universitiy Press, 1983], 126). Further, in an end note to this statement, Tuckett mentions the study of S. E. Johnson ("The Biblical Quotations in Matthew," *HTR* 36 [1943]: 133–53). He comments: "Johnson also points out that there is some Western support for reading ἐν in the first phrase. This would then also eliminate the confusion in the prepositions" (p. 213 n. 8). However, there are a number of weaknesses in Tuckett's argument. First, according to the *apparatus criticus* of NA[27] MS 1241 does not omit the final phrase, as Tuckett suggests, but in common with Matthew omits the ἰσχύς clause. This is undoubtedly due to textual assimilation and does not witness the form of an underlying source. Second, the remaining manuscript evidence for the omission of the final διάνοια clause is quite flimsy: D it Mcion[T]. D is the only direct witness to a variant reading in the Greek manuscript tradition; variation in the Old Latin tradition is not uncommon and may reflect more about individual scribal concerns and abilities than the manuscript tradition, and the Tertullianic quotations from Marcion are often the result of unreliable translation methodology (see K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* [rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 186). Third, the change to the preposition ἐν is precisely the kind of alteration that one would expect a later scribe to make due to the tendency to assimilate the text toward the Matthean form. Fourth, despite this strong tendency toward assimilation, the textual tradition for Luke 10:27 is quite resilient in preserving the preposition ἐξ. D is the earliest Greek text to present the variant reading, the only other witnesses are the *f*[1] group of minuscules and the late diglot (Greek-Arabic) lectionary dated by internal evidence to 995/996. The tendency to assimilation was often even greater in liturgical texts, so the presence here of the preposition ἐν is not highly significant. Thus, contrary to Tuckett, it is best to see the fourfold form of the quotation, with its mixed use of prepositions, as not only reflecting the correct Lukan form of the text but also quite plausibly representing the underlying source used by the third evangelist.

presumably followed the Markan text, which already presented a consistent use of ἐξ.[23]

The source-critical issue for the Double Love Command pericope is notoriously difficult.[24] Many commentators have found support for their respective solutions to the Synoptic problem in this pericope. As was noted earlier, some scholars who argue for the Griesbach hypothesis or Matthean priority suggest that there are more primitive elements in the account given by the first evangelist and that therefore his version is earlier in the tradition than Mark's.[25] Alternatively, Gundry's comments are representative of those who argue for Markan priority but without recourse to Q. He states: "Matthew and Luke largely agree in the substitution of 'testing' for Mark's 'asked,' which Matthew advanced earlier. Since Luke has neither imported the Pharisees nor advanced 'asked,' he lacks Matthew's reasons for making the present changes. Hence influence from Matthew seems likely."[26] Even among supporters of Q there is no consensus that a Q parallel existed at this point.[27] Joseph A. Fitzmyer makes this observation on the relationship between the Markan and Lukan versions before advancing the conclusion that follows.

> [T]he initial, seeming similarity of the Marcan and Lucan episodes soon gives way to the impression that one might be dealing with different traditions or perhaps different incidents in the life of Jesus. . . . But the whole form of this episode in the Lucan gospel is so different from the Marcan story that it should rather be ascribed to "L." The use of "Lawyer" instead of "one of the scribes" and the omission of the first part of the Shemaᶜ (Deut 6:4; cf. Mark 12:29b) could easily be explained by Luke's redactional concern for the predominantly Gentile audience for whom he was writing, if these elements

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[23] If Matthew knew only Greek, it is unlikely that he would have made the switch to the preposition ἐν, for although it might be argued that the instrumental force of the preposition is more natural in this context, this would have necessitated the evangelist's deviating from the Markan form, Luke's opening preposition, and the consistent use of ἐξ in all forms of the LXX text.

[24] As U. Luz comments, "Für V35-39 ist die Quellenfrage sehr umstritten, weil es sehr zahlreiche Minor Agreements mit der lk Einleitung zur Erzählung von barmherzigen Samariter, Lk 10, 25-28, gibt" (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* [Mt 18–25] [EKK 1/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag; Zurich/Düsseldorf: Benziger, 1997], 270).

[25] See n. 18 above.

[26] Gundry, *Matthew*, 448.

[27] In his table entitled "The Contents of Q," J. A. Kloppenborg Verbin categorizes 10:25–28 as "doubtful" in relation to its inclusion into Q (*Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000], 100). Alternatively, Tuckett argues for the existence of the Q source at this point in the tradition. He states, "The texts [of the Double Love Commandment] thus need at least two basic sources to explain them. The 2DH can identify these sources as Mark and Q relatively easily, and thus this theory is preferable to one which involves Matthean priority" (Tuckett, *Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis*, 133).

were really part of his inherited story. Luke may, however, be influenced by "Mk."[28]

However, the case Fitzmyer advances is not far removed from that of Strecker and other supporters of the Two Source Theory, apart from the decision to ascribe the material in Luke 10:25ff. to L, rather than Q.[29] Those who lay greater emphasis on the weight of the agreements between Matthew and Luke (see below) are more inclined to see the second source as Q, rather than L.

Despite arguments to the contrary, it appears beyond doubt that Matthew has drawn on Mark. Not only is there apparent literary dependence, but also Matthew's version appears in the same context as the Markan account. The case for seeing Matthew as dependent on Mark (rather than vice versa) stems from the secondary nature of some of the redactional changes in the first Gospel. In particular, the form of the Matthean story appears to be a later development of the Markan tradition. Arland J. Hultgren notes: "Mt has composed a conflict story (Streitgespräch) out of three sources [for Hultgren, Mark, Q and M]. In Mark the story is not a conflict story, but didactic-dialogue (Schulgespräch)."[30] Although Hultgren's reconstruction is unnecessarily complex, his basic observation that Matthew has transformed a pedagogical incident into a controversy story is cogent. Thus, it is more plausible to see the Matthean account as being secondary owing to its heightened polemic than to argue the reverse, that Mark has toned down such elements. Assuming Markan priority, then, the agreements between Matthew and Luke call for some explanation. Such similarities defy Fitzmyer's suggestion that Luke was working with material unique to his special source. Davies and Allison list nine points of contact between the first and third evangelists.[31] The four most significant agreements are: (1) νομικός instead of "one of their scribes";[32] (2) (ἐκ)πειράζων αὐτῶν (Matt 22:35//Luke

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[28] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 877–78.

[29] F. Bovon's position is in broad agreement with Fitzmyer. He states, "Lukas richtet sich deshalb möglicherweise nach der Logienquelle. Vielleicht aber greift er auch sein Sondergut zurück, das im Unterscheid zu Q und Markus die Geschichte von barmherzigen Samariter als Parabel zur Frage der wichtigsten Gebote gestaltet haben könnte" (*Das Evangelium nach Lukas* [Lk 9,51–14,35] [EKK 3/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag; Zurich/Düsseldorf: Benziger, 1996], 84).

[30] A. J. Hultgren, "The Double Commandment of Love in Mt 22:34–40: Its Sources and Compositions," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 377.

[31] Davies and Allison, *Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 3:235.

[32] Although the term νομικός is omitted by *f*¹ e sy^s and is bracketed in the printed version of NA²⁷, its consistent use in the other branches of the manuscript tradition supports the argument that it did in fact form part of the Matthean text. As B. M. Metzger points out, however, the issue is complicated by the fact that νομικός is a Matthean *hapax legomenon.* He states: "Despite what seems to be an overwhelming preponderance of evidence supporting the word νομικός, its absence

10:25); (3) διδάσκαλε (Matt 22:36//Luke 10:25); and (4) the omission of the opening rubric of the *Shema* (Matt 22:37//Luke 10:27, cf. Mark 12:30). However, the marked differences between Matthew and Luke militate against theories of direct literary dependence. Thus, as Strecker proposed, the Matthean account can best be accounted for as a conflation of two sources, Mark and Q.

Thus, it is plausible to accept Strecker's reconstruction of the source history of Matt 22:37 as a conflation of Markan and Q versions of this pericope, but such a conflation does not account either for the choice of preposition or the decision to delete an element that both sources had in common. G. D. Kilpatrick, discussing Matthew's use of citations taken over from Mark, notes Matt 22:37 as a deviation from the evangelist's usual practice of depending on the LXX. He makes the following observation: "When these quotations are taken over into Matthew, apart from xxii. 37 where Q is conflated with Mark and provides agreement with the Hebrew, the agreement with the LXX is regularly made more exact."[33] While Kilpatrick's general statement may be questionable, it is noteworthy that in relation to Matt 22:37 he supports the conflation of sources by the first evangelist. Nonetheless, it is uncertain whether he sees the corresponding agreement with the form of the MT as due to chance or design. What is certain, however, is that Kilpatrick, unlike Strecker, does not suggest that the evangelist was a Gentile. On the contrary, for Kilpatrick, Matthew's Judaism is stamped across the whole Gospel. In terms of the overall composition, it is argued perhaps somewhat anachronistically that "[t]o have reproduced the Rabbinical colouring in the material, he would have to be himself an expert in Rabbinic lore."[34] It follows that the determination of the ethnic background of the author cannot rest solely upon the solution of the source problem, since although Strecker and Kilpatrick are in broad agreement concerning the sources used by Matthew at this juncture, they take opposite positions regarding the ethnicity of the author. Strecker presents the most plausible reconstruction of the composition history of Matt 22:37, but this in itself is not determinative for resolving the issue of the ethnic origin of the first evangelist. Rather, as Strecker is aware, this depends on both the content and the form of the quotation. Moreover, the closer correspondence of the Matthean form of

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from family 1 as well as from widely scattered versional evidence and patristic witnesses takes on additional significance when it is observed, apart from this passage, Matthew nowhere else uses the word. It is not unlikely, therefore, that copyists have introduced the word here from the parallel passage in Lk 10.25. At the same time, the Committee was reluctant to omit the word altogether, preferring to enclose it in square brackets" (*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [3d ed.; London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971], 59).

[33] G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946), 56.

[34] Ibid., 137.

the preposition to the underlying Hebrew must be explained either as due to pure chance or as resulting from a conscious desire to produce a certain conformity with the force of the original language of Deut 6:5. This does not imply that Matthew had a Hebrew copy of the text in front of him, but it is at least probable that the Semitic preposition was in his mind when he composed his own version of the inquiry concerning the greatest command.

Obviously the Septuagintal forms of the text are relevant to this discussion in terms of both their structure and their content. However, matters are complicated by the diversity in the LXX textual tradition of Deut 6:5. First, all extant witnesses to Deut 6:5 (LXX) maintain a threefold form. Presumably this is due to the underlying Hebrew tradition from which the Greek version was translated. Therefore the structure of the LXX in terms of its three components corresponds to that of Matt 22:37 rather than to the forms found in either Mark or Q. Yet there exists a discrepancy between the contents of the Matthean citation and that of the Greek tradition. In this, however, the LXX is not consistent across the manuscript tradition. There are two broad streams of variants, which are alternatively represented as the base text in the two major critical editions of the LXX. These are both given below and show the most important features of each branch of the tradition without cataloguing the individual manuscript differences in each stream. The reading presented in the Göttingen *Septuaginta* is:

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου
1.   ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου
2.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου
3.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου[35]

This reading, with διανοίας used as the preferred translational equivalent for לְבָב, is supported by the following mss: B M^mg 963 108^mg f^129 n^458 85^mg-344^mg z^18 83 509 Tht *Dt*^ap Bo. The second form, most conveniently found in Rahlfs's edition, presents the following text form.

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου
1.   ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου
2.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου
3.   καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου[36]

This reading is attested in the rest of the manuscript tradition, with the most important witnesses being א and A. The only difference between these forms is

[35] *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum,* vol. 3/2, *Deuteronomium* (ed. J. W. Wevers; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

[36] A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Verkleinerte Ausgabe in einen Band; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979; orig. ed. 1935).

the significant variation in the alternative rendering of לֵבָב either by the more literal term καρδία or by the more metaphorical interpretation διάνοια, which occurs in the first set of readings.

In comparison to the Matthean form, the text preserved in either branch of the LXX tradition aligns more closely with the three elements of the MT.

(Deut 6:5) וְאָהַבְתָּ אֵת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל־מְאֹדֶךָ

Specifically the LXX has δύναμις as the equivalent of מְאֹד in both forms, whereas the Matthean text lacks any rendering that corresponds to this final term in the Hebrew tradition. Moreover, from the parallel usage of καρδία and διάνοια in the two strands of the LXX tradition it can be seen that these were understood as alternate renderings of לֵבָב. Yet Matthew does not choose between these two options; instead he retains καρδία as his first element and, like his Markan source, presents διάνοια as the third element in his series. Between these two elements the use of the second term, ψυχή, is constant in all strands of the tradition.[37] However, the Matthean preference for the preposition ἐν cannot be attributed to the LXX tradition, at least as that tradition is recoverable in the extant manuscripts. Thus, the only two options are that Matthew introduced the uniform usage of that preposition either under the influence of the Q form of the text, or because he felt that it better reflected the Semitic idiom.[38] But these options are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Strecker considered the omission of the term ἰσχύς by the first evangelist to be evidence of a lack of knowledge of the Hebrew language, taking this omission as a blunder on the part of Matthew. What Strecker failed to consider was the possibility that the term ἰσχύς had been intentionally deleted as part of the redactional reworking of the evangelist. If it could be demonstrated that the use of ἰσχύς as a rendering for מְאֹד was potentially problematic for Matthew, this would obviate the need to portray the evangelist as a Gentile without knowledge of the Hebrew language. While the manuscripts of the LXX are divergent in their rendering of the term לֵבָב, they are constant in their choice of δύναμις to translate מְאֹד. Because the term ἰσχύς has no warrant in the LXX tradition, Matthew may have been potentially uncomfortable with its use. This

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[37] There may be one exception in *Cyr* x 716, where ψυχή stands first in the triadic list. However, it is debatable whether this reference is presented as a translation of the biblical text or just a loose allusion. See the *apparatus criticus* in the Göttingen *Septuaginta.*

[38] It is possible that the presence of ἐν in the final three clauses of the Lukan form of the Q tradition prompted Matthew to consider this a better rendering of the underlying Hebrew. In this case the evangelist still requires a functioning knowledge of the Semitic language to arbitrate between these two choices. Alternatively, one could argue that Q had the preposition ἐν four times and that Luke has altered the first clause under the influence of Mark. However, if Matthew is following Q more faithfully it becomes problematic to explain why he does not have ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου as his third element in agreement with Luke.

is not to suggest that he had multiple recensions of the LXX at his disposal, but simply to note that in this context the term was perhaps unfamiliar to him. By contrast, the three terms he preserves were probably known renderings of terms in the *Shema*. In addition, since ἰσχύς already stood in the dominical tradition with which he was working, it may have been redactionally more simple to delete this final phrase from the Markan version of the saying than to attempt to rewrite it *de novo* or replace it with the LXX form of the citation. While Matthew is often happy to rework his source material, here he may have preferred the simpler option of removing the final term because this preserved the first three terms that had currency in the Greek versions of Deut 6:5 and resulted in a threefold structure. In this way Matthew may have decided to work in a relatively conservative fashion with a widely known dominical logion, preferring to make it conform to the triadic structure attested in both the LXX and the Hebrew text, while also preserving only those terms that had some support in the Greek tradition.

II. The Use of the *Shema* in First-Century Judaism

The reason Matthew's incorrect citation of the *Shema* is often seen to undermine the Jewishness of the evangelist is that Deut 6:4–6 is known to have been cited at least twice daily by pious Jews. As D. J. Verseput notes, "It is commonly agreed, for example, that the recitation of the *shema* twice a day antedated the destruction of the Second Temple."[39] This regular liturgical usage, so it is suggested, should have resulted in fixity of form. Despite Beare's somewhat jocular comment that "[t]he *Shema* was recited everyday, morning and evening, and was used frequently in the liturgy; but evidently, as with the Lord's Prayer, frequency of repetition did not ensure uniformity in the wording,"[40] one would, on the contrary, be justified in thinking that regular use is likely to result in standardization. It is this lack of conformity between the Matthean version and the MT form, stemming from supposedly the most Jewish of the evangelists, that has led to the questioning of the author's ethnic background. However, this argument assumes that when the first Gospel was composed the *Shema* was widespread in its liturgical usage.

Mishnaic Evidence

The earliest extant literary evidence for the liturgical use of the *Shema* is provided by statements in *m. Ber.* 1–4. The material takes for granted the

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[39] D. J. Verseput, "James 1:17 and the Jewish Morning Prayers," *NovT* 39 (1997): 179.
[40] Beare, *Gospel according to St Matthew*, 444.

twice-daily recitation of the *Shema* and tries to resolve a dispute about which body posture (standing up or lying down) should be adopted during the evening use of the prayer.[41] Although the final form of the Mishnah cannot be dated before the beginning of the third century, the fact that the twice-daily saying of the *Shema* is assumed in the mishnaic debate indicates that its liturgical recital was current by this time, at least in rabbinic circles. L. Jacobs comes to a similar conclusion: "As it had developed by at least as early as the second century C.E. the *Shema* consisted of three portions of the Pentateuch— Deuteronomy 6:4–9; Deuteronomy 11:13–21; and Numbers 15:37–41, in this order."[42] However, two observations need to be made to qualify Jacobs's statement. First, his chronological decision to push the usage back to "at least the beginning of the second century" is dubious on the basis of the reference in the Mishnah. Adopting a more conservative attitude to that corpus of rabbinic material, it is probably best not to attempt to date the liturgical use of this prayer prior to the mid to late second century. Discussing the pre-Mishnaic period, Stefan C. Reif makes the following judgment based on the available evidence: "Prayers continued to be recited wherever there were Jews but there is not yet any concrete evidence of a fixed communal liturgy, particularly not of a proto-rabbinic variety."[43] Only with earlier textual or epigraphical evidence could an earlier date be assumed. Second, Jacobs does not consider the likelihood that at the time of the redaction of the Mishnah (probably early third century) its views and practices may still reflect the behavior of a minority of Jews who adhered to the rabbinic praxis. The dominance of rabbinism was neither automatic nor initially widespread.

In fact Jacobs himself proposes an evolution in the development and usage of the *Shema* within formative Judaism. He outlines a four-stage process of growth in the tradition: (1) the reading of the first verse (Deut 6:4); (2) the reading of the first portion (Deut 6:4–9); (3) the reading of all three portions (Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num 15:37–41); and (4) the addition of the other bene-

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[41] E. P. Sanders makes essentially the same point: "the mishnaic rabbis simply took it for granted, as something that did not require debate or proof, that every Jew said the Shemaʿ (along with daily prayers) twice a day" (*Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 B.C.E.–66 C.E.* [London: SCM, 1992], 196). But he presents too monolithic a picture of the praxis of Jews in this formative rabbinic period. In effect, he is committing the same error that he accuses other scholars of making for the pre-70 C.E. period—not recognizing the diversity in Judaism. This is not to deny that a greater uniformity emerged with the ascendancy of the rabbis in the third and fourth centuries C.E., but what is at issue is the recognition that such a development was not automatic but rather took place over an extended period of time.

[42] L. Jacobs, "Shema, Reading of," *EncJud,* 1370.

[43] S. C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Perspectives on Jewish Liturgical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 47.

dictions.[44] In its embryonic form the *Shema* is seen as being utilized to emphasize the monotheistic form of Jewish faith. This is a point that Jacobs advances, stating, "At first the main emphasis in the *Shema* was seen to be in opposition to polytheism."[45] This plausible reconstruction leads one to seek a convincing *Sitz im Leben* for the liturgical use of the *Shema*, especially relating to the earliest period in which the evidence allows us to date the appearance of this prayer form (i.e., during the mid to late second century C.E.).

Talmudic Evidence

Talmudic evidence is particularly instructive at this point. The discussions in *b. Ber.* 12b relating to the composition of the *Shema* show that the rabbis are still aware of the earlier debates, perhaps from the mishnaic period, concerning which elements should be included, and this demonstrates a certain fluidity in the traditions that finally comprised the prayer cycle. R. Abbahu b. Zutrathi declares that some of the earlier rabbis had desired "to include the section of Balak in the Shemaᶜ [i.e., Num 22–24]," because of the testimony about God's rescue of the Israelites from Egypt. This is followed by a question concerning the purpose of the inclusion of the section on fringes in the Shemaᶜ (Num 15:37–41). Five reasons,[46] or important religious catechetical points, are stated as justifying its inclusion. These are "the precept of fringes [itself], the exodus from Egypt, the yoke of the commandments, a warning against the opinions of the *Minim*, and a hankering after sexual immorality and a hankering after idolatry." Although the first three reasons cited are seen as self-evident, there is a debate over the legitimacy of the final two suggestions.

> But where do we find [warnings against] the opinions of the heretics [i.e., *Minim*], and the hankering after immorality and idolatry? —It has been taught: *After your own heart* (Num 15:39); this refers to heresy; and so it says, *The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God* (Ps 14:1). *After your own eyes* (Num 15:39); this refers to hankering after immorality; and so it says, *And Samson said to his father, Get her for me, for she is pleasing in my eyes* (Judg 14:3). *After which ye used to go astray* (Num 15:39): this refers to han-

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[44] Jacobs, "Shema, Reading of," 1370.

[45] Ibid., 1373.

[46] There are a number of manuscripts that have the variant reading of "six" reasons, obviously splitting the final twin pairing of immorality and idolatry. Although M. Simon, the translator, states that six "seems the more correct," one can adduce a scribal tendency to split the final pairing and thus to enumerate six clauses. On text-critical grounds "five" should be preferred not only as the *lectio difficilior* but also because a clear scribal motivation can be discerned for the textual change to "six" reasons. See I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud—Seder Zeraᶜim*, "Tractate Berakoth" (trans M. Simon; London: Soncino Press, 1948).

kering after idolatry; and so it says, *And they went astray after the Baalim* (Judg 8:33). (*b. Ber.* 12b)[47]

While the rabbis themselves are aware that the first three issues reflect the plain meaning of the text, the convoluted argument that is involved to make the *Shema* a warning against the *Minim* and against the twin evils of immorality and idolatry is particularly instructive. This debate about the fluidity and purpose of the *Shema* probably reflects discussions from an earlier rabbinic period when this liturgical prayer was attaining a fixity of form and its purpose was to refute the *Minim,* whose heresy was an incorrect conception of God, while also warning mainstream Jews against following the sin of Samson in marrying wives of suspect origins, presumably from among the heretics.

Therefore, this later rabbinic tradition suggests that whereas the *Minim* remained happy to recite and live by the Ten Commandments, the *Shema* became a new touchstone of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, which sought to exclude perceived heretical attitudes. Although the reference is somewhat opaque in that it does not identify the opponents, it is most plausible to understand this statement as originating after the second century and as directed against Christians who adhered to the ethical values of the Decalogue,[48] or even in some cases maintained stricter Torah observance,[49] but nonetheless were deemed heterodox by their Jewish opponents perhaps because of embryonic trinitarian concepts, or at least because of some form of ascription of divinity to Jesus. If this is indeed the situation that led to the incorporation of the *Shema* into rabbinic liturgy, this provides further ground for rejecting the unsupported assumption that the text of Deut 6:4–5 represented a fixed prayer form as early as the point in the first century C.E. to which the tradition history

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[47] Ibid.

[48] M. Bockmuehl in his study of the formation of Christian ethics notes that within pentateuchal legislation, "there are many laws of universal moral appeal and influence, not least of which are the Ten Commandments, the only piece of Sinaitic legislation understood to have been revealed by God directly to the people. . . . it is important to note that its origin and status evidently contributed to it being viewed by Philo [*Decal.* 24] and early Christian writers [Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.15.1; *Apos. Con.* 20] as a summary of natural law" (*Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000], 152).

[49] The patristic writings provide evidence of a number of Christian Jewish groups in the second and third centuries, such as the Nazarenes, the Elkesaites, and the Ebionites. Sim provides a short catalogue of the most pertinent references to their existence and practices (*Gospel of Matthew,* 182): "Irenaeus provides the earliest information about the Ebionites (*Against Heresies* 1:26.2). They were circumcised Christian Jews, who upheld the Torah. In accordance with their acceptance of the law, they repudiated Paul and charged him with being an apostate. Epiphanius repeats many of these points (*Panarion* 30:2.2; 16.8-9; 26.1-3), but he provides the additional information that the Ebionites agreed with the Elkesaites in rejecting the Jewish sacrificial system (*Panarion* 30:16)."

of Mark 12:28–34 and Q 10:25–27 can be traced.[50] Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that Matthew must have known a form of the *Shema* that had become fixed through liturgical use. Yet at two points he does seem to be influenced by the form of the Hebrew text. These are, first, his decision to present a threefold form (although this could be under the influence of the LXX), and, second, his uniform usage of the preposition ἐν, which while perhaps influenced by the Q form of the tradition does not account for the evangelist's uniform use throughout the citation.

Other scholars also have argued on different grounds for the liturgical usage of the *Shema* at least as early as the first century C.E.[51] D. K. Falk in his article dealing with prayer in the late Second Temple period, argues that early believers in Jesus continued Jewish prayer practice, including recitation of the *Shema*, but in their homes integrated prayers that reflected their messianic beliefs. He asserts: "The home, then, was the centre of the distinctively 'Christian' elements added to their Jewish worship focused on the Temple, but they would probably carry on grace at meals and recital of the *Shema* morning and evening as was customary among Jews."[52] Reif also sees the home as a center for liturgical activity (perhaps along with local synagogues, although he is cautious at this point because of the paucity of evidence relating to synagogue practice), whereas the temple remained the center of national and cultic religion.[53]

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[50] It is difficult to trace this material back to a dominical origin. Although there is multiple attestation, the fact that the language is not dissimilar from contemporary Jewish debate has created doubt over whether the material originated with the historical Jesus. R. W. Funk summarizes this attitude and the basis of the assessment of the members of the Jesus Seminar in the following manner. "Neither the question nor Jesus' answer would have been unfamiliar to students of the Torah who were contemporaries of Jesus. The two commandments connected here are drawn from scripture: Deut 6:4–5; Lev 19:18. The latter is quoted by Paul (Gal 5:14) without reference to Jesus. The majority of the members thought that the ideas in this exchange represent Jesus' own views, the words, however, were those of the young Jesus movement" (R. W. Funk, R. W. Hoover, and The Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* [New York: Macmillan, 1993], 104). However, the criterion of dissimilarity has been questioned in certain circles as a worthwhile indicator for establishing authentic Jesus tradition.

[51] Discussing the first-century context, J. Nolland simply asserts: "At the same time, the call to love of God, which in our texts reflects the wording of Deut 6:4-5 and which occurs again and again in the OT, was constantly kept before the ordinary Jew by the place of Deut 6:4–5 in the Shemaᶜ, which was recited daily as part of Jewish prayer practice" (*Luke 9:21–18:34* [WBC 35B; Dallas: Word 1993], 580–81). Nolland makes no attempt to justify this claim; he simply assumes the widespread and uniform liturgical use of the *Shema* during this period.

[52] D. K. Falk, "Jewish Prayer Literature and the Jerusalem Church in Acts," in *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, vol. 4, *Palestinian Setting* (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 276.

[53] Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer*, 76.

A number of facets of this reconstruction are problematic. First, Falk's thesis is based on the description of public priestly prayers in *m. Tamid* 5:1, which states:

> The officer said to them, "Recite a Benediction!" They recited a Benediction, and recited the Ten Commandments, the Shema, the "And it will come to pass if you will obey," and the "And the Lord spoke to Moses." They pronounced three Benedictions with the people: "True and sure" and "[Temple] Service" and the Priestly Blessing; and on the Sabbath they pronounced a further Benediction for the outgoing course of priests.

Not only does the date of the final composition of this material lead to questions about whether it reflects actual temple practice, but, more significantly, since this prayer cycle represents the fully developed form of the *Shema* as outlined in Jacobs's four-stage reconstruction, it becomes even more implausible to accept this as an accurate description of worship in the temple.[54] It is better to see this mishnaic description as an attempt to legitimize rabbinic prayer practice by retrojecting it into a Second Temple setting. Although Falk wishes to argue for the historicity of this description of the recitation of the *Shema* contained in the description of priestly liturgy, he has the grace to concede that "it cannot actually be confirmed from Second Temple sources that the Decalogue and the *Shema* were actually recited by priests in the Temple."[55]

A second point that Falk fails to address in his reconstruction is the disappearance of the *Shema* from Christian liturgy despite what he supposes to be its initially common and widespread usage. In a footnote he dismisses Joachim Jeremias's attempt to explain the alleged cessation of *Shema* recital in Christian circles. He states, "Jeremias' argument (*Prayers*, 73–4, 79–81) that it ceased to be used in the Christian community by the time of the synoptics because of the divergence in textual forms is not convincing. Liturgical items often exist in varying forms from the earliest periods."[56] Although Falk is correct in his critique of Jeremias's argument, he does not offer an alternative solution to this problem, which is undoubtedly a major challenge to the thesis he is advancing.

There is, however, an extremely important piece of talmudic evidence that seems to speak directly against seeing the *Shema* as a fixed liturgical element in the pre-mishnaic period. The text in question makes it clear that even during the talmudic period some rabbis still wished to play down the importance of

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[54] Reif, who wishes to argue for the use of the *Shema* prior to the Mishnah, is far more circumspect in what he claims. He notes the long history of the prayer's development and states in relation to the pre-Revolt period: "Whether the whole passage (6:4–9) and the second paragraph (Deuteronomy 11:13–21) were also recited is a more controversial point" (*Judaism and Hebrew Prayer*, 83).

[55] Falk, "Jewish Prayer Literature," 287.

[56] Ibid., 276 n. 28.

reciting the *Shema*. In a highly significant text, not only is the importance of the *Shema* placed in a subordinate position to that of scripture, but also the text explicitly states that the instigation of *Shema* recital was due to rabbinic ordinances.

> R. Judah said: If a man is in doubt whether he has recited the Shemaᶜ, he need not recite it again. If he is in doubt whether he has said the "True and firm," or not, he should say it again. What is the reason? —The recital of the Shemaᶜ is ordained only by the Rabbis, the saying of "True and firm" is a scriptural ordinance. (*b. Ber.* 21a)[57]

Thus, while Deut 6:4–5, as part of the biblical text, was known in both the Hasmonean and Herodian periods (and presumably throughout all of the postexilic era), it had not at that time attained the prominence that was to be ascribed to it from the third century onward as part of the twice-daily creedal affirmation of a fundamental tenet of the Jewish faith.

The Nash Papyrus

The significance of the Nash Papyrus as one of the earliest witnesses to the biblical text should not be underestimated. On paleographical grounds this Egyptian papyrus is commonly dated to the second century B.C.E., although there have been a number of dissenting voices.[58] The contents and function of the document are presented by J. R. Adair in the following form:

> [T]he papyrus contains versions of the Decalogue and Shema which have textual affinities to the LXX. Probably copied from a liturgical work, the papyrus' affinities with the LXX and Philo, as well as the provenance of its discovery, suggest a form of the Hebrew text current in Egypt that differed significantly from the text later preserved by the Masoretes.[59]

The dispute about dating is an unresolved issue, but even acceptance of the earlier date, as proposed by W. F. Albright, does not automatically mean that

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[57] "Tractate Berakoth," trans Simon.

[58] The original editors dated the papyrus to the second or first century C.E. (see S. A. Cook, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* [1903]: 34–56). However, based on certain paleographical traits, W. F. Albright suggested a date about three centuries earlier, corresponding to the Maccabean period ("A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaean Age: The Nash Papyrus," *JBL* 56 [1937]: 145–76). In a closely argued paper, Albright comes to the following conclusion: "the Nash Papyrus may best be dated in the second half of the second century B.C., and the extreme limits coincide roughly with the limits of the Maccabaean Age, 165–37 B.C." (p. 172). On internal criteria P. Kahle assigned it to the period prior to the destruction of the temple (*Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1951], 5).

[59] J. R. Adair, Jr., "Nash Papyrus," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. D. N. Freedman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 948.

the *Shema* was being recited in a widespread manner in the second century
B.C.E. E. Würthwein quite sensibly offers a number of possible functions for
this papyrus. He states: "The sequence of the text shows that it was not derived
from a biblical scroll, but from a liturgical, devotional or instructional collec-
tion."[60] While Würthwein is correct to list the three possibilities that may
describe the purpose of the papyrus, one wonders how he can be so confident
that the text was copied from a preexistent collection and was not collated from
biblical scrolls by the scribe responsible for the Nash Papyrus.

The actual text form of the Nash papyrus raises a number of important
questions. The Decalogue (contained in lines 1–21) follows most closely Exod
20:2–17, but at times shows closer affinities with Deut 5:6–21.[61] Only the
remaining three lines are pertinent to the discussion of the *Shema.* They read
as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

(ואלה החק)ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה את (בני)

(ישראל) במדבר בצאתם מארץ מצרים שמ(ע)

(ישרא)ל אלהינו יהוה אחד היא וא(הבת)

</div>

As one can see, there is very little of the Hebrew text of the *Shema* preserved.
In fact all we have is the final word on line 23 and the six words on line 24 (two
in partial form). The introduction to the *Shema* reflects the *Vorlage* of the LXX
introduction to Deut 6:4.

καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο κύριος
τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.
(Deut 6:4 LXX)

Thus the text form again reveals diversity in the tradition surrounding this sup-
posedly foundational liturgical text. Furthermore, apart from two very poorly
preserved characters at the bottom left-hand corner of the papyrus, there is no
textual evidence for the disputed terms and their order within the *Shema.* It is
impossible to tell how much of the citation was originally given in the papyrus,
and it is impossible to determine the purpose of the document. What we can
conclude is the very unsurprising fact that passages from the Torah were in use
in Jewish communities, at least as early as the second century B.C.E., and that at
least one scribe felt free to bring passages together for certain purposes of
which we can now no longer be sure.

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[60] E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*
(London: SCM Press, 1980), 33.

[61] Albright makes the following assessment. "I have become convinced, however, that we are
dealing here with the Decalogue of Deuteronomy in a divergent form, most closely related to G^B,
[i.e., LXX B]" ("Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaean Age," 175).

Qumran Evidence

Arguments for the liturgical use of the *Shema* during the late Second Temple period have also been based on a number of Qumran texts. Moshe Weinfeld notes the triad in 1QS 1:12 (cf. 3:2) as a parallel to Deut 6:5. He contends, "לבבך נפשך מאדך appear in Qumran as 'intelligence [דעת], strength [כח], and fortune [הון].'"[62] However, it must be questioned whether this Qumranic triad in fact has any relationship to the *Shema*. The linguistic links are tenuous; moreover, whereas the triad in Deut 6:5 is clarifying the correct way to revere God, the terms in 1QS 1:12 focus on the personal resources that postulants are required to submit to communal life. As the full text reads, "All those who submit freely to his truth will convey all their knowledge, their energies and their riches to the Community of God . . ." (1QS 1:11–12). Falk cites 1QS 10 as another passage that supports liturgical usage of the *Shema* during the Second Temple period.[63] In a section that links horological concerns with blessings, prayers, and eulogies, one assumes that the unspecified citation to which Falk alludes is line 10, "At the onset of day and night I shall enter the covenant of God." However, this passage makes no mention of the *Shema*, or even of prayer.[64] At best it evidences some ritualistic practice of covenant renewal that takes place in the context of the Qumran community in the morning and night. While these times parallel those mentioned in Deut 6:4–9 and *m. Ber.* 1:1–4, there is nothing to suggest that the Qumran reference is alluding to the *Shema*.[65]

Potentially more helpful are the tefillin discovered at Qumran, for these contain fragments of texts that formed the *Shema* and also date from the late Second Temple period. Describing the physical evidence, James C. VanderKam notes:

> tefillin (or phylacteries) and mezuzot are small parchments containing passages from Exodus and Deuteronomy (including Exod 12:43–13:16; Deut 5:1–6:9; 10:12–11:21; and at times verses from Deuteronomy 32). . . . From Cave 4 a total of twenty-one tefillin were recovered (4Q 128–48), one from

[62] M. Weinfeld, "Hillel and the Misunderstanding of Judaism in Modern Scholarship," in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and L. L. Johns; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 64 n. 22.

[63] Falk, "Jewish Prayer Literature," 287.

[64] Verseput makes the unwarranted assumption that 1QS 10:10 is describing the use of the *Shema*. He states: "sunrise and sunset are similarly associated with the recital of the *shema*" ("James 1:17 and the Jewish Morning Prayers," 183).

[65] While more circumspect in the statement of his conclusion, Sanders also suggests that the *Shema* was entrenched in Qumran liturgy. Discussing 1QS 10:10 he suggests: "'Entering the Covenant morning and evening' probably refers to saying the Shema" (*Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 196).

Cave 1, three from Cave 5 (although they could not be opened), and one
from Cave 8. Four others came from another cave but no one knows which
one. Mezuzot are fewer: seven from Cave 4 (4Q 149–55) and one from Cave
8.[66]

Although it is not certain precisely what these fragments demonstrate, they are
not, contrary to Falk, "corroborating evidence for the liturgical recitation of the
Shema in the Second Temple period."[67] The tefillin show some overlap with
the first two portions of Scripture that came to be included in the *Shema,* but
there are no fragments from Num 15:37–41. Moreover, the passages that are
cited in Qumran tefillin and mezuzot cover a wider corpus of biblical texts than
even the final stage of the liturgical prayer.[68] Again, there is no evidence pro-
vided by these fragments for a widespread liturgical use of a fixed form of the
Shema.[69] Instead, the fragments attest that these portions of the biblical texts
were used in some sense either as an amulet, or in strict cultic obedience to the
command of Deut 6:8-9 to bind the law to forehead, wrists, and doorposts.

Justin Martyr

Justin quotes a form of Deut 6:5 three times, predictably in Greek. The
form he cites in all three places is exactly the same, but contains only two ele-
ments.

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης
τῆς ἰσχύος σου. (Justin, *Dial*. 93.2, 3; *1 Apol*. 16.6)

From this data W. L. Petersen draws the following conclusion and raises a
concomitant question: "Justin's citation is, then, the oldest *Shema* we possess.

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[66] J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 33.

[67] Falk, "Jewish Prayer Literature," 287.

[68] Despite his more sober assessment elsewhere in his treatment of Jewish prayer, Reif
states, as it transpires in relation to tefillin and mezuzot: "The substantial archaeological and liter-
ary evidence for the use of the *shemaᶜ*, together with the equally significant Ten Commandments,
as a form of amulet, and as a daily prayer inside the Temple and outside it, clearly establishes
Deuteronomy 6:4 as one of the earliest forerunners of synagogal liturgy" (*Judaism and Hebrew
Prayer*, 83). It is not certain precisely how Reif establishes the link with the temple, for earlier in
the same chapter he portrays the "opposing trend" between official cultic religion in the temple
and the inner piety centered on the home, which was where "important liturgical activities took
place" (p. 76). Moreover, at the beginning of that section Reif notes scholars who have drawn atten-
tion to "the unacceptability of uncritically assuming the existence of second-century CE tannaitic
prayers and prayer customs in the latter part of the second century period" (p. 75). However, his
attempt to locate certain liturgical elements in the period prior to the Mishnah is unconvincing.

[69] In opposition to what is being proposed here, Sanders argues that the centrality of the
Shema is in fact confirmed by the evidence of the tefillin and mezuzot. However, he does not
address the issue of textual divergence from those portions of Scripture that were meant to be read
in the *Shema* (*Judaism Practice and Belief,* 196).

Has Justin, with his binary resequenced *Shema*, simply made a mistake? Has he three times forgotten what the 'real' text was?"[70] He answers his question by stating that this "binary resequenced" form is not an oddity, since it is also preserved in the second oldest *Vetus Latina* manuscript, Codex Bobbiensis (Ms k; ca. 400 C.E.).[71] The form it preserves for the Markan citation of Deut 6:5 is:

> *diligit Dominum Deum etsum de toto corde tuo et de totis uiribus tuis.*
> (Mark 12:30; MS k)[72]

Peterson also argues that the fifth-century Curetonian Syriac (Syr[cur]) supports the form of the text presented by Justin. However, all that Syr[cur] presents is a form of Luke 10:27 that deviates in order from most other manuscripts, but nonetheless contains four clauses.[73] The first two elements are *heart* and *strength,* as in Justin's writings; but it does not contain just two elements, for it then continues with references to *soul* and *mind*. Although there is a parallel attestation in Bobbiensis to the text form offered by Justin, the value of the Curetonian Syriac as a witness to that text form is at best only partial.

It is not possible to conclude that Justin preserves a shorter, more primitive form of the *Shema*. As J. Verheyden comments in response to Petersen's arguments, "Justin gives a shorter text than the one found in the critical editions. For that reason it is *a priori* more difficult to argue that it is really a variant reading and not just an abbreviation. This is especially so when the reading occurs in an enumeration and in an author who has proven that he occasionally did abbreviate the text of the gospels."[74] The form of Deut 6:5 cited by Justin provides strong evidence for variation and diversity in the textual tradition; however, it provides no evidence for a pre-mishnaic liturgical usage of the *Shema*, either at an individual or a corporate level.

III. Conclusions

The argument that Matthew cannot have been a Jew because of his inaccurate citation of the *Shema* is not compelling for two fundamental reasons.

[70] W. L. Petersen, "What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis, and Early Church History* (ed. B. Aland and J. Delobel; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994) 145–46.

[71] Ibid., 146.

[72] J. Wordsworth, W. Sanday, and H. J White, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. 11: Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew from the Bobbio Ms. (k)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886), 13.

[73] The diversity in the Syriac tradition for Luke 10:27 is illustrated in G. A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta and Harklean Versions*, vol. 3, *Luke* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 211.

[74] J. Verheyden, "Assessing Gospel Quotations in Justin Martyr," in *New Testament Textual*

First, the text forms of the LXX and the Synoptic Gospels provide evidence that the Greek form of Deut 6:5 had not become standardized by the first century C.E. However, the Matthean version of the quotation given in 22:37 does appear to draw on a knowledge of the biblical text and not only upon the Markan and Q sources. The decision to excise the ἰσχύς clause, supported by both the Matthean sources,[75] is best accounted for in terms of redactional intent to bring the structure of the citation into closer conformity with that of the biblical text (both the LXX and the MT). By itself this alteration would not demonstrate whether the first evangelist was influenced by the LXX or an awareness of the Hebrew tradition. However, if Matthew was simply trying to make his biblical reference conform to the LXX, this would not account for his choice of the preposition ἐν, which stands closer to the Hebrew בְּ, instead of following the ἐξ of the Greek OT tradition. These observations demonstrate both the fluidity of the text of the Greek versions and further support the likelihood that Matthew was influenced, either directly or indirectly, by a knowledge of the Hebrew text.[76]

Second, the lack of correspondence between the three elements in the Matthean quotation and the form of the MT does not reveal a flawed or imperfect knowledge of Jewish culture. There is no explicit reference to the liturgical usage of the *Shema* prior to the reference in *m.Ber.* 1:1–4, to be dated around the beginning of the third century in its final redactional form. The nature of the discussion in that tractate, with the prayer referred to in a cursory or secondary manner, shows that this liturgical element had become normative by this time at least in rabbinic circles. But this does not support pushing the date for its cultic use back to the time of the Second Temple.

On balance, Matthew's "failure" to make his citation of the *Shema* conform to the MT is neither surprising nor compelling evidence that the first evangelist was a Gentile. On the contrary, the Matthean redactor appears to have demonstrated a relatively conservative attitude to the divergent traditions at his disposal. He neither adds to the source material drawn from Mark and Q nor transmits elements that are not supported by the LXX tradition. To this end he deletes the problematic ἰσχύς clause, since it had no warrant in the LXX, and

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Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel (ed. A. Denaux; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 371–72.

[75] See the discussion in n. 22 that argues that the fourfold form was in fact part of the Q source on which Luke was dependent.

[76] Such a fluidity in the tradition is not only related to the LXX forms of Deut 6:4–9. As late as the talmudic period there was a lack of standardization in the liturgical form of the prayer. Reif correctly comments that even in the fourth century C.E., "Although the basic content of such central items as the *shemaʿ* recitation and the *ʿamidah* is becoming established, there is decidedly no fixed prayer-book for the rabbinic community at large and no uniform approach to matters of detail among its various groupings" (*Judaism and Hebrew Prayer*, 89).

thereby creates a more familiar threefold form of the quotation. Moreover, the choice of the preposition ἐν suggests that while Matthew probably did not have a copy of the Hebrew Bible in front of him while he was composing his Gospel, he was able to recall enough of its contents, perhaps under the influence of the prompting of the Q text, to offer this grammatically preferable translation. His choice of preserving the three elements that were attested in various branches of the LXX tradition does not require the assumption that Matthew had two differing manuscripts of the Greek OT. Rather, as a scribe with facility in both Hebrew and Greek, he was aware of the association of either καρδία or διάνοια with the לְבָב of the *Shema* and chose to preserve both of these elements. This decision could not have been undertaken by a person who did not possess linguistic competence in both Hebrew and Greek, as well as a knowledge of the Hebrew biblical text. It is far more plausible to think of a native Jew having gained competence in Greek in addition to his native language,[77] than to suggest the opposite possibility.

Contrary to Strecker, Matt 22:37 does not reflect an ignorant Gentile author who erred in his presentation of a fixed liturgical text. Rather, it reveals the opposite, an ethnically Jewish evangelist who dealt sensitively and conservatively in transmitting a text that had become part of the dominical tradition of his community, but in the sources which Matthew received deviated from both the structure and contents of the biblical tradition. The redactional reworking of the sources shows a sophisticated editor who attempted to produce greater conformity with existing biblical tradition but also did not wish to deviate from this well-known Jesus saying in too radical a fashion. Surely this is the work of a highly trained Jewish scribe.

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[77] An obvious example of a Jew whose first language was Hebrew but who had mastered Greek to a literary standard is Josephus. In *J.W.* 1.1–2 he informs his audience that he had made a draft of this work in his native language before translating it into Greek. "I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; (2) Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, [am the author of this work]." From a Hellenistic setting, the apostle Paul presents himself as one trained in Jewish tradition in Jerusalem, but, as his letters attest, he had competence in Greek. It is likely in Paul's case that Greek was his first language, which he acquired during his childhood in Tarsus.

BROTHERLY LOVE AND THE HIGH PRIEST CHRISTOLOGY OF HEBREWS

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The dominant christological motif by which the author of the Letter to the Hebrews explicates the superiority of the new covenant over the old is that of the high priest.[1] This image of Christ—unique in the NT—is first introduced in 2:17. Coinciding with the image of Jesus as priest in this verse is the image of Jesus as brother of the faithful. More precisely, fraternal empathy is said to be a prerequisite for the office of high priest: "He therefore had to (ὤφειλεν) become like his brothers in every respect so that (ἵνα) he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in God's service." To grasp the full significance of Christ's priesthood and the way in which it addresses the readers' fear of death (2:15), it is necessary to understand the sibling relationship the author envisions, especially since the concept of priesthood "according to the order of Melchizedek" (5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:1–28) is such a peculiar one, about which so little is known in spite of the mention of this figure in the OT and elsewhere.[2] It is

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[1] Among the numerous works on the high priest Christology of Hebrews one may consult, in addition to the standard commentaries and more general works on the letter's Christology, Alexander Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood: Studies in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1913); M. E. Clarkson, "The Antecedents of the High-Priest Theme in Hebrews," *AThR* 29 (1947): 89–95; Heinrich Zimmermann, *Die Hohepriester-Christologie des Hebräerbriefes* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1964); D. G. Dunbar, "The Relation of Christ's Sonship and Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (Diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1974); Keijo Nissilä, *Das Hohenpriestermotiv im Hebräerbrief: Eine exegetische Untersuchung* (Helsinki: Oy Liiton Kirjapaino, 1979); and William R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes* (WMANT 53; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981).

[2] Genesis 14:18–20; Ps 110:4; Pseudo-Eupolemus, frg. 1 (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.1); 11QMelch; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.79-82; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.180; *b. Sukkah* 52b; NHC IX,*1 Melchizedek.* Subsequent tradition is rife with speculation about his identity and function. For

not as though its qualifications are familiar or self-evident, even to the original audience, since no one else is known to have held any such office.[3] Hebrews offers Jesus' priesthood as a superior alternative to Israel's Levitical priesthood because it provides the help needed to obviate the readers' fears. Any clues the author gives to the nature of the priesthood exercised by Jesus alone therefore demand close attention.

The modest aim of this essay is to catalogue more fully than have previous interpreters the clues provided by the author's emphasis on Jesus in his role as a brother. The juxtaposition of the images of brother and high priest is most conspicuous in Heb 2:10–18, but the linkage is implicit in several other passages throughout the letter. Many of the qualities central to this christological presentation in which the roles of priest and brother merge in the person of Jesus may be found in ideal depictions of sibling relationships in Hellenistic literature. Among extant writings, the most systematic of these depictions is that of Plutarch in his essay "On Brotherly Love" (*De fraterno amore* 478A–492D).[4]

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detailed treatment of the tradition, see Gustave Bardy, "Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique," *RB* 35 (1926): 469–509; 36 (1927): 25–45; Fred L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Evaluation of the Sources to the Fifth Century AD and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresaᶜ* (CBQMS 10; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1980); and Franco Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran* (AnBib 136; Rome: Pontificio istituto biblico, 1997). Some rabbinic texts (*b. Ned.* 32b; *b. Sanh.* 108b) downplay the importance of this priestly office, perhaps as a response to the Christian identification of Melchizedek with the Messiah; see M. Simon, "Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende," *RHPR* 17 (1937): 58–93; and J. J. Petuchowski, "The Controversial Figure of Melchizedek," *HUCA* 28 (1957): 127–36.

[3] A few scholars, however, have suggested that the image of Jesus as a high priest is not the original contribution of Hebrews but rather was part of the liturgy of the primitive church; see G. Schille, "Erwägungen zur Hohenpriesterlehre des Hebräerbriefes," *ZNW* 46 (1955): 81–109; and Egon Brandenburger, "Text und Vorlagen von Hebr. V 7–10: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefs," *NovT* 11 (1969): 190–224.

[4] The earlier treatments of Aristotle (*Eth. nic.* 8.12.3–6) and Xenophon (*Cyr.* 8.7.14–16) are much briefer. See the introductory comments on Plutarch's essay and on the *topos* more generally in Hans Dieter Betz, "De fraterno amore (Moralia 478A-492D)," in *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature* (ed. H. D. Betz; SCHNT 4; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 231–32; Klaus Schäfer, *Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft": Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenverständnis des Paulus* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/333; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), 135–45; Hans-Josef Klauck, "Brotherly Love in Plutarch and in 4 Maccabees," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (ed. D. Balch, E. Ferguson, and W. Meeks; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 144–50; and Reidar Aasgaard, "Brotherhood in Plutarch and Paul: Its Role and Character," in *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor* (ed. H. Moxnes; London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 166–74. See also Abraham J. Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation: A Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (LEC 4; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 93–95, on

Writing sometime around the turn of the first century, Plutarch roots the virtue of φιλαδελφία in nature and proceeds to describe its manifestation under a wide range of circumstances. Of special concern to Plutarch is the close connection between fraternal and filial devotion, but most of the essay is taken up with description of the various impediments to the actualization of brotherly love and the ways in which they may be overcome. Hebrews' familiarity with this topic of general interest is suggested by the admonition in 13:1 to "let φιλαδελφία continue." This nominal form is relatively rare in extant Greek literature.[5]

A surprisingly small number of studies have focused on sibling relationships in Greco-Roman antiquity. Those that examine the metaphor of brotherhood in the NT tend to highlight the horizontal aspects of the kinship language employed in early Christian discourse.[6] They attempt to describe the organization and group dynamics of the "brotherhood" joined by early Christians by appealing to the sociohistorical realities on which the sibling metaphor is based. A few acknowledge the christological grounding of the sibling metaphor[7] but fail to look at the relationship of individual Christians to Jesus in light of the Hellenistic *topos* περὶ φιλαδελφίας. Most studies take seriously the ethical ideals as well as the social realities of brotherhood when considering the relationship of Christian to Christian within the community, but rarely do they apply this same general conception of brotherhood to Jesus' position vis-à-vis individual believers. The aim here is not to uncover the sociological impetus or the ultimate origin of the sibling language in Hebrews—that is, to determine whether individuals of liminal status, attracted by the ethos projected by Chris-

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the shorter writing on the same subject by Hierocles. Plutarch, Hebrews, Hierocles, and the author of 4 Maccabees are all writing on this topic within a few decades of one another.

[5] Only a dozen or so authors use the nominal form in texts predating the NT, where it occurs six times (Rom 12:10; 1 Thess 4:9; Heb 13:1; 1 Pet 1:22; 2 Pet 1:7 [bis]).

[6] This is true of S. Scott Bartchy, "Undermining Ancient Patriarchy: The Apostle Paul's Vision of a Society of Siblings," *BTB* 29 (1999): 68–78; Schäfer, *Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft"*; as well as a number of the studies in *Constructing Early Christian Families,* ed. Moxnes: P. F. Esler, "Family Imagery and Christian Identity in Gal 5:13 to 6:10" (pp. 121–49); Karl Olav Sandnes, "Equality Within Patriarchal Structures: Some New Testament Perspectives on the Christian Fellowship as a Brother- or Sisterhood and a Family" (pp. 150–65); Aasgaard, "Brotherhood in Plutarch and Paul" (pp. 166–82); and Lone Fatum, "Brotherhood in Christ: A Gender Hermeneutical Reading of 1 Thessalonians" (pp. 183–97). For a general survey of the lexical data, see Hans von Soden, "ἀδελφός κτλ.," *TDNT* 1:144–46.

[7] E.g., Schäfer, *Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft,"* 39–128. The same can be said of the well-known christianization of Schiller's "Ode to Joy" by Henry van Dyke ("Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee"). While the third verse refers to "Christ our brother," the fourth verse proclaims that "Brother-love binds man to man."

tian family language, converted as a form of social compensation[8] or whether conversion created family conflicts that were only subsequently addressed by family metaphors promulgated by the likes of Paul and the author of Hebrews.[9] Rather, the aim is to discern the form and function of the brother analogy in Hebrews with reference to its social-cultural context. A closer look at the cultural expectations associated with brotherhood will throw into relief the nature of Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews and the way in which it fulfills the emotional and soteriological needs of the audience associated with the fear of death.

Jesus and Greco-Roman Ideals of Fraternal Devotion

With the possible exception of Paul (in Rom 8:12–17, 29), the author of Hebrews mines the image of Christ as brother more deeply than any other NT writer. The sibling relationship between Jesus and the readers, most explicit in 2:10–18 but implied in 12:5–11 and elsewhere in the letter, is not unique in early Christianity. It follows rather naturally from the twin propositions that Jesus is the Son of God and that Christians are "children of God" (John 1:12; Rom 8:14–17; Gal 3:26; 4:6–7). Their respective statuses differ by virtue of the fact that Jesus is the "firstborn" (πρωτότοκος: Rom 8:29; Col 1:15, 18; Heb 1:6; Rev 1:5; *Acts Thom.* 48). He is therefore their older brother in Hebrews.

While Hebrews does not always make explicit the fraternal aspect of the qualities predicated of Jesus, the sheer accumulation in the letter of motifs found also in Plutarch's essay on brotherly love is a sign that this is no ad hoc characterization on the part of the author, nor is it merely a projection onto the

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[8] See, e.g., Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1983), 72–77. Schäfer does not explain Christian conversion as a result of the individual's alienation from traditional family structures but still conceives of Pauline churches as instances of an egalitarian *Kontrastgesellschaft* over against the patriarchal household model (*Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft,"* 441–45).

[9] As suggested by Karl Olav Sandnes, *A New Family: Conversion and Ecclesiology in the Early Church, with Cross-Cultural Comparisons* (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity 91; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 21–31; idem, "The Role of the Congregation as a Family Within the Context of Recruitment and Conflict in the Early Church," in *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity, and the Greco-Roman World* (ed. P. Borgen, V. K. Robbins, and D. B. Gowler; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 334–37. The present study leans toward this second approach, informed by the insights of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 145–46. They argue that the "success" of religious conversion depends on the individual's ability "to keep on taking it seriously" long after the initial experience. To do so requires a community in which the plausibility of the new world view is nurtured, and the

divine realm of language originally applied only to lateral relations in the community. He takes quite seriously the notion that God's Son is the brother of all the faithful and explores the implications of this idea for those fortunate to have the same father. The degree to which Hebrews' presentation of Jesus is integrated with Hellenistic ideals and assumptions regarding fraternal devotion becomes increasingly apparent as one reads through Plutarch's essay on brotherly love.

Even so simple a matter as identifying the relationship between Jesus and the audience as that of siblings plays on standard elements in discussions of brotherhood. Brothers spring from a common source.[10] This should go without saying, but Hebrews nevertheless calls attention to this in 2:11a: "The one [Jesus] who sanctifies and those who are sanctified all have one father."[11] He completes the thought in the second half of the verse by saying that Jesus "is therefore not ashamed to call them brothers." As a Jew, Jesus is naturally part of "the seed of Abraham" (2:16) as are the readers, whether this ancestry is conceptualized as physical (as in Luke 1:73; 3:8; John 8:53; Acts 7:2) or spiritual (as in Rom 4:16; Gal 3:7, 29).[12] The author of Hebrews cements this family bond in 2:12 when he places Ps 22:22 on the lips of Jesus: "I will proclaim your name to my brothers; in the midst of the congregation I will praise you." Given that the author is using sibling images to illustrate the way in which Jesus frees the believer from fear of death, it is not likely that his choice of texts is accidental. Psalm 22, the opening line of which becomes Jesus' cry of dereliction from the cross (Matt 27:46 = Mark 15:34: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"), is a poignant plea for help from God, who saves the psalmist from certain death.[13]

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optimal conditions for this process obtain when the setting closely resembles that of one's primary socialization, that is, the family (see pp. 119–27, 150–52). The sociohistorical variability in the definition of stages of childhood (pp. 125–26) justifies close attention to the particular assumptions about sibling relations in the world in which Hebrews was written.

[10] *Frat. amor.* 479E; 484F–485A; cf. Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 8.12.3–4; 4 Macc 13:19–22.

[11] Literally, "are all of one" (ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες; Vulg.: ex uno omnes), as in the KJV. The NRSV and TEV supply "Father," while the NIV says that all are "of the same family." The identity of "God" as the "one" fits the context much better than the other possibilities that have been suggested, such as Adam or Abraham; see Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 88–89; and Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 229–30.

[12] Whether the readers, too, were "naturally" to be counted among the seed of Abraham depends on their ethnic background. For the author's purposes, the persuasive force of the pericope is contingent on their inclusion.

[13] James Swetnam also sees in Heb 5:7 an allusion to Ps 22—in particular v. 25—and argues

Jesus' temporal priority as elder brother is signaled by his designation as ἀρχηγός in 2:10 (12:2; cf. also πρόδρομος in 6:20). Contra Ernst Käsemann, the quotation of Isa 8:18 in Heb 2:13 ("Here I am, and the children God has given me"), placed on the lips of Jesus by the author, should not be understood to mean that Christians have become Jesus' children.[14] This reading runs counter to the thrust of the entire passage and the author's unambiguous statements that they are Jesus' brothers (2:11, 12, 17). Moreover, δίδωμι in 2:13 (τὰ παιδία ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός) can mean simply "to entrust to one's care," as if to an appointed guardian (cf. John 6:37, 39; 17:6, 9, 12, 24). Such a practice was common in the Roman legal institution of *tutela impuberum*, which provided for the guardianship of children who were still minors at the time of the father's death.[15] A *tutor*, often an older brother, became responsible for the care of minor children and their inheritance until they reached the age of majority, thus heightening the older brother's natural duty to take care of his younger siblings. Jesus, then, is pictured as the guardian of the audience, those whom God has given him and whom he "is not ashamed to call brothers" (2:11).[16]

The common parental bond in tightly knit families promotes feelings of affection and solidarity among brothers, and in turn harmonious sibling relationships bring joy to parents like nothing else (Plutarch, *Frat. amor.* 480A, F). Brotherly love, in fact, is proof of love for father and mother.[17] United "in their emotions and actions" (ἐπὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν), brothers delight their parents most of all when their love for one another is manifest (480B–C).[18] As evidence Plutarch introduces Apollonis of Cyzicus, mother of King Eumenes

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that the *Sitz im Leben* for Jesus' "prayers and supplications . . . to the one able to save him from death" and his "loud cry and tears" is the cross ("The Crux at Hebrews 5,7-8," *Bib* 81 [2000]: 347–61). Other scholars believe that the author envisions Jesus at prayer in Gethsemane (F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964], 98–100; T. Lescow, "Jesus in Gethsemane bei Lukas und im Hebräerbrief," *ZNW* 58 [1967]: 223–39).

[14] See Ernst Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews* (trans. R. A. Harrisville and I. L. Sandberg; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 147–48.

[15] Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property, and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181–203; Cynthia J. Bannon, *The Brothers of Romulus: Fraternal Pietas in Roman Law, Literature, and Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 44–48.

[16] On the priority of the responsibility of *tutela* above other such social bonds as *hospitium* and *amicitia*, see Aulus Gellus, *Noct. att.* 5.13; Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.1.59; Cicero, *Off.* 3.70; *Nat. d.* 3.30.74.

[17] The contrary is also true: hatred of one's brother leads to hatred of parents (*Frat. amor.* 450A, D; cf. Betz, "De fraterno amore," 242). Thus in Hebrews one finds apostasy, that is, rejecting God, "the father of spirits" (12:9), delineated as a "spurning" of or contempt for the Son (6:6; 10:29) that may result in failure to attend community assemblies (10:25), that is, neglect of the relationship with one's heavenly and earthly siblings.

[18] Cf. the commendation in Heb 6:10 and the exhortation to continue in love in 10:24.

and his three brothers. Eumenes, he says, is able to pass his days without anxiety because he is surrounded by devoted brothers.[19] Because they lack such benefits, those without brothers are said to be most unfortunate (480E).

This last remark obviously presupposes a harmonious sibling relationship as a norm. Enmity between brothers is an ever-present possibility, as familiarity can breed contempt and this contempt frequently takes the form of slander (479B, 481A–B, 482D–E, 483C, 490C–F). In these passages Plutarch repeatedly uses the same word for "slander"—διάβολος or cognates—without the same netherworldly connotations it has in Heb 2:14 and elsewhere in the NT (2 Tim 2:26; 1 Pet 5:8; Rev 2:10), but striking nonetheless for the way it poses a threat that a model brother is able to neutralize. The devil in Heb 2 is not presented explicitly as the antithesis of the ideal brother represented by Jesus. But when one inquires after the setting in which Jesus is envisioned as "destroy[ing] the one who has the power of death," the idea of a post-mortem judgment for sins in this life enters the picture, where "the slanderer" indicts the sinner in God's presence.[20] Unlike the brother who nurses a grudge by remembering wrongdoings (*Frat. amor.* 481D), Jesus, who has put up with all manner of abuse (Heb 12:3: ἀντιλογία; cf. 6:16; 7:7), makes sure that his brothers' sins will be remembered no more (8:12; 10:3, 17).[21] He accomplishes this by means of self-sacrifice. This is an especially fitting form of mediation since, according to Plutarch, the emotional disturbance caused by fraternal enmity is most acute

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[19] See also the advice given by Cyrus to his son (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.7.15) that there is no need for a man with a great and powerful brother to fear any harm. On the emotional aspects of the sibling bond, see Aasgaard, "Brotherhood in Plutarch and Paul," 171.

[20] Cf. the scene in Zech 3:1–10 (also Ps 109:6) where the διάβολος and "Jesus" (LXX: Ἰησους) the high priest contend with one another. The slanderer stands "at his right hand" and thus acts as a rival to the high priest. The "timely aid" (εὔκαιρος βοήθεια) given by the sympathetic high priest when this christological image recurs in Heb 4:14–16 may take place at a specific point in time, that is, at God's judgment after death. That the author reiterates his earlier remarks about this sympathizing figure immediately after the statement that God's word "judges (κριτικός) the thoughts and intentions of the heart" in 4:12 and the thinly veiled allusion in 4:13 to the final judgment meted out by "the one with whom we have to do" marks another point of contact between the help Jesus provides and human anxieties related to death. For further analysis of the depiction of God as judge here, see G. W. Trompf, "The Conception of God in Hebr. 4:12-13," *ST* 25 (1971): 125–31.

[21] Plutarch uses the term μνησικακία for "remembrance of harm." In Herm. *Mand*. 8.10 one sees a similar collocation of respect for ἡ ἀδελφότης and the avoidance of μνησικακία. Just prior to an allusion to Heb 3:12, where the author warns the brothers against falling away from the living God, the shepherd tells Hermas to "no longer bear a grudge (μηκέτι μνησικακήσῃς) against your children, nor neglect your sister, that they may be cleansed from their former sins. For they will be corrected with righteous correction (παιδείᾳ δικαίᾳ), if you bear no grudge (μὴ μνησικακήσῃς) against them. The bearing of grudges (μνησικακία) works death" (*Vis.* 2.3.1). Here and throughout, the author is concerned with the theological and pastoral problems of postbaptismal sin, repentance, and apostasy (cf. also Heb 6:4–6; 10:26–31).

at family gatherings such as the shared sacrifices, when the voice of one's brother, which ought to be the sweetest of all sounds, becomes the most dreadful (φοβερωτάτη) to hear (*Frat. amor.* 481D).[22]

Any number of natural inequalities may disrupt the sibling bond. The inferior brother (ὁ λειπόμενος), for example, through resentment or envy of his brother's δόξα, often sinks into disgrace rather than allow himself to be raised up and "augmented" by their shared advantages (485E–F, 486E–F). It is in the course of delineating the many negative possibilities that Plutarch's ideal comes more clearly into focus, and the ways in which brothers overcome these hurdles point to numerous qualities of Jesus in Hebrews that mark him out to be an impeccable example of brotherly love. When one casts Jesus in the role of the superior brother (ὁ ὑπερέχων in the Plutarchan idiom), his embodiment of the Hellenistic ideal is easy to see. The superior brother—usually but not always the older one—"conform[s] his character" (συγκαθιέντα τῷ ἤθει) to that of the inferior so as "to make his superiority secure from envy and to equalize, so far as this is attainable, the disparity of his fortune by his moderation of spirit (τῇ μετριότητι φρονήματος)" (484D). Plutarch also adduces the example of Polydeuces (Pollux), who refuses to become a god by himself and instead becomes a demigod so that he can participate in his brother's mortality (τῆς θνητῆς μερίδος μετασχεῖν) and share with Castor a portion of his own immortality (ἀθανασία). The verb Plutarch uses (μετασχεῖν) is the aorist infinitive of the same verb, μετέχω, used in Heb 2:14 in reference to Christ's participation in the flesh-and-blood existence of his brothers (μετέσχεν τῶν αὐτῶν) as the means of destroying the power of death. He is "without end of life" (7:3) and has become high priest "by the power of an indestructible life" (7:16).[23] Like

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[22] One may also take φωνῆς αὐτοῦ in Heb 3:7 (also 3:15; 4:7) as a reference to Jesus' voice rather than to God's. If the reference is to God's voice, there is an unpunctuated shift in perspective somewhere between v. 7b (where a second person pronoun is used and the antecedent of αὐτοῦ is unclear) and vv. 9–11 (where the pronouns are first person and God is in view). The author is probably exploiting this ambiguity, present in both the MT and the LXX, for the purpose of inserting Jesus into the OT narratives of the wilderness generation, though with more subtlety than Paul does in 1 Cor 10:1–5. God elsewhere speaks by or in (ἐν) his son (1:2), and in 2:3–4 the message of salvation is declared "by the Lord" (διὰ τοῦ κυρίου), an unequivocal reference to Jesus, and so the distinction in 3:7 should not be pressed too hard. Whether the voice is a fearful or a reassuring sound depends on the disposition of the one hearing it.

[23] It is also interesting that the Dioscuri, as Castor and Pollux are collectively known, are renowned for their willingness to help those who show religious faith and devotion (Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.2.6) both in times of distress and during athletic competitions (Pindar, *Nem.* 10.54; cf. Heb 12:1, 12–13) and are referred to as "saviors" (Plutarch, *Superst.* 169B; cf. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* [trans. J. Raffan; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985], 212–13). Hebrews never refers to Christ as σωτήρ but effectively implies this by its use of σωτηρία to describe the benefits that accrue to the believer through Christ's death (1:14; 2:3, 10; 5:9; 6:9; 9:28; cf. 7:25).

Plutarch's ideal brother, Jesus humbles himself and becomes like his brothers in all respects except for sin (Heb 2:17; cf. 2:7, 9, 14; 4:15) and is thereby able to "deal gently" (μετριοπαθεῖν) with them (5:2).[24]

One way of avoiding discord is to allow the inferior brother a chance to act as a partner in weighty affairs (*Frat. amor.* 485B–C). The author of Hebrews refers to his audience in 3:1, 14 as "partners" (μέτοχοι) of Christ, and Jesus allows them a crucial role in God's plan in 11:39–12:2. The heroes of faith from ch. 11 constitute the "cloud of witnesses" in 12:1 said to be watching the audience as they endure present difficulties. They have already run their race (note the common ἀγών motif here and in *Frat. amor.* 485B) and now can only look on as the readers run theirs. But they are not disinterested spectators, since so much depends on the outcome of the "race" mentioned in 12:1. In 11:13 the author says that the heroes of faith saw "from afar" the promises they died without receiving. That these promises remain unfulfilled is again mentioned in 11:39, with the cryptic comment in v. 40 that "apart from us they should not be made perfect." This cloud of witnesses, who appear one by one in the preceding chapter, reemerges in 12:1 as a crowd cheering the readers on as they "run the race." Their perfection, the fulfillment of "what was promised," is now beyond their control and is in the hands of the audience. The author ties the fate of the patriarchs and matriarchs to that of his audience. If the audience does not get to the finish line, according to the logic of 11:40, then no one gets there. The consequences of the readers' actions in 12:1–13 thus extend far beyond themselves to all those mentioned in ch. 11. With this remarkable move the author raises the stakes considerably and seeks to impress upon his audience the gravity of the situation and the crucial role they play in salvation history. In this presentation, then, Christ elevates his brothers by granting them a dignified role in God's plan without in any way diminishing his own unique status (cf. *Frat. amor.* 485C).

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[24] For the role of μετριοπαθεία in forgiveness of a brother's sins, see Plutarch, *Frat. amor.* 489C; Hierocles, *On Duties* (in Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation*, 94). As E. J. Yarnold argues, against B. F. Westcott, C. Spicq, O. Michel, and others, μετριοπαθεῖν and συμπαθῆσαι in 4:15 are not synonyms ("ΜΕΤΡΙΟΠΑΘΕΙΝ apud Heb 5,2," *VD* 38 [1960]: 155). Koester (*Hebrews*, 286) captures the meaning of the former term when he translates it "to curb his emotions" (cf. Yarnold: "iram cohibere"; Plutarch, *Cohib. ira* 458C). Advocated by the Peripatetics against the Stoic ideal of apathy, it denotes a moderation of the passions. This general idea is in view in Heb 5:2 even if the author is not consciously engaged in the interschool debate over the various ways of dealing with the emotions, with which Philo appears to be acquainted (cf. *Abr.* 257; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.129–34; *Virt.* 195; discussed by Ronald Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews* [ALGHJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1970], 26–30). Though there are grounds for anger and impatience with the wayward on whose behalf he ministers, this does not prevent Jesus from offering the help they need to overcome sin.

Age is the most common of the natural inequalities against which brothers must always be on their guard (486F–487E). Differences in age are absolutely ineradicable, and therefore their potential to generate strife is all the more durable. Elder brothers, through their domineering nature, too often create resentment in the younger brother, who in turn ignores the elder's admonitions. Plutarch perhaps urges slightly more leniency with the wayward than does Hebrews; he says that the elder's solicitude for the younger should be that "of one who would persuade rather than command, and would rejoice in a brother's success and applaud them rather than criticize him if he errs and restrain him—a spirit showing not only a greater desire to help, but also more kindness of heart" (487B). Yet the younger is still advised to emulate and most of all to obey (πειθαρχεῖν) the older, and obedience is to be accompanied by reverence (αἰδώς). Obedience is the most highly esteemed "among the many honours which it is fitting that the young render to their elders" (487B–C; cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.7.16; Cicero, *Quint. fratr.* 1.3.3).

Against this background, the christological perspective of Heb 5:9 takes on new significance. Having himself "learned obedience" (v. 8), Jesus "became the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him." Most commentators ignore this final clause, overly generalize its content, or assign to ὑπακούουσιν a meaning not really permitted by its literal sense.[25] The oversight is likely a result of the heavy emphasis on Jesus in this passage and the theological question about the sense in which he "learned obedience."[26] Herbert Braun's gloss—"Man gehorcht ihm, indem man wie er gehorcht"[27]—rightly recognizes the function of Jesus' personal example vis-à-vis Christians but avoids grappling with the plain sense of the verse: those who are to attain salvation must *obey Jesus.* This formula fills a gap created by Hebrews' insistence on the supersession or incompleteness of the Mosaic Law and the covenant of which it was a part (7:12, 16, 19, 28; 9:15–22; 10:1, 8). Obedience is always defined with reference to some notion of authority as law. To answer the question, How are we

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[25] John Calvin, for example, says that it is a call to imitate Jesus (*Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews* [trans. J. Owen; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948], 125), while Koester simply says that Jesus' obedience is "the basis for Christian obedience" (*Hebrews,* 290). According to Attridge, the phrase τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ is "a traditional expression" (*Hebrews,* 154). Käsemann is correct that Jesus' obedience "serves the divine saving plan to realize obedience also in the world" (*Wandering People of God*, 106), but this way of paraphrasing 5:9 is no less vague than these other comments.

[26] This is clearly the case in the otherwise excellent studies of Brandenburger ("Text und Vorlagen von Hebr. V 7-10," 190–224) and Jukka Thurén ("Gebet und Gehorsam des Erniedrigten [Hebr. v 7–10 noch einmal]," *NovT* 13 [1971]: 136–46).

[27] Herbert Braun, *An die Hebräer* (HNT 14; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984), 147.

obedient? one must eventually consider the question, To what or to whom do we owe obedience? Grammatically, "obedience" and "to obey" do not stand alone without an assumed understanding of what is to be obeyed.[28] One obeys a rule, a law, or a person. In Heb 5:9 the author makes one of the only unambiguous identifications of whom the readers are to obey, namely, Jesus.[29] This is echoed in 10:28–29, where violation of the Law of Moses runs parallel with "spurning" the son of God and "profaning" the blood of the covenant he instituted. By analogy, obedience to the Law of Moses is parallel to obedience to the son of God. While violations of Mosaic Law are easy to spot, it is still uncertain what constitutes disobedience to Jesus.[30] For the moment, it is less important to discern the details of Christian obedience vis-à-vis Jesus—neither does Plutarch provide any concrete guidance to the requirements of fraternal obedience—than simply to notice that this key component structuring the relationship between older and younger siblings applies to Jesus and the audience of Hebrews.

Judged by his resemblance to Plutarch's portrait, Jesus is the consummate older brother. Plutarch readily admits that the portrait is an ideal one for which very few in his day are qualified to sit as a model (*Frat. amor.* 478C). Bad brothers are much easier to find. What is one who has a bad brother to do (481F–482A)? In a word, bear with him (ὑπομένειν). When he errs, it is fitting to put up with him and say, "I cannot leave you in your wretchedness" (482A, adapted from Homer, *Od.* 13.331), though this does not mean that a brother will give free rein to sin (483A-B). Fraternal reprimands, however, should come only after defending the wayward brother before the father and, if necessary, enduring the father's wrath directed at one's brother (482E–483C). The similarities between this picture and Jesus' sympathetic, long-suffering priesthood, as well as the author's conception of the atonement as a vicarious act (cf. 2:9; 6:20; 9:24), should be readily apparent. Of special note is Jesus' role as μεσίτης (8:6; 9:15; 12:24), which diverts God's furious judgment of sin (10:27) from his

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[28] They require some kind of complementary indirect object. The nominal form ὑπακοή is usually followed by the dative or by an objective or subjective genitive, while ὑπακούειν may be followed by the genitive or the dative, as well as by an infinitive expressing the action in which obedience results (BDF §§163, 173, 187).

[29] They are also to obey (ὑπείκετε) and submit (πείθεσθε) to their leaders in 13:17.

[30] In the Gospels, the wind, sea, and demons obey Jesus (Matt 8:27; Mark 1:27; 4:41). Obedience to Christ is mentioned elsewhere (2 Cor 10:5; 1 Pet 1:2; *1 Clem.* 20.1; *Diogn.* 7.2) but without specific directives. *1 Clement* (13.3; 59.1) speaks of obedience to Jesus' words and has in view specific injunctions recorded in the canonical Gospels.

brothers to himself. Plutarch describes the similar way in which a father's anger abates through the mediation (τῷ διαλλάσσοντι) of a brother (483A).[31]

A perennial sore spot between siblings has to do with the complications of inheritance. There are glimpses of this in the NT (Luke 12:13; 15:11–32), and Plutarch says that it is the standard point of departure in discussions of fraternal friction (*Frat. amor.* 482D).[32] He touches on the subject in 482E, where he describes the obsequiousness of the one who ingratiates himself to the parents and in so doing robs his brother of "the greatest and fairest of inheritances," the parents' good will (εὔνοια). Later (483E) Plutarch adds that the best and most valuable part of the inheritance is the brother's friendship and trust (φιλία καὶ πίστις).[33] All too often, however, the day when the father's property is divided is the beginning of strife (483D–484B).[34] Many fathers attempted to preserve harmony between brothers in the disposition of their wills but to little avail.[35] And because remarriage was quite common—due in part to the relative ease of obtaining a divorce under Roman law—many children were thrown together with stepbrothers and stepsisters, which frequently resulted in even greater friction than that existing between siblings.[36]

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[31] Note also the forensic language in *Frat. amor.* 483B. An overly critical brother becomes "the most vehement of accusers" who had once been "the most zealous advocate before his parents," recalling the idea of the devil as the accuser of humans in the context of eschatological judgment. The obvious difference between this example and Hebrews is that Plutarch allows for circumstances in which the father's wrath is undeserved because of a son's innocence. On the potential conflict between the demands of fraternal and filial devotion, see Bannon, *Brothers of Romulus*, 35–38.

[32] Such conflict is a common cross-cultural phenomenon. The effect of property transmission on sibling relations is discussed by Hans Medick and David W. Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion* (ed. H. Medick and D. Sabean; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 9–27; and Cheryl A. Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 105–29.

[33] The comment of Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.3.1–4) that a brother is more valuable than material wealth is in the same spirit.

[34] See Cox, *Household Interests*, 108–16, for the detailed arrangements according to Athenian inheritance law, including cases involving sisters. Her use of evidence from orators suggests that the examples she cites were not arcane bureaucratic matters but would rather have been occurrences familiar to the audience. Roman literary and legal texts illustrating the fraternal disputes and financial considerations associated with inheritance are carefully analyzed by Bannon, *Brothers of Romulus*, 12–61.

[35] Bannon, *Brothers of Romulus*, 31–32.

[36] M. Humbert, *Le Remariage à Rome: Étude d'histoire juridique et sociale* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1972), 343–44; Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken, 1975), 158–59. On the effects of these trends on younger children, see K. R. Bradley, "Dislocation in the Roman Family," *Historical Reflections* 14 (1987): 33–62.

Jesus plays an indispensable role in securing an inheritance for his siblings, in contrast both to the conniving brothers mentioned by Plutarch and to the negative examples of brotherly love appearing in Hebrews. Two figures in Hebrews are worthy of mention. Cain appears first, in the commendation of Abel and his sacrifice in 11:4. Cain's anger and God's preference for Abel's sacrifice cause Cain to murder his younger brother (Gen 4:1–10), the incident alluded to also in Heb 12:24. The reasons for God's rejection of Cain's sacrifice in Gen 4:5a are not spelled out and hence occasioned much speculation in Jewish tradition.[37] One possibility is that God disapproved of Cain because of the inferior quality of his sacrifice and the covetousness it reflected (Philo, *Sacr*. 88; *Conf*. 124; Josephus, *Ant*. 1.54, 61). Rather than taking the initiative in reconciliation, Cain removes his rival for God's favor. For the author of Hebrews, it is unthinkable that Jesus would answer Cain's infamous question—"Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen 4:9)—in the negative.[38]

The motif of sibling rivalry is explicitly linked with inheritance in Heb 12:16–17 with the introduction of Esau, the older of twins (Gen 25:25–26; 27:32). Esau's rage at his brother, though understandable in light of Jacob's trickery, issues in hatred and a desire to kill (Gen 27:41–45). The author of Hebrews describes him as "immoral and godless," yet the only information he gives is that he sold his birthright (πρωτοτόκια) for a single meal.[39] The reference is to the brief account in Gen 25:29–34. Famished from a day in the field, he agrees to sell his birthright to Jacob for a bowl of stew. Esau's reasoning is logical enough: "I am about to die; of what use is a birthright to me?" Unlike the many figures in ch. 11 who demonstrate their superior faith in the face of death,[40] Esau makes the wrong decision and earns the disapproval of the narrator in Gen 25:34. The right of primogeniture, firmly established later in Deut 21:15–17, is too easily surrendered by Esau, who "despises" (LXX: ἐφαύλισεν) his birthright. To value physical comfort and security over the birthright reserved for a firstborn son reflects misplaced priorities and a wavering faith

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[37] See V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada, den Apokryphen, der hellenistischen, christlichen und muhammedanischen Literatur* (Vienna: Löwit, 1922), esp. 37–55.

[38] 1 John 3:12–16 likewise cites the case of Cain and puts Jesus forward as the embodiment of brotherly love by virtue of his sacrificial death. See Hans-Josef Klauck, "Brudermord and Bruderliebe: Ethische Paradigmen in 1 Joh 3.11–18," in *Neues Testament und Ethik: Für Rudolf Schnackenburg* (ed. H. Merklein; Frieburg: Herder, 1989), 151–69.

[39] The LXX and Heb 12:16 use the same term for the birthright (πρωτοτόκια).

[40] Death or "near-death experience" is one component of the hero profile compiled by Pamela M. Eisenbaum, *The Jewish Heroes of Christian History: Hebrews 11 in Literary Context* (SBLDS 156; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 178–79; cf. also A. D. Bulley, "Death and Rhetoric in the Hebrews 'Hymn to Faith,'" *SR* 25 (1996): 414–18.

from which the author of Hebrews seeks to dissuade his audience. When Esau later seeks to inherit his father's blessing, he is rejected (Heb 12:17). His voluntary forfeiture of the birthright that rightfully belongs to him, however, does not take place in the interests of forestalling a feud with his brother Jacob over their father's property, a policy endorsed by Plutarch (*Frat. amor.* 484A–C). Instead of striving for peace and harmony, Esau grows into a divisive "root of bitterness" (Heb 12:14–15; cf. LXX Deut 29:18).

One finds no competitiveness in Jesus' relationship with his brothers—he has made them his "partners" (3:1, 14)—who owe their promised inheritance to his offices in both senses of the word, that is, his assistance as well as his "official" capacities as brother and high priest. Jesus is "the heir of all things" (1:2) and "has inherited a name" more excellent than that of the angels (1:4), thus he sits at the right hand of the one who sends angels "for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation" (1:14: τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν). Apart from the mediation of their devoted sibling, Hebrews describes no other way by which the readers will receive the promises.

In Heb 9:15, the ideas of promise and inheritance come together with the theme of covenant: "Therefore he [Jesus] is the mediator of a new covenant, so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, since a death has occurred which redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant."[41] Here again, Jesus' status as brother helps to clarify some of the otherwise confusing inheritance language in Hebrews. The source of the confusion has to do with the term used for "covenant." It has long been noted that in Heb 9:15–17, the author plays fast and loose with the term διαθήκη.[42] Throughout the LXX, διαθήκη renders the Hebrew ברית, the standard term for God's covenantal relationship with Israel. Confusion arises from the fact that διαθήκη can mean both "covenant," in the OT sense of pact or agreement, and "will" or "testament," in the legal sense, but not normally both at the same time. (Galatians 3:15–17 exhibits the same polyvalence.) Contrary to the statement in 9:17, a "covenant," as the author uses the term in 8:6–9:14, does not require a death in order to go into effect. The statement is accurate only with respect to wills outlining the disposition of the testator's estate, as v. 15 suggests. Numerous commentators have tried to find one inclusive meaning to accommodate the two differing senses in which the author uses διαθήκη here, none com-

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[41] For the word group ἐπαγγελία/ἐπαγγέλλομαι, see 4:1; 6:12, 13, 15, 17; 7:6; 8:6; 9:15; 10:23, 36; 11:9, 11, 13, 17, 33, 39; 12:26. For the word group κληρονομέω/κληρόω/κληρονομία/συγκληρονόμος, see 1:2, 4, 14; 6:12, 17; 9:15; 11:7, 8, 9; 12:17.

[42] Bruce, *Hebrews*, 209-14.

pletely convincing.[43] It is also unfair to assume that the author simply does not understand the nuances of the Greek language well enough to realize the apparent mistake he has made. The author's rhetorical sophistication and his proclivity for indulgence in word play (seen also in 7:1–10) make this highly dubious. More plausible is the view that in 9:15–17 the author intentionally exploits the polyvalence of διαθήκη for his own purposes.

By virtue of his death, Jesus is the "mediator" (μεσίτης) of this new διαθήκη. Both terms were used frequently in legal contexts.[44] In a neutral sense, μεσίτης can refer simply to something that establishes a relationship where one would not otherwise exist. A second-century Roman legal provision suggests a strong possibility for understanding the otherwise uncoordinated images in Hebrews of Christ as brother and mediator. It was a common practice in wills for a father to name two or more grades of heirs, with the lower inheriting should the higher die before the father or for some reason refuse the inheritance, as sometimes happened if acceptance of the inheritance meant that liabilities would outweigh benefits.[45] One form of this was *substitutio pupillaris*, whereby a father named a younger son as the heir of the older son, who stood to inherit should the father die (Gaius, *Inst.* 2.179–80). By so doing, should the older son die before making his own will, the father could ensure that property would go to the younger son instead of inadvertently passing to someone else. *Substitutio pupillaris* in effect allowed the father to make two wills—one on behalf of the older son—with different heirs, to be enacted in two different possible scenarios.[46] In this way, an older brother could be a mediator of another's will in that he stood between the father and the younger son and guaranteed the orderly execution of its terms, even in the event of his death.[47]

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[43] James Swetnam, for example, opts for a consistent reading of διαθήκη as "testament" ("A Suggested Interpretation of Hebrews 9,15–18," *CBQ* 27 [1965]: 373–90), while J. J. Hughes argues at length that it should always be understood as "covenant" ("Hebrews ix 15ff. and Galatians iii 15ff.: A Study in Covenant Practice and Procedure," *NovT* 21 [1979]: 27–96). For a concise review of the debate, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 254–56.

[44] A. Oepke, "μεσίτης, μεσιτεύω," *TDNT* 4:600 n. 2; cf. Ernst Bammel, "Gottes ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ (Gal. iii. 15–17) und das jüdische Rechtsdenken," *NTS* 6 (1959-60): 313–19; J. Behm and G. Quell, "διατίθημι, διαθήκη," *TDNT* 2:105, 124–25; MM 155.

[45] E. Champlin, "*Creditur vulgo testamenta hominum speculum esse morum*: Why the Romans Made Wills," *CP* 84 (1989): 198–215. Attributed to Benjamin Franklin is the remark that "nothing is certain but death and taxes," in this case both at the same time.

[46] For other substitution schemes permissible under Roman law, see Bannon, *Brothers of Romulus*, 13 n. 3, 31 n. 60.

[47] Brothers were given legal priority after the nuclear family in instances of intestate succession in the *Twelve Tables* (5.4–5). Apart from legal provisions, Valerius Maximus says that it was a gross breach of custom not to name one's brother as heir (7.8.4).

If this early-second-century legal precedent cited by Gaius is placed alongside Hebrews, it is possible to make contextual sense of διαθήκη in 9:15–17. It also suggests a way in which Jesus' death puts into effect a new διαθήκη, in both senses of that term. Relative to the Christian audience of Hebrews, Jesus is the older brother, "the firstborn" (1:6) who is not ashamed to call God's other children "brothers" (2:11; cf. 2:10, 12, 17). He is the son "whom God appointed heir of all things" (1:2). The angels are sent to serve Jesus' younger siblings, "those who are to inherit salvation" (1:14), of which Jesus is the source (5:9). The OT heroes of faith in ch. 11 are in a position analogous to that of the readers with respect to Jesus: he is their older brother, too.[48] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are all "joint heirs" of the same promise in 11:9, which makes perfect sense in the OT understanding of διαθήκη as "covenant" but which, apart from the above interpretation, is hard to reconcile with the sense of διαθήκη (in 9:15–17) as a will or testament that goes into effect at death.

Conclusion

Hebrews weaves together a wide range of concepts related to the role of brother in the Hellenistic world—inheritance, affection, trustworthiness, sympathy, moral uprightness, accountability, guardianship—to develop the image of Jesus as high priest. This goes unnoticed if one looks for parallels to the priestly image only among Jewish or Greco-Roman religious texts and institutions. Both elements were already present in other early traditions about Jesus: on occasion Jesus speaks of his appointed task in priestly terms (as in John 17)[49] and also redefines membership in his own "family" to include all those who do the will of God (Mark 3:31–35; *Gos. Thom.* 99; *2 Clem.* 9.11). What originally inspired the author to merge these two disparate roles to make sense of the Christ-event? The question is impossible to answer with absolute certainty, but it may simply be that the author, after reflecting upon the full significance of the two roles, concluded that they were not so disparate after all. The author of Hebrews, it may be said, offends against rhetorical conventions by mixing

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[48] Jesus "perfects" the faith (12:2) of those living under the old covenant as well as the faith of Christian believers; therefore, all are in a similar position relative to Christ. That Jesus can somehow be the *older* brother of those mentioned in ch. 11 fits with the intimation in 1:2 of his preexistence. Status as the primary heir, however, is not always simply a matter of chronological priority, whether one thinks in terms of Roman law or the customs of Second Temple Judaism.

[49] See O. Moe, "Das Priestertum Christi im Neuen Testament ausserhalb des Hebräerbriefs," *TLZ* 72 (1947): 335–38; and Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (trans. S. G. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall; London: SCM, 1959), 87–89, 104–7.

metaphors, but the fault is pardonable when one allows for the novelty of the religious experience giving rise to a common confession of faith, the urgent situation facing his readers, and the relative dearth of literary and pastoral precedents for describing the Christian vision and responding to the challenges it posed. The author understands and explains the unusual in terms of the familiar. Christ's priesthood "according to the order of Melchizedek" is the unfamiliar, almost certainly an appropriation of scriptural traditions originating with the author. His identity as brother of the faithful is the familiar and serves as the key to understanding the nature of his distinctive priesthood. Jesus "had to become like his brothers . . . so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make expiation for the sins of the people" (2:17). His fitness as a priest uniquely able to deal with the sin underlying their fear of death in 2:14–18 informs a vision of Christian hope that derives from and issues in recognizable cultural formations intersecting at several points with the concerns and assumptions of the Hellenistic milieu in which it was written.[50]

[50] The effluence of culture from *cultus*, remarked upon by writers across many centuries, is especially cogent here if one grants Peter Berger's characterization of culture as the sum of the ways a people expresses its defiance of death; see *A Rumor of Angels* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 69–74.

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CRITICAL NOTE

WHAT WAS DOEG THE EDOMITE'S TITLE?
TEXTUAL EMENDATION VERSUS A COMPARATIVE
APPROACH TO 1 SAMUEL 21:8

And a man from among the courtiers of Saul was there on that day, detained before the Lord, and his name was Doeg the Edomite, אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים of Saul. (1 Sam 21:8)

The unique term אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים has perplexed scholars since medieval times. Literally, the term means "the mighty one of the herdsmen" or "chief among the shepherds."[1] There are two problems with this title: (1) The nature of this official's functions requires explanation. (2) What is the link (if any) between Doeg's title and his activities in 1 Sam 21–22? Doeg informs Saul of the contacts between David and Ahimelech and then acts as executioner of Ahimelech and eighty-five of his fellow priests. Informing the king about disloyal individuals and carrying out executions would not seem to fall within the sphere of responsibility of a chief herdsman.

I. Medieval Jewish Approaches

The medieval Jewish commentators respond to both of these problems. In his commentary on 1 Sam 21:8, Kimhi interprets according to the philological sense of אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים, commenting "אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים: the greatest of Saul's herdsmen and chief over

[1] C. D. Ginsburg reports that some manuscripts as well as the first printing of the Hebrew Bible (Soncino 1488) read *ʾabîr* in this verse (*The Massorah*, vol. 4 [Vienna: Fromme, 1905], 24). Nahum Sarna has argued convincingly that the forms *ʾabîr* and *ʾabbir* are not distinguished semantically and are both original. The primary meaning of the word is "strong one." It is used of strong animals, war horses in particular, in Judg 5:22; Jer 8:16; 47:3, and probably refers to bulls in Ps 22:13; 50:13. In Job 34:20, אבירים refers to strong people ("The Divine Title *ʾabhir yaʿaqobh*," in *Essays on the Occasion of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Dropsie University* [ed. Abraham I. Katsh and Leon Nemoy; Philadelphia: Dropsie University, 1979], 389-396). Harry Torczyner [Naphtali Tur-Sinai] defines אביר as "lofty, exalted (adj.)" or "master, officer (n.)" ("*ʾabir* kein Stierbild," *ZAW* 39 [1921]: 296–300). The divine designations אביר ישראל and אביר יעקב (Isa 1:24; 49:26; 60:16; Ps 132:2, 5) may originally have been related to bull imagery but should be translated "the mighty one of Jacob/Israel."

them." But he interprets the statement נִצָּב עַל עַבְדֵי שָׁאוּל in 22:9 to mean "chief over all of Saul's courtiers," thereby explaining why Doeg was made responsible for the executions. As chief of Saul's retinue, Doeg could conceivably have been responsible for executions. Rashi, in contrast, comments that Doeg was chief of Saul's judicial court.[2] This midrashic explanation, unrelated to the meaning of the term אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים, seems to be an attempt to explain why Doeg was made responsible for the deaths of the priests.[3]

A later attempt to explain the phrase in accordance with both the term's meaning and the role Doeg plays can be found in Isaiah di Trani's commentary: "the chief of his officials."[4] Like Rashi and Kimhi, di Trani deems it necessary to see Doeg as something other than Saul's chief pastoralist. At the same time, he seeks a philologically tenable interpretation: he interprets the word רֹעִים as "officials," citing Zech 10:3 as support. But while the word "shepherd" is often used in the Bible (and elsewhere in the ancient Near East) to designate the king,[5] and רֹעִים is sometimes used to refer to king and princes,[6] di Trani's suggestion seems unlikely in 1 Sam 21:9. First, the term both in the Bible and in ancient Near Eastern sources usually refers to persons of royal birth, most often to the person of the king, rather than to other officials of the royal court. Second, in the Bible רֹעִים is a poetic term and it seems unlikely to have been used in the prosaic context found in 1 Sam 21:8, in the title of a royal official. In biblical prose, רֹעִים always means shepherds.

II. Conjectural Textual Emendation

Modern biblical scholars have been similarly perplexed both by the seemingly unusual title and by the incongruity between the title and Doeg's actions. In 1874,

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[2] The title "chief of Saul's judicial court" (אב בית דין) may be based on the role Doeg plays in *b. Yebam.* 76b, *b. Sanh.* 106b, and *y. Sanh.* 10:2. The Yerushalmi text states: "Doeg was a great scholar of Torah," and describes him as not allowing others to answer legal questions. The statement that Doeg was the head of a judicial court also appears in *Midrash Shocher Tob* 3:4.

[3] For a full discussion of Doeg's image in rabbinic literature, see Richard Kalmin, "Doeg the Edomite: From Biblical Villain to Rabbinic Sage," in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* (ed. C. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 390–405.

[4] Citations from Kimhi, Rashi, and di Trani are taken from *Mikraot Gedolot: HaKeter* (Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan, 1996).

[5] Biblical passages where רֹעִים has this meaning include Jer 2:8; 3:15; 23:2–4; Ezek 34:2, 7, 9, 23; 37:24; Mic 5:3; Isa 44:27. See also the discussion and list of passages in Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25C; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 195. In all cases except Nah 3:18 and Zech 10:3 and ch. 11 (passim), the term refers to the king or royalty. All of the passages noted are in poetic contexts and use poetic language.

Elsewhere in the ancient Near East, the word "shepherd" is among the earliest titles of the Mesopotamian kings, used by Uru-inimgina (Urukagina) of Lagash in the middle of the third millennium. With a brief pause during the time of Sargon of Akkad and his dynasty, it becomes "a staple in the ideology of Mesopotamian kingship" (S. Franke, "Kings of Akkad," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* [ed. Jack M. Sasson; New York: Scribner, 1992], 2:833).

[6] This seems to be the meaning in Jer 23 and Ezek 34, where the replacement of the רֹעִים by a Davidic scion is prophesied.

Heinrich Graetz suggested emending the text to read אַבִּיר הָרָצִים. He postulated that the רָצִים who appear in 1 Sam 22:17, who seem to fulfill a military role and are initially asked to kill the priests of Nob, were in fact headed by Doeg. His translation "die Ober-ste von Saul's Leibwache"[7] reflects his view that they formed Saul's bodyguards. The idea that the רָצִים served as the king's bodyguards can be supported by 1 Kgs 14:27, where they seem to fill this function, and also by 2 Kgs 11:11. Graetz's suggestion seems to explain the connection between Doeg's title and his actions.

This suggestion was enthusiastically adopted by Wilhelm Nowack, S. R. Driver, and others.[8] Driver writes:

> 'byr is not chief (RV), but mighty, which, however, does not well agree with *ḥāroʿîm*, might or heroism hardly being a quality which in a shepherd would be singled out for distinction. Read with Graetz *ḥārāṣîm* for *ḥāroʿîm*, "the mightiest of Saul's runners" or royal escort.[9]

Graetz's proposed emendation is only one of the many emendations proposed for these words. Based on the LXX reading νέμων τὰς ἡμιόνους Σαουλ (chief of Saul's mules), Lagarde suggests the emendation אוֹבִיל הָעֲיָרִים, which he sees as meaning "leader of the mules."[10] Arnold B. Ehrlich has suggested emending אַבִּיר to אַדִּיר, noting that אַבִּיר does not usually mean "leader."[11] Other suggested emendations include read-ing הַנְּעָרִים or הָרֵעִים instead of הָרֹעִים,[12] and גִּבּוֹר instead of אַבִּיר.[13]

The idea that the problem in the verse should be solved through conjectural emen-dation is reflected also in several recent commentaries. P. Kyle McCarter uses Graetz's

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[7] H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* (Leipzig: O. Leiner, 1874), 1:209.

[8] W. Nowack, *Richter, Ruth u. Bücher Samuelis* (Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 111. Graetz's emendation is supported also by other early twentieth-century commentators, including Hugo Gressman (*Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels von Samuel bis Amos und Hosea* [Die Schriften des Alten Testaments; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921], 87) and Paul Dhorme (*Les livres de Samuel* [Paris: Gabalda, 1910], 197). See also Karl Budde in *Die Bücher Samuel* (KHC; Tübin-gen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902), who cites both Graetz's and Paul Anton de Lagarde's emendations approvingly.

[9] S. R. Driver *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Typography of the Books of Samuel* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 175.

[10] Paul Anton de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (1889; Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1972), 45. While Lagarde's emendation is not entirely conjectural, it fails to explain the connection between Doeg's role and his actions. Moreover, there are grounds for contesting Lagarde's retroversion of the LXX into Hebrew. There seems to be no reason to prefer this reading over the MT. This reading, however, is adopted by Henry Preserved Smith in his commentary on Samuel (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* [ICC; New York: Scribner, 1899], 198 and 200).

[11] Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910), 3:243. He also notes that it only occurs in poetic contexts, a point which can be made equally well about אַדִּיר.

[12] הַנְּעָרִים is suggested by Wilhelm Caspari (*Die Samuelbücher* [KAT; Leipzig: Deichert, 1926], 272), and הָרֵעִים by Arvid Bruno, cited in Hans Joachim Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (KAT; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973), 394.

[13] A. Klostermann, cited in Dhorme, *Samuel,* 197.

emendation in his translation, rendering "the chief of Saul's runners," while noting that "textual support is lacking." He discusses Lagarde's suggestion for emendation, and concludes: "The primitive reading continues to elude us."[14] Other modern commentaries on Samuel are not willing to emend the text, but do not explain the difficulties with the title אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים.[15] Writing in the *Olam Ha Tanakh* series, Shmuel Abramsky discusses the meaning of אַבִּיר and suggests that the head herdsman was an important official, citing 1 Chr 27:29–32 as support.[16] These verses list the שָׂרֵי הָרְכוּשׁ of King David, among whom those in charge of the herds figure prominently. This is a strong argument against gratuitously emending the text, but this does not explain the connection between Doeg's title and his actions.

III. A Comparative Approach: Neo-Assyrian and Ugaritic Texts

I suggest that the difficulties in the verse are caused not by our "lack of the primitive reading" in the text but by our failure to use comparative data to understand the MT. From the biblical passage cited by Abramsky, it is clear that such a functionary as "chief of the herds" existed in the royal courts described in the Bible. A term that is almost precisely parallel to אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים appears in at least three Neo-Assyrian administrative texts:

1. A fragment of a sheep list refers to [Ṣe']lanṭuru, the chief shepherd of the *turtanû* (army commander.)[17] The term may have been read *rab rāʾî*,[18] and is written in logograms: LÚ.GAL SIPA.MEŠ, literally "king of the shepherds," meaning "leader of the shepherds."

2. A long list of court officials includes an individual whose title is also written LÚ.GAL SIPA.MEŠ, and read by F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate as *rab rāʾî*.[19]

3. In a text that Fales and Postgate have titled "Various Foods from Officials to the Lady of the House," we read that an individual named Nabû-deni-epuš also

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[14] P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 348.

[15] See S. Bar-Efrat, *Commentary on I Samuel* (in Hebrew; Mikra le Israel; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996), who mentions the connection between אַבִּיר and רֹעֶה in our verse and in Gen 49:24; Joyce Baldwin, *1 and 2 Samuel* (TOTC; Leicester: InterVarsity, 1988). Robert Gordon defends the reading רֹעִים on the basis of the parallel in the Ugaritic text discussed below (*1 and 2 Samuel* [Exeter: Paternoster, 1986]). Other commentators do not broach the issue at all.

[16] Shmuel Abramsky, *Shmuel Alef* (in Hebrew; Entsiklopedya Olam Ha Tanakh; Tel Aviv: Revivim, 1985), 177–78.

[17] Text K 5993 in F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II* (SAA 11; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995), text no. 83, p. 54.

[18] It is rendered thus by Fales and Postgate (*Imperial Administrative Records,* glossary index, p. 166).

[19] This text, K 1359 + K 13197, was published in C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge: Bell, 1898–1923) as no. 857 and is here cited from F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, *Part I* (SAA 7; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992), text no. 5, reverse, col. 1, line 36. The reading *rab rāʾî* for this and the following text appears in the glossary index, p. 221.

served as chief shepherd. His title is written and read in the same way as the title in the texts above.[20]

Another possible parallel appears in the colophon to one of the Ugaritic Baal texts which states that it was written by *'ilmlk šbny lmd 'atn prln rb khnm rb nqdm:* "Elimelek the Shubanite [or the trained singer], disciple of Atn-prln, chief of the priests, chief of the shepherds" (*CTA* 6 VI 53-55 = *KTU* 1.6 VI 53-55).[21]

IV. A Comparative Approach: Hittite Texts

The verses from 1 Chronicles and the Neo-Assyrian parallels demonstrate that the title "chief shepherd" for Doeg cannot be so easily dismissed as a textual error. Parallels to this title exist elsewhere, which is more than can be said for several of the titles derived from proposed emendations. The title "chief of the runners" is not any more likely to have been used in biblical Israel for royal officials than is the title "chief of the shepherds," and there is no reason to prefer the reading רָצִים over רֹעִים.

The passages cited above, however, do not explain the connection between Doeg's title and his actions in the narrative. I propose that such a connection does exist, based in part on comparisons with a similar title found in Hittite texts, and in part on support from one of the Akkadian texts cited above. Doeg's actions in 1 Sam 22 are similar to those performed by Joab under David and by Benaiah under Solomon. In 2 Samuel, Joab repeatedly kills David's rivals or those whose loyalty to David is suspect. David protests some of the killings and even mourns some of the victims, but nevertheless benefits from the purge of the disloyal. Joab's killing of Abner (2 Sam 3:27) and of Absalom (2 Sam 18:14) and causing the death of Sheba (2 Sam 20:22) illustrate his *de facto* role as David's chief of internal security, who executes David's rivals and their supporters. Ultimately, in a neat example of "just deserts," Joab himself is killed by the man who fills this role under Solomon, Benaiah (1 Kgs 2:34). Benaiah kills Joab for supporting Adonijah,

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[20] Text K 1988 published as *ADD* 1104 and cited from Fales and Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, *Part I,* text 130, reverse, lines 3–4. Predictably, Nabû-deni-epuš's gift consisted of "1 male sheep and 1 lamb." This does not necessarily indicate that his function was to herd sheep, since two city governors (*pahutu*) mentioned in this text also present gifts of sheep.

[21] Translation follows J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1978), 81. The significance of the title *rb nqdm* is not clear: S. Segert understands it to mean officer of the shepherds ("Zur Bedeutung des Wortes Noqed," in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80 Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* [VT Sup 16; Leiden: Brill, 1967], 280), while M. Dietrich and O. Loretz understand the official's function as an administrative one, charged with guarding access to the palace ("Die Ug. Berufsgruppe der NQDM und das Amt des RB NQDM," *UF* 9 [1977]: 336–37). Dietrich and Loretz see two distinct Semitic roots *nqd*, one including the Hebrew and Akkadian terms for shepherd (*nôqēd* and *nāqidu*) and the other including Ugaritic *nqdm;* they question whether the roots are lexically related.

M. Bič suggests, based on biblical evidence, that the West Semitic *nôqēd* refers to a hepatoscoper or religious functionary ("Der Prophet Amos: Ein Haepatoskopos," *VT* 1 [1951]: 293–96). This has been effectively disproved by A. Murtonen, "The Prophet Amos: A Hepatoscoper?" *VT* 2 [1952]: 170–71). It is clear that *nôqēd* means "herdsman" in Hebrew. The meaning of this term in Ugaritic does not affect the parallelism between the Hebrew and Akkadian or Hittite terms.

much as Doeg killed Ahimelech for supporting David. It is Benaiah who is also charged with killing Adonijah (1 Kgs 2:25) and Shimei (1 Kgs 2:46), both of whom pose internal threats to Solomon's kingship. Benaiah and Joab play similar roles in eliminating those who oppose the king or support his opponents. Their role is similar to that played by Doeg in 1 Sam 22.

Joab and Benaiah hold similar titles. They are called עַל הַצָּבָא or שַׂר הַצָּבָא (2 Sam 8:16; 20:23; 1 Kgs 4:4). Since Doeg's actions in serving Saul are similar to Joab's in serving David and Benaiah's in serving Solomon, it would be reasonable to investigate possible similarities between the titles עַל הַצָּבָא and אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים. There is no etymological similarity between the titles, but it is probable that the content and meaning of the two titles are similar. A title having the same meaning as אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים was held by several individuals who served as military commanders in the Hittite empire, and the אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים in biblical Israel may have served in a similar capacity.

Matitiahu Tsevat was the first to argue that אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים is a military title.[22] This argument has not been cited by subsequent commentators on Samuel, although many points strengthening his argument can be added to his brief comments. Tsevat adduced a parallel to a Hittite administrative text dating to the reign of Tudhaliya IV in the thirteenth century (*KUB* 26:43; *CTH* 225). The text confirms the will of one Shahurunuwa, a royal prince who carries titles written in logograms as GAL NA.GAD, GAL DUB.-SAR.GIŠ, and GAL ᴸúUKU. UŠ. Tsevat follows Victor Korošec in translating these titles as "chief of the shepherds," "chief of the wood-scribes" (those who write hieroglyphic Hittite as opposed to those who write Hittite in cuneiform on clay tablets), and "chief of the soldiers" respectively. "The very piling up of so many titles shows that they do not indicate shepherding-work, or the craft of scribe or military man on the part of their holder any more than the title *maréchal*[23] in our time indicates the high degree of horsemanship of its holder. This is the type of GAL NA. GAD that Doeg was."[24] Tsevat argues that Doeg was simply a military commander. Clear proof can be adduced to show that the term GAL NA.GAD in the Hittite empire and elsewhere in the ancient Near East indicated a military commander. The possibility that a form of this title reached biblical Israel should not be excluded.

To explain the parallel between NA.GAD and רֹעֶה, we should note that the Sumerogram NA.GAD is a common logogram for herdsman in Akkadian, and it is considered to have the same meaning in Hittite. Its Akkadian reading is *nāqidu,* and Gary

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[22] M. Tsevat, "Assyriological Remarks on the Book of I Samuel" (in Hebrew), in *Sefer Segal* (ed. Y. M. Grintz and J. Liver; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1965), 85–86.

[23] Originally used for the individual in charge of caring for horses, the term now designates a superior commanding officer (*Le Grand Robert de la langue française* [Paris: Robert, 1992], 6:252).

[24] Tsevat, "Assyriological Remarks," 86; see also the discussion of this text in Victor Korošec, "Einige juristische Bemerkungen zur Šaḫarunuva-Urkunde (KUB XXVI 43 = Bo 2048)," in *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger Zu seinem 70 Geburtstag* (2 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1944, 1945), 2:191–222. The translation of the titles in this text and the periods during which Shaharunuwa held them are discussed by Richard H. Beal, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), 382–86. Shahurunuwa's full titulary includes the title GAL ᴸúUKU. UŠ. of the right, a point Tsevat neglects to mention. The importance of this point is discussed more fully below.

Beckman notes that its Hittite reading is unknown.[25] The meaning of this Sumerogram in Hittite is therefore similar to the Hebrew רֹעֶה.[26]

Shahurunuwa is not the only holder of this title to appear in Hittite texts. F. Pecchioli Daddi has collected all of the appearances of this title in Hittite and found four individuals who carry it.[27] More recently, Richard H. Beal has discussed the title GAL NA.GAD in its various appearances in Hittite texts. Beal marshals impressive evidence to demonstrate that this was the title of a mid-level military officer. Together with the GAL UKU.UŠ and GAL.ŠUŠ, he ranked in the New Hittite period below the crown prince and appanage kings, but above all other commanders.[28] Beal bases this conclusion on the activities of three of the holders of this title, as well as the use of the term "of the left" in connection with this title.

The first of these three is Shahurunuwa, the prince mentioned by Tsevat. He carried two other titles, one of which (GAL UKU.UŠ) Beal views as definitely a military title. Clauses in Shahurunwa's will show that he served in the field army. This prince also seems to be the subject of an oracle questioning which of two proposed military campaigns Shahurunuwa should lead.[29]

The second individual with this title is mentioned in a text discussing the deeds of King Šupiluliuma.[30] He too was a military leader; he was sent by the king to attack one district while the king fortified another.

The third holder of the title is Mizra-muwa, one of the witnesses in Shahurunuwa's will, the text cited above. Mizra-muwa is called the GAL NA.GAD of the left, implying that there was a "right" GAL NA.GAD and a left one. The existence of a right and a left GAL NA.GAD strongly suggests that this is a military title, because this division between the right GAL and the left appears elsewhere in Hittite military titles.[31] The use of right and left in military titulary may have derived from the practice of arranging the army on a left flank and a right flank. Officers who held titles ending with "of the

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[25] Gary Beckman, "Herding and Herdsmen in Hittite Culture," in *Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum* 75 *Geburtstag* (ed. E. Neu and C. Ruster; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 39; see also bibliography in n. 45 there.

[26] Although the Sumerogram SIPA has an Akkadian reading (*re'û*) that is etymologically closer to the Hebrew רֹעֶה, there is no reason to deny a similarity of meaning between this Hebrew word and the Sumerogram NA.GAD.

[27] F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignita nell'Anatolia ittita* (Roma : Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1982), 540.

[28] Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*. The material on GAL NA.GAD appears on pp. 391–96. A chart showing relative ranks appears on p. 527.

[29] Ibid., 383–84.

[30] This text (*KBo* 5.6 i 32 [duplicate *KBo* 14.11 i 3–11] = *CTH* 40) was published and translated by H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Šupiluliuma," *JCS* 10 (1956): 91–92, as "fragment 28." The individual's name is Kuwalanaziti.

[31] Richard H. Beal cites a number of high Hittite military titles, all of which are divided into "chiefs of the right" and "chiefs of the left" ("Hittite Military Organization," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* [ed. Jack M. Sasson; New York: Scribner, 1992], 1:546–47). For example, there was a Chief of the Chariot Warriors of the Right and a Chief of Chariot Warriors of the Left (GAL ŠùŠ). The same held true for the Chief of the Standing Army-Troops (GAL UKU.UŠ) and the Chief of the "Shepherds."

right" or "of the left" were probably responsible for half of the troops.[32] This practice is not a uniquely Hittite one. It appears in several Babylonian texts, and one Nuzi text speaks of GIŠ.GIGIR *ša šumēli*, chariots of the left, and *ša* ZAG, of the right.[33] Some Neo-Assyrian texts speak about a *turtānû* of the right and of the left.[34] There may also be a biblical parallel to this practice. 1 Chronicles 12:2 refers to David's Benjaminite bowmen as מַיְמִינִים וּמַשְׂמִאלִים, usually translated "using the right hand and the left hand," and is often connected to the left-handedness of Benjaminite archers in passages such as Judg 20:16. Perhaps, however, 1 Chr 12:2 should be connected to the wider ancient Near Eastern practice of designating military officials as being "of the left" or "of the right," and the verse should be translated "archers shooting to the right and to the left" (or "from the right and from the left"). The verbs *ymn* and *śmʾl* in the hiphil generally indicate movement or turning in a left or right direction (e.g., Gen 13:9; Ezek 21:21).

The fact that Mizra-muwa was the Lú.GAL NA.GAD *of the left* strongly implies that he was a military official. We have demonstrated that three of the attested holders of the title GAL NA.GAD were probably military officials. Not enough is known about the fourth holder of this title to determine whether he had a military role.[35]

It is not clear how the GAL NA.GAD came to be a military officer. Hittite festival texts also mention regular NA.GAD officials, to whose titles are appended the words "of the right" or "of the left," but Beal is unsure whether these were military officials. There are also Hittite officials bearing the title GAL SIPA, SIPA being the most common Sumerogram for "shepherd." While the GAL SIPA officials appear in "right" and "left" varieties, Beal notes that no text has so far been published explicitly stating that this is a military official's title.[36] He notes that the GAL SIPA title occurs in Old Hittite texts and the GAL NA.GAD title occurs in Middle Hittite and New Hittite texts and postulates that the GAL NA.GAD title was the later version of the GAL SIPA one.[37]

Why were the Hittite GAL NA.GADs active in the military? Beal suggests several

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[32] This is strongly suggested by a Hittite text, *KUB* 48.119 verso, lines 15–18, which reads, "Those who are Lords of an Army separate into two groups; half stand behind Shahurunuwa and half stand behind LUGAL-aš-dLAMMA-a" (published by Giuseppe F. del Monte, "Utruna e la festa *purulli*," *OrAnt* 17 [1978]: 180–81; English translation in Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 382). We know that LUGAL-aš-dLAMMA-a held the title GAL UKU.UŠ of the left, and that Shahurunwa also held the title GAL UKU.UŠ. It would appear that each officer was responsible for half the troops and that Shahurunwa was GAL UKU.UŠ of the right.

[33] *CAD* Š III, p. 271 lists the Babylonian texts, and the Nuzi text appears in *HSS* 15 99:9 and 16, and in *RA* 36 173.

[34] *ADD* 928 i 4 f; *ADD* 308 r 7; *ADD* 1070:2; *ABL* 649:5; A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II* (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), p. 72, line 10.

[35] The individual is Hanikuili, ancestor of a line of scribes, who is mentioned in text *KBo* 6.4.

[36] Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 394.

[37] Was the Hittite NA.GAD a shepherd? While it is clear that the same Sumerogram denotes a herdsman in Akkadian, Beckman has argued that the NA.GAD was "probably involved in some manner with the upper-level management of the herds and flocks in Hatti" (Beckman, "Herding and Herdsmen in Hittite Culture," 40). This explains why the GAL NA.GAD is a high official, rather than a pastoral figure, but this explanation of the NA.GAD's function does not change the basic meaning of his title. The title GAL NA.GAD still means "chief of the herdsmen," even if the NA.GAD's role in Hatti was in fact administrative. Beckman's explanation does not alter the parallel between אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים and the GAL NA.GAD, which depends on similar meanings of the titles.

possible explanations, including that shepherds were organized along military lines or that the shepherds went on campaign and tended the army's meat supply. A definite answer is impossible with the current evidence.

V. Conclusion

Even if one could demonstrate that Beal is wrong and that the title GAL NA.GAD in the Hittite empire did not necessarily indicate that its bearer had a military role, it is clear that several of the officials who carried this title did in fact have a military role. They served simultaneously as GAL NA.GAD and in high military posts. It is entirely possible that a similar pattern obtained in Doeg's case.

Even without the parallel between the GAL NA.GAD and the אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים, the parallel between the *rab rāʿî* and the אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים still stands. Based on this parallel, there is no reason to emend the MT in 1 Sam 21:8. The possibility that the *rab rāʿî* filled a military role should be considered. In one of the Neo-Assyrian texts cited above, the long list of officials at court, the *rab rāʿî* is mentioned in the company of many other military officials. The seventeen officials mentioned before the *rab rāʿî* and the seven officials mentioned after him are all guards, charioteers, or army commanders.

We cannot know the precise role of Doeg, the אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים in Saul's court, but we do know that officials with cognate titles are found in other ancient Near Eastern royal courts. Contact between Mesopotamia and Israel in the Iron Age is well established. Arguments for similarities between Hebrew and Hittite language and literature have been made.[38] Benjamin Mazar argued that the biblical Hittites who dwell in the hill country of Judah were refugees from the thirteenth-century collapse of the Hittite empire, when neo-Hittite kingdoms were established in Syria. Even if one were to reject Mazar's view, parallels from Hittite texts and culture may still shed light on the Bible.[39]

The title "chief of the shepherds" in Israel may have been borrowed from Mesopotamia or Hatti, may have developed in Israel in a manner similar to its development in Hatti, or may have formed part of a common Near Eastern tradition on which all drew. Officials who carry titles with similar meanings elsewhere in the ancient Near East hold military office, and there is no reason to be surprised that it is Doeg, the אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים, who is in charge of dealing with disloyal individuals in 1 Sam 21–22.
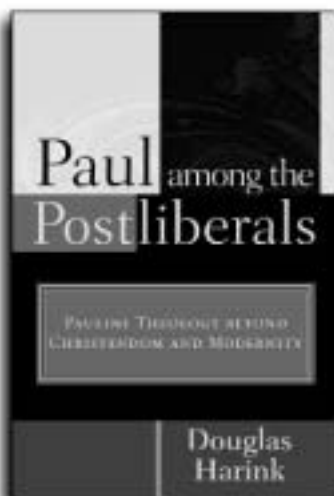
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[38] Chaim Rabin, "Hittite Words in Hebrew," *Or* 32 (1963): 113–39.

[39] Benjamin Mazar, *Early Biblical Period: Historical Studies* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986), 42. Moshe Weinfeld ("Traces of Hittite Cult in Shilo and in Jerusalem," *Shnaton le Mikra* 10 [1986–89]: 107–14) follows Mazar's view in arguing that Israelite cult practices may borrow from those of the Hittites. On the other hand, Moshe Greenberg ("Hittite Royal Prayers and Biblical Petitionary Psalms," in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung fur Walter Beyerlin* [ed. K. Seybold and E. Zenger; Freiburg: Herder, 1994], 15–27) does not base his argument on Mazar's view, but still finds that parallel phenomena in Hittite texts can nevertheless add to our understanding of biblical ones. Moshe Elat finds numerous cases in Samuel where comparisons to Hittite texts add to our understanding of the books of Samuel (*Shmuel ve Khinun ha Melucha be Israel* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998]).

BOOK REVIEWS

Book reviews are also published online at the Society of Biblical Literature's WWW site: http://www.bookreviews.org. For a list of books received by the *Journal,* see http://www.bookreviews.org/books-received.html

Mirjam: Eine feministisch-rhetorische Lektüre der Mirjamtexte in der hebräischen Bibel, by Ursula Rapp. BZAW 317. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002. Pp. xiv + 434. $119.00.

This book, accepted as a doctoral dissertation at the Karl-Franzens University of Graz in 2001, examines biblical passages mentioning the female character Miriam (Exod 15:19–21; Num 12; 20:1–13; Deut 24:8–9; Mic 6:4; Num 26:59//1 Chr 5:29). The step-by-step exegesis combines a feminist perspective with literary and historical critical methodologies; hence the subtitle: "A Feminist-Rhetorical Reading of the Miriamic Texts in the Hebrew Bible." The adjectives "feminist" and "rhetorical" suggest a move beyond the traditional confinement of historical criticism that, even today, continues to dominate German-speaking scholarship. So the boldness of Rapp's methodological project must be appreciated and applauded. In Rapp's scholarly environment, literary criticism does not enjoy widespread or immediate acceptance, and attempts at decentralizing historical criticism are rare. This book promises a refreshing change.

Yet Rapp's effort to integrate literary with historical criticism is altogether too tame. She employs rhetorical criticism to help clarify how ancient writers tried to persuade their audience; as a result, literary analysis does not stand on its own, but contributes to historical meaning. Literary methodology is made subservient to historical criticism, a procedure tolerated in an academic environment that has exhibited considerable suspicion toward exegetical approaches other than historical criticism.

The book is organized in three sections. The first introduces Rapp's rationale and procedures for her investigation of the Miriamic texts and also includes a survey of prominent feminist readings of the passages. The second section analyzes the individual texts, beginning with those that challenge Miriam's position (Num 12; Deut 24:8–9), followed by those that criticize Moses (Num 20:1–13; Exod 15:19–21), and ending with those that place Miriam, Aaron, and Moses on the same level (Mic 6:4; Num 26:59; 1 Chr 5:29). The exegetical analysis of each text is developed according to classical rhetoric, here applied in a shortened four-step fashion. The exegesis begins with a translation of the text and text-critical comments. Then, in the first step, the study focuses on the *dispositio*, that is, an exploration of the literary structure of the text being considered (this is omitted for Deut 24:8–9; Num 26:59; 1 Chr 5:27; and Mic 6:4 because of the

brevity of these passages). Second, Rapp identifies the *elocutio*, that is, an exploration on how the writer sought to emphasize various textual aspects through literary means. For the third step, *memoria*, that is, the exercise of memorizing a text, Rapp acknowledges the difficulties of relating it to biblical literature. Memorizing is not part of exegesis, and so Rapp defines *memoria* as leading "directly to historical reconstruction" (p. 150) and presents instead the results of her source-critical analysis (*Literarkritik*). Again, some brief texts (Deut 24:8–9; Exod 15:19–21; and Mic 6:4) are excluded from the analysis. The fourth step, *actio*, allows Rapp to investigate why and how Exod 15:19–21; Num 12; 20:1–13; and Mic 6:4 illuminate the historical contexts from which they originally emerged. After extensive discussions of each biblical passage according to the four steps, Rapp concludes her work in a third section, which summarizes literary and historical characteristics of the Miriamic texts. The clarity and brevity of this chapter make it perhaps the most readable part of the entire volume.

The exegesis sparkles with countless explanations about text, literary structure, and historical detail, though at points the minutiae of observations become almost overwhelming. Many arguments are obscure, and connections among them remain unclear. Exegetical details stand isolated from one another, even when they provide important insights into the texts. For instance, Rapp examines the significance of changes of location (*Ort*) in Num 12. She observes that the first scene in vv. 1–3 makes no reference to a specific location. Only the divine speech in v. 4 mentions a place: the *ʾōhel môʿēd*, the tent of meeting, the place which at this point is outside the Israelite camp (p. 84). Rapp explains that the conflict between God, Aaron, and Miriam changes from "nowhere" (*Nirgendwo*, p. 82) to the tent outside of the camp. This change from one place to another, Rapp argues, not only refers to altered location but also has social and theological significance: "As long as she [Miriam] does not accept the place assigned to her by YHWH, she is without place even within the camp" (p. 88; my translation). Accordingly, Miriam is either "nowhere" or outside the camp and excluded from communal space with her people and God. Rapp's attention to the detail of location pays off, leading to a valuable explanation. Yet the explanation is not connected to other literary observations, many of which never receive any interpretation at all. In Rapp's literary analysis, form remains mostly disconnected from content, and so meaning eludes one. Countless described literary features turn into isolated facts that do not provide additional insight into the literary, historical, or religious meanings of the Miriamic texts.

The lack of connections between literary observation and meaning is pervasive. For instance, Rapp offers an intriguing literary observation on Num 11:11–15, Moses' complaint to God, a five-part speech (vv. 11b, 12a, 13a, 14a, 15a; see pp. 153–54). Rapp observes that the unit is enclosed by the phrase "to find favor in your eyes" (vv. 11c, 15c) and contains the twice-mentioned "why" in v. 11bc. Yet here the interpretation ends and does not lead to a more general point. Rapp simply continues listing other literary details (pp. 154–58), and a description about the speech's meaning is nowhere to be found.

Though late in coming, a framework for the countless details eventually appears in the conclusion of the book. Rapp explains that the Miriamic texts have to be contextualized within an inner-Israelite conflict during the postexilic period. At the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, two groups wrestled for theological and political authority, which is

reflected in their views about Miriam and Moses. The first group challenged the prophetic authority of Moses and created what Rapp calls the "Miriam friendly" texts (*mirjamfreundliche Texte*): Exod 15:19–21; Num 20; 26:59; and Mic 6:8, favoring Miriam as a prophetic leader. The second group wrote texts that disapprove of Miriam's leadership; these are "critical of Miriam" (*mirjamkritische Texts*, p. 388), such as Num 12 or Deut 24:8–9. Rapp argues that the polarized views of Miriam emerged in the time when Israel tried to reestablish its identity after the Babylonian exile. The "Miriam-friendly" texts were designed by people who stayed in Judah during the exile. Emphasizing Miriam's prophetic voice as an egalitarian and democratic approach to religious faith and practice, these people argued for a pluralistic and nonhierarchical distribution of political and religious power. To them, Miriam's prophetic authority was equal to Moses'. They developed this position in resistance to the returning exilic community that pronounced Moses the only legitimate representative and exclusive speaker for God. Thus, the Miriamic texts reflect a socioreligious struggle that the exilic community eventually won.

This argument, which places the Miriamic texts into an often-neglected time period of biblical history, is intriguing. It challenges Second Temple scholars to consider the significance of female characters, such as Miriam, in the postexilic era. Unfortunately, Rapp does not clearly articulate this striking thesis until the end of her book. She also does not organize her exegetical work accordingly. As a result, her countless observations and exegetical arguments hang in the air, but more importantly, her historical-rhetorical hypothesis does not achieve the centrality it deserves. It is buried in cluttered and obscure explanations organized by the four steps of classical rhetoric.

Rapp's decision to present her exegesis according to classical rhetoric and not according to her thesis is unfortunate for another reason. It simply does not work. Only longer passages, such as Num 12 and 20, adapt to the four steps of *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio*. Other texts fit this model only partially if at all. The awkwardness of relying on classical rhetoric is apparent in the uneven length of each exegetical discussion. The analysis of Num 12 is 162 pages long (pp. 32–193), almost 50 percent of the entire exegetical analysis (a total of 351 pages). The next text, Deut 24:8–9, is treated in only six pages (pp. 194–200), whereas the following examination of Exod 15:19–21 is thirty-one pages long (pp. 201–32). The exegesis of Num 20:1–13 jumps up to ninety-three pages (pp. 233–326), whereas the interpretation of Mic 6:4 is again much shorter, only thirty-four pages (pp. 327–61), and the analysis of Num 26:59 with its parallel in 1 Chr 5:29 is only twenty pages (pp. 362–82). The unevenness of quantity leads to an unevenness of exegetical quality. Rapp seems oblivious to this problem, which makes for a rather cumbersome reading experience. Had she organized her discussion according to her thesis, as laid out in the conclusion of the book, a more balanced argumentation than presented would probably have resulted.

Perhaps the confinements of the dissertation process discouraged Rapp from making her thesis the center of her argumentation and presentation. A revision of the manuscript prior to publication would have easily taken care of this issue. As the book stands now, a reader has to work long and hard to extract the important thesis. Still, Rapp deserves praise: if a reader sticks it out, the Miriamic texts emerge in a new light. They reflect a time in ancient Israel that has not received much attention in biblical

scholarship, and when it has been treated, female characters and imagery have often been woefully neglected. Rapp's work remedies this situation and provides a much-needed corrective, showing that Miriam was a prominent literary figure during the Second Temple period. Miriam stood for a people-oriented and egalitarian worldview and should not, as a result, be reduced to her traditional role in the canon: a famous Israelite woman defeated by her prominent brother. With Rapp's help, the Miriamic texts turn into responses to a socioreligious conflict in the Persian period. Israelites opposing a hierarchical understanding of God's relationship with the people understood Miriam not only as an equal to Aaron and Moses but also as an essential character for God's relationship with Israel. Placed in this context, the report on Miriam's death in Num 20:1–3 is not an arbitrary and negligible fragment but a crucial reference for understanding the larger power dynamics prevalent at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Miriam's death meant defeat for those people who supported social, political, and religious openness and diversity.

Although Rapp does not pose the question, it would be logical to her argument to suggest that contemporary readers would want to reclaim this egalitarian Miriamic tradition for contemporary Judaism and Christianity. As a feminist, Rapp must have had this goal in mind, but as an exegete she does not mention it explicitly. Perhaps the context of her work—a dissertation in German-speaking academia—prohibits the articulation of her interpretive interests. Rapp can hardly be blamed for this: such an articulation would strengthen exegetical work everywhere, but has not yet affected much of the wider world of biblical scholarship and even less so doctoral programs. Rapp's book shows that biblical exegesis misses out if it does not disclose interpretive interests and contexts as an integral part of the interpretation. The hierarchies of Moses are still very much with us, and Rapp's book is yet another piece of the puzzle that tries to dismantle exclusive and discriminatory systems of theory and practice—in this case the polarized Miriamic traditions of the postexilic period in Israelite history.

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Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah, by Peter Ross Bedford. JSJSup 65. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Pp. xiv + 370. $149.00.

Near the beginning of the Achaemenid Persian period, Judeans returned to Jerusalem from exile in Babylon to rebuild the temple of Yahweh. The reconstruction of events and issues surrounding the rebuilding of this temple is one of the more contentious areas of discussion in biblical studies. In *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah,* Bedford seeks to understand the initial return to the land and to unravel questions surrounding the temple reconstruction.

As our primary resources for reconstructing events are a limited number of passages from the OT, in particular Ezra 1–6, Haggai, and Zechariah 1–8, significant analysis of each of these texts is provided. To this is added the consideration of what can be determined regarding early Achaemenid Persian administrative practices with regard to conquered territories and their deities, both how these have been previously understood

and how that reconstruction might be reconsidered. To round out the topics for analysis, Judean hopes for restoration are addressed.

Two major conceptual understandings have dominated interpretations of this period in the life of Judah. First, based largely on the account of events in Ezra 1–6, the repatriated exiles—and only those from the Babylonian captivity—have been defined as a closed group of temple builders. Opposed to this group are the "people of the land," though variously defined. The tone of relationships between the envisioned groups is then described as confrontational and divisive. The second major building block used to imagine life in the period of the initial return of the exiles is a view of Cyrus as patron rebuilder and restorer of temples throughout his realm. This volume challenges both of these assumptions.

Bedford does not believe that the temple was built with the intention of either legitimating or entrenching social divisions. The ideology of conflict said to surround the initial return of exiles from Babylon to Judah is based on notations concerning local opposition to the temple reconstruction project found in the opening chapters of Ezra, so this is where the author begins. The interpretation of Ezra and Nehemiah is contentious, to say the least. Particularly difficult is the claim of Ezra 1:1–4:5 that the building of the temple was marked from the outset with conflict, as the returnees from Babylonian exile sought to establish themselves over against the community resident in the land. Bedford sees this text as placing in the early Achaemenid period concerns that arise in a later social and political context where such contention has become a part of life. Thus he contends that Judean conflict with Samaritans of the fourth century B.C.E., at the earliest, is read back into the initial return of deportees or, more properly, the "return" to Judah of descendants of those exiles. As a result, Bedford views the first chapters of Ezra as historically unreliable.

Another potential source of conflict exists among the exiles in Babylon. Did disputes arising over differing visions of the restoration of temple, land, and kingship harden into intractable dogma? Certainly Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel 40–48 have been cited as evidence to this effect. Bedford's review of Judean literary texts associated with the Babylonian exile does not convince him that "parties" contending for social, political, and religious power can be demonstrated to have arisen within the exilic community during the period in question. While he is not prepared to rule this possibility out for the later exilic community—"It may well be the case that new constructions of Judean identity, which issued in social division, were introduced into Judah from the Babylonian Judean community with the arrival of Nehemiah and/or Ezra" (p. 306)—this is an area he contends needs further study. Such careful chronological and evidentiary distinctions are, overall, characteristic of his study.

No less elusive are efforts to gather information regarding life in Judah in the period between the fall of Jerusalem and the restoration of the city and rebuilding of the temple, which is also largely lost to us. Often an understanding of this period revolves around ideas of an empty land, derived in large part from an ideology developed from theological constructs rather than any historical evidence. Measuring the extent of deportation is riddled with difficulties as are the related questions concerning the population remaining in the land. How is the idea of the remnant understood? Who are the faithful? And if the ideology of the empty land is developed from a prophetic view of

events in which the "deportation and subsequent repatriation of Judeans was in order to display the sovereignty and holiness of Yahweh" (p. 60), what impact should this have on historical reconstruction? Bedford acknowledges the community of Babylonian exiles as theologically important for the message and public demonstration of the preeminence of Yahweh, but concludes that all "attempts to find in exilic period texts the roots of a division between the Babylonian exiles and those who remained in Judah, which supposedly later manifested itself at the repatriation of the exiles, must be judged to be unsuccessful" (p. 61). In fact, he argues, far from being in a pitched battle, rhetorical or otherwise, over the rebuilding of the temple, the two communities found unity in the building project when it was eventually undertaken during the reign of Darius. How does he arrive at such a conclusion? It is at this point that the second major aspect of typical reconstructions of the period comes into play.

More often than not, the repatriation of Judean exiles is viewed as part of an imperial policy undertaken by Cyrus, who assumes the role of patron of the cults of conquered peoples. Two sources of evidence are offered for this dominant perception of Cyrus as the sponsor of temple restorations: (1) the text of Ezra 1–4; (2) decisions made by Cyrus concerning cultic sites in ancient Mesopotamian centers. Having already concluded that the views espoused in the early chapters of Ezra are anachronistic retrojections of later situations, what does a closer examination of the policies of Cyrus reveal? Bedford argues that Cyrus's highly public royal role as patron of ancient Mesopotamian cult sites aligns with earlier Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian examples of the restoration of the cults of Mesopotamian deities by rulers. The point of such rebuilding and refurbishing of cult sites in Mesopotamian tradition was to demonstrate the endorsement of the current ruler by the important ancient gods. Cyrus, in his desire to designate himself as the welcomed successor to a decaying Babylonian empire, portrays himself as chosen by Marduk and appointed to the restoration of order. But even in these examples there is a distinct lack of evidence for the return or repatriation of exiled peoples. Rather, exiled deities are returned to their shrines, and their cultic worship is reconstituted. Bedford notes that the other major example of Persian patronage in the restoration of cults takes place in Egypt at a later date. There the Achaemenid ruler desires to be seen in the role of pharaoh. Much more difficult is assessing the "policy" as it relates to minor centers such as Jerusalem. Is there any evidence of state sponsorship in rebuilding? Or is it more accurate to describe a policy of Persian endorsement of the reestablishment of cult centers, rites, and temples in subject territories at the expense of the worshipers of the deity? Perhaps tax relief and other considerations to enable the subject state might have been forthcoming, but there is a discernible lack of evidence of patronage by the empire.

Bedford finds no evidence in the early period of Achaemenid rule of Judah for the concept of a "cultic community" formed of "theocratists" living under the authority of the Torah and the rule of priests. Nor does he find the associated "parties" advocating one or another form of political agenda transported from exile to be evidenced in the period of temple reconstruction. In fact, he argues that the evidence available from Haggai, Zech 1–8, and Ezra 5–6 would suggest that the problem of restoration of the temple was "not due to putative social division or the interference of Samarian officials, but was rather due in part to lack of interest in the project by the Achaemenid Persian

administration" (p. 302). The other major element involved was timing. When Shesh-bazzar and the first Babylonian exiles were repatriated, what indications of Yahweh's approval for the rebuilding were present? Clearly the destruction was understood by Judean communities to reflect the wrath of Yahweh. Bedford is correct in observing that more than Persian approval of the project would be needed for the reconstruction to take place, especially if the funding for temple rebuilding were to be generated by the Judean population and not underwritten by Persian coffers and pressed forward regardless of local participation. Of critical significance for Judeans would be the authorization of the rebuilding by Yahweh and a builder who was a legitimate ruler.

Clearly, when the rebuilding is undertaken, it is not as a result of a mandate from Darius, who needs to search imperial records to verify an edict by Cyrus allowing the project. What seems to have served as a catalyst for restoration efforts is the decision of the Persian administration to send the Davidide Zerubbabel as governor of Judah. Yet neither Zerubbabel nor the priest Joshua had been sent to rebuild the temple. Rather, their appearance ca. 520 served as an inspiration to prophetic voices. The oracles of Haggai and Zechariah (chs. 1–8) endorse temple reconstruction as fulfilling the plans of Yahweh, thus leading to security and stability for a fragile state. Surely Yahweh's anger is over. Rather than waiting for the "right time" any longer, the prophet Haggai declares that the Judeans are missing the fact that the opportune time has arrived. It is the failure to recognize this and respond appropriately with the rebuilding of the temple that is at the root of Judah's economic and agricultural woes.

The rebuilding of the temple is closely connected to Zerubbabel as the authorized temple builder, as temple building is intimately associated with kingship. So how can this function in the case of Zerubbabel? Is this a sign of a revolt against Persian rule? Bedford notes that as long as no political reality is attached to the dreams of the future, the role of Zerubbabel does not seem to be at issue. Though he does not explore the issue, this would naturally lead one to the observation that a prophetic proclamation need not be understood to be endorsed by the figure acclaimed. Surely such must have been the case on more than one occasion in the life of any of the large empires. Prophetic endorsement, whether by oracular or divinatory means, must have been a regular part of the undercurrent of political life. In any case, Bedford is correct to note that the Persians demonstrate no concern over the role of Zerubbabel, and he suggests that the governor may have displayed a high level of political acumen to use the prophetic endorsements in a manner that stabilized the fragile gains made in the Judean community, while assuring the Achaemenid overseers that no real threat to Persian rule was intended by these enthusiastic proclamations.

Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah is to be commended for its thorough review of the evidence. Even if the reader finds the thesis or elements of it unconvincing, one is certain to encounter new insights and perspectives that will enrich one's thinking and develop further understanding of the topic and the related issues. It is hardly to be expected that this will provide the last word on such a contentious era in the history of Judah, but it is a volume that makes an important contribution to our understanding of the period. A helpful bibliography and indexes to modern authors and biblical and ancient texts serve to round out the volume. Given the wealth of ideas considered, it is unfortunate that the price will put the volume out of reach of many indi-

viduals and smaller libraries. We can only hope that doesn't limit its contribution to scholarly discussion of the era.

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Der Bericht Nehemias: Zur literarischen Eigenart, traditionsgeschichtlichen Prägung und innerbiblischen Rezeption des Ich-Berichts Nehemias, by Titus Reinmuth. OBO 183. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002. Pp. xiii + 383. €62.00

Reinmuth begins his study by noting that, despite other positive developments in the field of Persian-period studies, Nehemiah has not attracted much attention in recent years: "Um Nehemia ist es still geworden" (p. 1). To some extent, this apparent neglect can be explained on the basis of more general hermeneutical shifts within Second Temple studies away from concerns with individuals and their achievements toward social structures or constitutive elements in the religious and political infrastructure of Persian Yehud. Perhaps especially the "perils of autobiography" associated with the first-person narrative of Nehemiah have elicited caution rather than confidence with respect to our ability to reconstruct information about specific historical persons and the texts associated with them. Thus, Reinmuth's book is virtually the first comprehensive study of the Nehemiah narrative since U. Kellermann's *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* (BZAW 102; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), and indeed Kellermann represents an important conversation partner for Reinmuth throughout his book. As such, Reinmuth is to be commended for addressing a topic that has been dormant for over thirty years. On the other hand, one may perhaps wonder why such a study is conducted now and how it is situated among the more recent approaches to biblical literature from the Persian period.

The goal of this book is twofold: a definition of the extent, form, and content of the Nehemia narrative itself and an analysis of its reception within the larger history of tradition (p. 2). Central to this project is Reinmuth's thesis, following H. G. M. Williamson's proposal of a two-stage composition of the Nehemiah source (*Ezra, Nehemiah* [WBC; Waco: Word, 1985], xxiv–xxviii), that the first-person narrative associated with Nehemiah consists of two distinct literary sources. Specifically, Reinmuth suggests a narrative about the construction of the wall (*Mauerbau-Erzählung*—wall-building narrative; Neh 1:1–4:17; 6:1–7:5; 12:27-43) and a memorial composition (*Nehemia-Denkschrift*—Nehemiah-memorial; Neh 5:1–19; 13:4–31). Both compositions share the use of the first person narrative voice, as well as a few key terms or themes such as חרפה (reproach; 1:3; 2:17; 3:36; 4:13; cf. 5:9; 6:13) or the installing (עמד) of reforms (4:3, 7; 7:3; 13:11, 19), but differ more substantially in style, grammar, vocabulary, and orientation. The wall-building narrative exhibits a greater degree of literary coherence, while the texts of the Nehemiah-memorial, characterized by the repeated use of the verb זכר (remember) relate events that are not necessarily thematically connected. Reinmuth posits that the wall-building narrative is the older of the two sources, composed during the governorship of Nehemiah (i.e., contemporary to the events it narrates), while the memorial was

written after his activity during the last decades of the fifth century (p. 336). Furthermore, the two compositions are said to reflect different sociohistorical settings. The wall-building narrative relates a collaborative effort involving the aristocratic and political leadership of Jerusalem as well as the temple priests and the people, while the Nehemiah-memorial reflects a conflict between Nehemiah, the peasant population, and the lower priestly and Levitical groups on the one hand and the aristocracy and political leaders on the other (pp. 335–36).

Regarding a traditio-historical evaluation of the texts at hand, Reinmuth points to several themes that emerge from an analysis of the wall-building narrative and that connect it thematically to other parts of the Bible. There is a sense of God's judgment implicit in the reconstruction of the destroyed city and expressed through the use of key terms such as רעה (misfortune) and חרפה (reproach), as well as the idea of a new beginning for the province of Yehud, which is also evident in the book of Ezra (p. 338). Furthermore, the wall-building narrative appears to have been particularly well received by the authors of Chronicles, which also report of successful building projects and which make use of the same characteristic combination of the key terms בנה (build) and צלח (succeed) (p. 339). The Nehemiah-memorial, on the other hand, which shows Nehemiah as closely linked to the lower priestly classes and critical of the aristocratic leadership, finds resonance in texts that are strongly Torah-oriented, such as the legal texts of the Pentateuch as well as the postexilic redaction of prophetic texts (p. 330; for a convenient list of intertextual links, see pp. 342–43). This Torah-oriented focus, Reinmuth suggests, also dominates the redaction of the Nehemiah narrative as a whole, which likely took place in the late Persian period (pp. 346–47). The Nehemiah tradition was then preserved and perpetuated by priestly rather than prophetic groups, and traditio-historical links to such books as Third Isaiah or Malachi cannot be convincingly supported, as has been proposed in particular by Kellermann.

Methodologically, Reinmuth's study is characterized by the analysis of key words and their function in Nehemiah and other biblical texts. The use of language (*Sprachgebrauch*) in its syntactical, semantic, and structural aspects (p. 19) is central to his reading of the text. Nevertheless, Reinmuth's general orientation is decidedly diachronic, as one would expect from a study concerned with the redaction of sources and the history of traditions. A significant theoretical influence with regard to exegesis is O. H. Steck (*Exegese des Alten Testaments: Leitfaden der Methodik* [12th ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989]), who emerges as a leading voice in Reinmuth's discussion of new approaches to literary criticism (pp. 25–28). Also noted are J. A. Sanders on canonical criticism (*Canon and Community* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984]) and M. Fishbane on intertextuality and tradition criticism (*Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1985]). He occasionally refers to synchronic approaches to biblical narrative, such as studies by Eskenazi, Sternberg, or Clines, but otherwise he makes relatively little use of what is generally identified as new literary criticism among English-speaking scholars.

Reinmuth's book has a certain commentary-like quality. He reads the texts considered for analysis sequentially in exegetical units, with this order appearing in the book, rather than grouping them in two categories according to his division of sources into wall-building narrative and memorial composition. The advantage of this approach is

that is presents a sharper contrast between the two compositional units by highlighting the stylistic and rhetorical ruptures in the narrative, lending greater force to Reinmuth's two-source theory. Each exegetical unit contains a working translation with text-critical notes; an analysis of its structure, style, and use of language; an examination of its reception and its place in the history of traditions; as well as a concluding interpretation of the passage with regard to its significance within its respective compositional source. Included are also two analyses of Neh 3:1–32 and 10:31–40, which Reinmuth does not consider part of either the wall-building narrative or the memorial composition, but which provide exegetical cohesion and the opportunity to develop ideas about the roster of people involved in the construction of the wall, the relationship between Nehemiah's reforms, and the development of Torah respectively. Only the list of returnees in Neh 7 (cf. Ezra 2) and the material dealing with Ezra and the covenant renewal ceremony in Neh 8:1–10:30 are not included in Reinmuth's study.

On two occasions the sequential reading is interrupted by chapters dealing with specific intertextual relationships, which represent perhaps some of the most interesting explorations in this book, since they examine specific instances of the traditio-historical connection between Nehemiah and the legal and prophetic traditions of the Hebrew Bible. The first of these intertextual comparisons looks at the issue of the remission of debt and the problem of debt-slavery in Neh 5 in relation to Lev 25, Deut 15, and Jer 34 (pp. 160–82). A close reading of these texts and their use of key vocabulary suggests, according to Reinmuth, that Neh 5 represents a positive foil for Jer 34, where the same problem of social injustice prompts Jeremiah to issue an oracle of doom. Furthermore, Lev 25 appears to presuppose Neh 5, suggesting that Nehemiah's reforms had a significant impact on postexilic legislation (p. 182; cf. pp. 218–19). The second intertextual exploration examines Isa 58:12; 61:4; Amos 9:11; 9:14; and Mic 7:11, with regard to the idea that the building of the wall in Nehemiah represents the fulfillment of postexilic prophecy (pp. 234–46). As mentioned earlier, Reinmuth argues that the evidence for such an idea is inconclusive, further supporting his claim that the traditio-historical impact of Nehemiah is to be found in priestly and legislative rather than prophetic circles.

Reinmuth's analysis raises some significant sociological questions. It is perhaps all the more surprising that this book offers very little discussion of social-scientific categories or theories, a discourse that has been very prominent in other recent studies of Persian period literature. This disparity between broad sociological conclusions and fairly narrow literary evidence is perhaps one of the more problematic aspect of this study. Similarly, his use of synchronic data (key terms, use of language, etc.) to support diachronic conclusions about composition, redaction, and tradition is not without its difficulties. Although Reinmuth's critiques are apt and relevant, especially his assessment of Kellermann's work, and his suggestions are certainly intriguing and often quite plausible, he relies too heavily on the presence or absence of key terms or term clusters to provide a solid foundation for his larger conclusions. As a result, the intertextual links he seeks to establish often appear somewhat overstated. One may wonder, for example, if he is not reading too much into the implication of the occurrence of such terms as בנה and צלח or the installing (עמד) of reforms. Even on a larger, thematic level, his judgments appear occasionally too strong for the evidence at hand. Are two negative portray-

als of Solomon (Neh 13:18, 26) enough to suggest that the text is implicitly rejecting any possible hopes for the reestablishment of monarchic rule in Judah (cf. p. 345)? Even though this idea is in itself quite probable, and also expressed by other studies, more evidence would have been desirable to support such a claim. Similarly, a more thorough sociological investigation of such concepts as Torah or prophecy would have been appropriate to strengthen an otherwise purely internal body of evidence. Finally, this study could have benefited from a more explicit distinction between the texts associated with the figure of Nehemiah and the figure of Nehemiah himself. While Reinmuth's arguments do not hinge on the historicity of Nehemiah, his assumption that at least the wall-building narrative is probably an eyewitness report by the governor of Yehud himself is not necessarily helpful. Suggestions that the roster of people who participated in the construction was an independent literary source that was likely included in the wall-building narrative by Nehemiah himself (p. 86) are without any historical proof and do more to weaken the credibility of a study that is otherwise concerned with internal, literary evidence. Nevertheless, the questions raised by Reinmuth are relevant and intriguing, and one can hope that this study will stimulate other investigations into the sociology of the book and the intertextual relationships between the book of Nehemiah and other parts of the Hebrew Bible, especially the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch. Much work remains to be done in this area, and it is not implausible to expect that future studies will confirm many of Reinmuth's conclusions.

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4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition, by Gregory L. Doudna, JSPSup 35. Copenhagen International Series 8. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. Pp. 813. $185.00.

This book is a published version of the author's *disputats* that was submitted to the University of Copenhagen. Doudna's study should generate considerable controversy since it uses 4QpNah (4Q169) to propose that the Dead Sea Scrolls were composed in a single generation and deposited in the caves surrounding Qumran in 40 B.C.E.

Doudna's study of 4QpNah consists of nineteen chapters, divided into three sections, with two appendices (one on paleography and the other on the identity of the Teacher of Righteousness). In the first section, "Text Reconstruction and Analysis I," Doudna presents a careful and meticulous philological study, reconstruction, and translation of 4QpNah. This section contains much valuable information, because Doudna was granted access to J. M. Allegro's personal papers pertaining to 4QpNah, which Allegro published in DJD 5, as well as the photographs that John Strugnell consulted in writing his review of DJD 5. Doudna was able to compare this evidence with the actual pesher in the Rockefeller Museum. In the final weeks before publication, Doudna incorporated several readings in his footnotes from S. Berrin's dissertation ("4QpNah (4Q169, Pesher Nahum): A Critical Edition with Commentary, Historical Analysis, and In-depth Study of Exegetical Method" [Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2001]). Much of the material in part 1 is repeated in part 2, "Text Reconstruction and Analysis II," which contains another reconstruction and translation of 4QpNah and a few chapters on

the pesher's historical background. Part 3, "On the Eve of the Roman Conquest," is an enlarged presentation of the historical material found in part 2, much of which is then repeated in two lengthy appendices. The study concludes with Doudna's reconstructed Hebrew text, English translation, and a photograph of 4QpNah. Because Doudna's textual analyses and historical discussions are repeated throughout the volume, the present review will simply provide a few examples that illustrate his methodology.

The greatest contribution of the present volume is its detailed examination and description of 4QpNah. It includes numerous charts and extended discussions of column length, line spacing, letter size, and the placement of vacats. Doudna's analysis of scribal behavior is particularly useful for evaluating the likelihood of proposed restorations. One example is 4QpNah 1–2 II, 9–11, where Strugnell proposes that the word *mmnw* in line 10 is a variant from all known texts of Nahum and restores a lengthy uninterrupted quotation from Nah 1:5–6a to complete the missing portions of these lines. Doudna's precise measuring of the spacing in this column demonstrates that this word, and the others visible in lines 10 and 11, are in the exact positions expected if the quotation had continued. For this reason Doudna accepts Strugnell's restoration as convincing (pp. 306–14) and includes it in his text of 4QpNah (p. 757; earlier in the book, however, Doudna does not adopt Strugnell's proposal since he writes that there is little to support it over Allegro's shorter restoration [p. 106]).

Doudna dates both the composition and scribal copy of 4QpNah to the mid-first century B.C.E., but suggests that the interval between scribal generations was rather short. In Appendix A, Doudna rejects the precision of F. M. Cross's typological sequence of handwriting styles (he believes that writing styles varied widely [p. 675]) and the validity of the recent radiocarbon examinations of the Qumran texts. He proposes that all the Dead Sea Scrolls were deposited in the caves in 40 B.C.E. by men associated with Hyrcanus II (i.e., the Teacher of Righteousness) at the time of the Parthian invasion. Doudna's rejection of the traditional paleographical and radiocarbon datings of the Dead Sea Scrolls frequently influences his extensive reconstructions and interpretations of the lacunae in 4QpNah.

Doudna claims to have discovered a new fragment (4Q282i, which he names "4Q Crucifixion Fragment" [pp. 409–33]) that he uses to interpret the famous passage regarding the crucifixion of the "Seekers after Smooth Things" by the "Lion of Wrath" in 4QpNah 3–4 I, 6–8. He uses 4Q282i to restore "call" (*qrʾ*) instead of "fear" (*yrʾ*) at 4QpNah 3–4 I, 8. While this restoration is very likely, Doudna proposes that this word in 4QpNah does not introduce a quotation. Rather, he suggests that the lamed of "hanged" (*ltlwy*) in line 8 marks the one hung alive as the object of direct address. Doudna then suggests that the phrase "accursed by God" (*mqwll ʾl*) found in Deut 21:23 was deliberately omitted by the scribe of 4QpNah because it could have been read as "the one cursing God." Based upon this dubious hypothetical addition to 4QpNah, Doudna understands this section to be a prediction that the "Seekers after Smooth Things" will be crucified in the future, like traitors of the past, "for one hanged alive on [a stake is cal]led {'accursed of God'}" (p. 430).

Upon close examination, however, Doudna's reconstruction is unlikely. He corrects J. Fitzmyer's (DJD 36, p. 222) reading of "my virgin" (*by btwlty*) in 4Q282i to an unattested piel form of *tlh* and translates line 2 of this fragment as "by him when he hung up/when he was hung up" (*bw btwltw*). Doudna's alternative suggestion that this

verb may be a pual is unlikely since it assumes that the short vowel is indicated by a mater and that the long vowel of the infinitive is written defectively. Therefore, his use of 4Q282i as the basis for associating the verb *qr* with *tlh* is improbable. In his translation, moreover, Doudna proposes that the verb forms of 4QpNah should be understood "as they would be read if encountered in similar types of sentences in biblical Hebrew" (p. 62). Therefore, he interprets the entirety of col. 1 of frgs. 3–4 as a description of "what is to come" (p. 606).

Although Doudna regards cols. 3–4 of 4QpNah as a prediction of future events, he also proposes that Demetrius and Antiochus of lines 2–3 and the reference to something "in Israel of old" in line 8 refer to the past (pp. 389–433, 601–7). He briefly compares the pesharim to ancient methods of divination to support his contention that they do not contain *ex eventu* prophecy (pp. 57–61). Doudna's insistence that 4QpNah predicts future events leads to some questionable historical identifications of this text's sobriquets. He accepts the traditional association of the Kittim with the Romans, but proposes that the "Lion of Wrath" is Pompey, Manasseh (as well as the "Wicked Priest" and "Spouter of Lies") is Aristobulus II, and the Teacher of Righteousness is Hyrcanus II.

Doudna's translation of the entirety of col. 1 of frgs. 3–4 as a description of "what is to come" (p. 606) is problematic. He believes that 4QpNah was written just prior to Pompey's 63 B.C.E. siege of Jerusalem because it erroneously predicts that the Romans will crucify Jews. In order to support this interpretation, Doudna identifies two groups of "Seekers after Smooth Things" in 4QpNah, since he maintains that the "Lion of Wrath" and Demetrius were not contemporaries. The first group of "Seekers after Smooth Things" are the leaders in Jerusalem, perhaps priests, who conspired with Demetrius III to overthrow Alexander Jannaeus in 88 B.C.E. The second are the current "Seekers after Smooth Things," who belong to the regime of Aristobulus II of 63 B.C.E. (pp. 658–69). According to Doudna, the author of 4QpNah compares the latter "Seekers after Smooth Things" to their earlier counterparts to predict their crucifixion by the forthcoming Gentile "Lion of Wrath." Because Doudna regards the testimony of Josephus as biased and unreliable, he believes that 4QpNah should take precedence over Josephus's accounts of this period. Unfortunately, Doudna omits the valuable study of E. Regev ("How Did the Temple Mount Fall to Pompey?" *JJS* 58 [1997]: 276–89), which convincingly demonstrates that this section of 4QpNah recounts the defeat of "Manasseh" (i.e., Sadducees), and the deportation of Aristobulus II and his supporters in the wake of Pompey's conquest as documented by Josephus. The significance of *Psalms of Solomon* 8, which likewise corroborates Josephus's account of Pompey's deportation of Aristobulus, is also largely ignored in the present volume.

Doudna uses his reconstruction of 4QpNah to reinterpret the entire occupational history of the Qumran settlement. He examines the archaeological evidence to propose a discontinuity between the inhabitants of Qumran living at the site in periods Ib and II. The movement of the dining room (L 77) to the second-story level during period II is one of many examples that convincingly demonstrate that Qumran remained a sectarian settlement in period II. Doudna's extensive rebuttal of J. Magness's ceramic dating of the Qumran pottery, including the scroll jars, and her stratigraphical analysis of the Qumran settlement (see now J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002]) reflect a rudimentary knowledge of the archaeological literature and should be read with caution.

Doudna's book is valuable for its history of scholarship and detailed analysis of the actual text of 4QpNah. Its reconstruction of this pesher, however, rests upon the author's untenable thesis that the Dead Sea Scrolls were written in a single generation and deposited in the caves in 40 B.C.E. Doudna's more questionable historical reconstructions perhaps could have been avoided if he had devoted more attention to the issue of genre, particularly the question of how the author of 4QpNah understood Scripture. His insistence that 4QpNah presents a more accurate account of first-century B.C.E. events than Josephus's writings fails to recognize that none of these works contain objective historical data. Moreover, it is erroneous to use the pesharim as a dating tool for deciphering the stratigraphy of the Qumran settlement. Until the revision of Allegro's DJD 5 edition of 4QpNah by G. J. Brooke and M. Bernstein appears, scholars wishing a more conservative critical text with more cautious restorations should consult J. H. Charlesworth's just released volume of pesharim (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* [Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 6B; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck; Louisville; Westminster John Knox, 2002]).

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The Pharisees and the Sadducees: An Examination of Internal Jewish History, by Julius Wellhausen. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Mercer Library of Biblical Studies 4. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001. Pp. viii + 115. $30.00.

The Pharisees and the Sadducees is the first English translation from the German original *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer: Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte* (1874; second German edition 1924), volume 4 in the new Mercer Library of Biblical Studies series. The translator, Mark E. Biddle, is professor of OT at the Baptist Theological Seminary at Richmond. His two earlier publications (*A Redaction History of Jeremiah 2:1–4:2* and *Polyphony and Symphony in Prophetic Literature: Rereading Jeremiah 7–20* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996]), as well as three volumes of translated works (Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann, *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 1997; Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1997; Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint and Christian Scripture: In Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*, 2001), sufficiently demonstrate his facility with ancient languages and critical issues.

Although the editors claim that Wellhausen's short work on Pharisees and Sadducees "provides a firm foundation for understanding Judaism's influential Pharisees and Sadducees and a keen analysis of their importance in the context of the beginnings of Christianity . . . a masterpiece of interpretation and representation," this reviewer could not disagree more. True, it is indisputable that "the influence of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) as Orientalist and biblical historian and critic is legendary." In my opinion, however, this NT "essay" should not be classed "among the great works of theological investigation" but rather among the extant damning evidences of what has come to be known in post-Holocaust academic circles as "higher anti-Semitism."

The Pharisees and the Sadducees is a period piece that is deficient (see Louis

Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of their Faith* [2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1962]) or defective (see Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship [1937–1980]* [New York: Garland, 1986], 547) in a variety of areas. It contains theories no longer accepted as true, perspectives corrected in post-Holocaust light, and opinions that have greater relevance to the early historiography of German anti-Semitic writings of higher criticism.

Furthermore, it also includes transmission errors and omissions, which, while perhaps less serious than difficulties pertaining to the message conveyed, are nonetheless extensive and continuous throughout the book. First, the editor's preface indicates that the translator "routinely favors us with a translation of Wellhausen's Greek citations, either in parentheses following the Greek or in a footnote" as one of the services provided to the reader. But we note many untranslated texts in Greek (e.g., p. 1 line 14; p. 6 line 2 [subsequently supplied in a repetition of text]; p. 15 lines 3 and 18) as well as in Hebrew (e.g., p. 23 lines 12–13). One also wonders why on occasion the Hebrew letters appear in the text with a transliteration and sometimes a translation into English (e.g., p. 18 line 17) when for the most part only a transliteration of the Hebrew is supplied. Second, spelling errors are sufficiently frequent in several languages (e.g., English: p. 22 line 19, "piece" for "peace"; German: p. iv line 10, "Geshcichte" for "Geschichte"; Greek: p. 6 line 14, where "αὐτω" lacks the iota subscript; p. 7 n. 5, where "γραμμάτεις" lacks a final sigma), as is the matter of word choice (e.g., "was" for "what," p. 79 note 14). Third, the translator incorrectly identifies as paraphrase of a nonreferenced text of Josephus (*Ant.* 13.288 [13:10:5a]) what Niese supplies as primary text, indicating Wellhausen's choice is not paraphrase but textual variant (*Flavii Iosephi Opera* 3:205). One is left with the impression that a publication deadline superseded careful proofreading of the final draft.

Wellhausen's Pharisees are "repugnant," "demagogues," of "inquisitorial character," incessantly "judging and correcting," "very unattractive" models of religious leadership, who "repaid the 'rabble' for their reverence with the most vile scorn." Furthermore, Wellhausen's portrait of their religion is less kind, but equally inaccurate—"a jumble of regulations" "completely impossible" for the majority to practice, in which "Jewish educational arrogance had its most outstanding representatives." Is the reader to believe that at the time of this writing Wellhausen did not know that modern Judaism is based on an extension of the Judaism developed by the Pharisees of which he speaks? The Mishnah and Talmud were products of Pharisaic Judaism. Wellhausen's opinion of each is expressly clear. The Mishnah, in offering its extensive ideas, "are of the most dubious value!" (Wellhausen's punctuation, p. 113). Of the Talmud, Wellhausen adds, "it does not result that one simply puts into circulation what the rabbis have dug from the pit and refrains from testing it. The Talmud is not a systematic whole, but a chaos of details" (p. 109). While addressing the topic of the second theocracy, Wellhausen quotes A. Hausrath on consequences created by the Pharisees: "They dug a grave for the state, into which even the temple and school sunk." To this Wellhausen added his own further damaging assessment, "At least the school, however, continued to haunt quite vigorously from its grave: Mishnah, Gemara, and the whole of Jewish scholasticism witness to this" (p. 98 n. 38). Even of Josephus, who identified himself with the Pharisees (*Vita* 12), to whom he refers quite extensively whenever eliciting Josephus's (Jewish) support for his own theories, Wellhausen cautions, "One must not permit oneself to be misled"

(p. 47), further designating that with which he disagrees in Josephus as "literary maneuver" (p. 69). Still, for Wellhausen, Josephus receives higher marks than Judaism's Talmud: "*bSanh* 19a so disfigures Josephus's account that, not Shemaiah, but his rabbinic predecessor Simeon b. Shetach, to whom the Talmud attributes everything (*sic*), appears as the president in this famed session" (pp. 27–28 n. 17). Wellhausen admits to using the NT as a partial corrective to Josephus, as well as to the canon and apocrypha of the OT, which he deems to be "a-more-than-superficial understanding of Jewish history prior to, in, and after the exile" (p. 114). We might further note that Wellhausen's statement, "the study of Josephus has been severely neglected," while true in Wellhausen's day, is no longer the case in the modern academic world (for example, see Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)* and the Brill Josephus Project [ten volumes projected]).

Jewish scholars such as Solomon Schechter had already challenged German anti-Semitic higher critical writings before the Holocaust. More recently, E. Fackenheim, perhaps naïvely, dismissed the present need to address Wellhausen's anti-Semitic bias:

> I take it that in this day and age it is no longer necessary for me, anyhow a layman in these matters, to wrestle with such as Wellhausen. My friends in the field assure me that Biblical critics of our time no longer approach the "Old Testament" in the debunking spirit so popular in the nineteenth century: and, more importantly, that they no longer bring to their supposedly unbiased scholarly activities an evolutionary scheme in which a moribund "late" Judaism at the time of Jesus is a foregone conclusion, as is its supersession by a Christianity "higher" in the evolutionary process. (Emil L. Fackenheim, *The Jewish Bible after the Holocaust: A Re-reading* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990], 9)

While Fackenheim speaks to Wellhausen's mythologizing early Jewish history, the theory and prejudice to which he refers can be readily found throughout *The Pharisees and the Sadducees*. Further, Wellhausen frequently begs off giving any explanation for pejorative stereotypes of Jews of antiquity and their beliefs, using condescending phrases like "it is well known that," "there is no use to take up the details that only consistently demonstrate the same thing," and like terminology. With the appearance of this translation, it seems that Fackenheim is wrong.

Finally, Wellhausen presumes a theology of supersession, portraying "the synagogue of the scribes" as "a true *ecclesiola in ecclesia* (church within a church)" (p. 8), transforming the biblical Chronicles into church history (as noted by the translator, p. 8 n. 12), ascribing "ecclesial" rather than national motives to Pharisees (p. 97, from an earlier reference to J. Scaliger, "not a *factio politica*, but a *societas ecclesiastica*," p. 75 n. 11), and otherwise adopting a christianized interpretive lens to read and evaluate Jews and Judaism. While it may have been common in his day, or an invention that Wellhausen contributed to his generation, it is less than helpful that such a misleading perspective be advanced today. Wellhausen candidly boasts that "(T)he New Testament, on which I have very deliberately relied here, naturally accentuates the characteristics of the Pharisees against which Christian opposition was directed" (p. 16). In modern scholarship, such matters have already been adequately addressed nearly two decades ago (e.g., Peter Richardson and Stephen G. Wilson, eds., *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*

[2 vols.; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986]). Wellhausen also admits to relying heavily on his own interpretation of the NT and Josephus, especially the latter's *Antiquities*, to reconstruct internal Jewish history during the period of Early Judaism.

In this reviewer's opinion, readers would better spend their time in the NT, Josephus's *Antiquities*, post-Holocaust writings on the topic (e.g., Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees* [Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1988]; Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, 2 vols.), and Jewish reconstructions of their own history (e.g., Jacob Neusner, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* [Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972]), in a spirit of post-Holocaust sensitivity to Jews and Judaism, both ancient and present. While the supersessionist's day is clearly not over, surely there must be some lessons we have learned in the past fifty years.

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The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew, by J. R. C. Cousland. NovTSup 102. Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 2002. Pp. xiv + 365. $122.00.

Among the central issues in the study of the Gospel of Matthew is how its relationship to first-century Judaism is to be conceived. Unlike several recent attempts to illuminate this problem from sociological or historical vantage points, this book, which began as a doctoral thesis under Ronald Piper at the University of St. Andrews (1992), engages it through a narrative- and redaction-critical study. The bulk of the book is devoted to an analysis of Matthew's crowds as a literary construct, but Cousland is particularly interested in the social-historical implications of that analysis. The result is a reconstruction that mediates between those who see in Matthew a Christian Judaism and those who find in it indications of a past break with Judaism: Matthew has decisively broken with the Pharisaic leadership of "formative Judaism" but not with the Jewish people as a whole.

The first chapter outlines the central problem the book will address: the "Jekyll and Hyde" (p. 8) dimension of Matthew's crowds. Like the disciples, they are repeatedly described as "following" Jesus, and manifest a number of apparently favorable reactions to him. At the same time, they are explicitly contrasted with the disciples as being entirely without understanding (Matt 13). More oddly, the latter evaluation comes soon after the crowds, in explicit contrast with the Pharisees, exhibit their first inkling of Jesus' messianic status (12:23). In fact, the crowds will go on to acclaim Jesus as both Son of David and prophet at the "Triumphal Entry," only to then emerge abruptly as key participants in his arrest and execution. Cousland seeks to replace the facile emphasis on one or another of these features, which characterizes past treatments, with a comprehensive study that makes sense of the ambivalence in terms of Matthew's literary aims.

He begins in part 2 (chs. 2–4) with the issue of the crowds' identity. That Matthew's crowds serve as a distinct corporate character rather than a series of disparate, local crowds is suggested by his distinctive handling of them, particularly vis-à-vis Mark, his chief source (ch. 2). In contrast to Mark's variegated terminology, *ochlos* "is virtually the only word" used of them by Matthew (p. 39). More importantly, those traits

that define the crowds *qua* crowds in Mark ("gathering," "crushing," "milling about," etc.) have been largely excised in favor of more stylized characterizations (e.g., "following" Jesus, considering Jesus and the Baptist as prophets). Particularly through repetitive use of these latter, Matthew has effectively endowed the crowds with "a distinctive and unified *persona*" analogous to that of a Greek chorus (p. 45). Chapter 3 argues that this corporate character is Jewish; the geographical dimensions of the text, in fact, suggest that its constituents have come from various regions of an idealized (Davidic) Eretz Israel.

Matthew's interest in the crowds, in short, is less "historical or mimetic" than "literary and theological" (pp. 49ff.). They represent one constituent of Israel, with the Jewish leaders, from whom Matthew scrupulously distinguishes them, as the other (ch. 4). This distinction is fundamental to "Matthew's theologizing of the crowds," and likely originated from the description of them as "sheep without a shepherd" in Mark 6:34, read in light of the pastoral imagery used in the Jewish scriptures (p. 93). Ezekiel 34, which exemplifies the common use of such imagery to depict Israel's suffering at the hands of corrupt leadership, was probably especially influential. In any event, this metaphor "becomes programmatic for Matthew's portrayal of the crowds," who "are no longer simply the fortunate bystanders to Jesus' public ministry" as in Mark. In Matthew's hands, they have become, at the same time, "the present exemplars of the covenant people of God, who . . . have suffered from bad leadership and await divine intervention" (p. 98).

Part 3 (chs. 5–8), which examines the "favourable" aspects of the crowds' characterization, develops this point extensively. The crowds, as "lost sheep," are the objects of the ministry undertaken by Jesus and continued by his disciples (ch. 5). As such, their "chief trait" emerges as "overwhelming need," and "the most fundamental element" of Jesus' ministry to them is healing (p. 122). Their "following" of Jesus arises simply from "instinctive" need; they are thus fundamentally different from the disciples, whose following, initiated by Jesus' explicit calls, is attended by understanding, radical commitment, and active participation in (not passive reception of) Jesus' ministry (ch. 7). The crowds thus fall between the Jewish leaders' rejection and the disciples' commitment in a spectrum of possible responses to Jesus. Furthermore, Matthew charts "a clear progression" toward the disciples on the part of the crowds: "from amazement with the miracles (9:33) to an interest in the doer of the miracles (12:23)," and from pondering (12:23) to positive declaration (21:9) of his status as "the Son of David" (pp. 141ff.; cf. ch. 8).

Part 4 (chs. 9–11) analyzes their "unfavourable" dimensions. Essentially, this amounts to an analysis of their role in the climactic events in Jerusalem—their acclamation, ironically, of Jesus as prophet at the "Triumphal Entry" (ch. 9) and their part in the passion narrative (ch. 10)—plus the pessimistic evaluation of them registered in Matt 13 (ch. 11). The Triumphal Entry emerges as "a pivotal hinge point within the gospel narrative" (p. 216). Cousland detects, in the shift from the crowds' climactic acclamation of Jesus as "Son of David" (21:9) to the subsequent designation "prophet" (21:11), a transition from the "lost sheep" paradigm that has thus far controlled their depiction of the *topos* of the "violent fate of the prophets" (p. 225). The identification of Jesus as prophet invokes a different model that will dominate the remainder of the narrative, framing the relationship between Jesus and Jerusalem: Jesus will offer a prophetic denunciation of Jerusalem and its temple, while Jerusalem (including the crowds) will play its part as

prophet-killer. The crowds' sudden about-face, therefore, signals not the introduction of a distinct Jerusalem crowd, but a realignment of the "lost sheep" with the wicked shepherds to play out the decisive scene in Matthew's salvation-historical drama. While Matthew explains this abrupt turnaround, in part, with reference to the persuasiveness of the Jewish leaders (27:20), the larger sequence of events, including the crowds' seemingly inexplicable participation in the arrest of Jesus, is cast, rather chillingly, with an air of divine inevitability: "all of this has taken place," regardless, "so that the scriptures of the prophets may be fulfilled" (26:56). In any event, once the crowds take up the Jewish leaders' cause, the two distinct corporate characters merge in 27:25 to accept, as "the whole people" (*pas ho laos*), responsibility for Jesus' death.

Chapter 11 addresses the starkly pessimistic assessment of the crowds in Matthew 13, which "poses serious problems for interpreting the crowds" (p. 257ff.) given their basically sympathetic portrayal as lost sheep—and indeed, their apparent progress—elsewhere prior to the passion narrative. Cousland finds the best solution to this apparent anomaly by positing, at this point in the narrative, a particularly forceful intrusion of extratextual referents from Matthew's social world into his story world. Matthew's primary concern here is not "the crowds" who follow Jesus in the story, but those for whom the latter are generally "transparent": the Jewish masses who have failed to join Matthew's community.

This issue of the crowds' reflection of social realities from the author's world is taken up at length in the final chapter. Much like those at the narrative level, the "transparent crowds" are taken to be the Jewish people "poised midway between two groups, except now the two groups are the church and emergent Pharisaism" (p. 276; cf. "emergent rabbinate" [p. 288]; "formative Judaism" [p. 287]). As such, they "highlight Matthew's relationship to Judaism" (p. 293). Juxtaposing the Vineyard parable, where the kingdom is transferred from the Jewish leaders to a new *ethnos*, with the harsh appraisal of the crowds' ability to understand the "mysteries of the kingdom" in the Parables Discourse, Cousland argues that Matthew portrays all Israel as "condemned," with his own community (including the fruits of its Gentile mission) being "the new people of God" (p. 285). An important distinction, nonetheless, is drawn: while the kingdom has been taken away from the Jewish *leaders*, the *crowds* simply do not yet possess it, and may still. The upshot of all this is that Matthew has consciously divorced himself from "formative Judaism," but is nonetheless embroiled in a "custody battle" for the Jewish people (p. 287), whose collective repentance he in fact anticipates.

Cousland has produced a solid analysis of a neglected "character" in Matthew's story, and shed new light on other aspects of its narrative in the process. While readers will inevitably disagree in matters of detail—e.g., the extent to which the depiction of Jesus' ministry to the crowds was influenced by Ezek 34 in particular; or whether the "therapeutic shepherd" was an "established topos" (pp. 120ff.)—the appeal to different controlling paradigms to explain the crowds' abrupt turnaround in the passion narrative is in the main quite illuminating. The weakest point of the analysis, to be sure, is the treatment of Matthew 13. Particularly given the impression, developed over chs. 2–10, that Matthew has carefully and deliberately cultivated the crowds as an important "character" in his narrative, this reader was quite unprepared for Cousland's hasty retreat from the narrative world to dispense with this potential challenge to his schematic reading. Indeed, the ascription of the crowds' inability to understand, ultimately, God's will

(13:11; cf. p. 253) seems quite a good fit with the narrative time, when they seemingly *must* participate in Jesus' execution "so that the scriptures of the prophets may be fulfilled." Might not the passage serve simply to make it clear that, given his knowledge of the divinely scripted plan, Jesus (unlike, perhaps, the reader!) would not be caught off-guard by the crowds' turnaround, even despite their apparent progress?

Cousland's delineation of the implications of this analysis for the question of Matthew's "*intra-* or *extra-muros*" status vis-à-vis Judaism (p. 304), while suggestive in some respects, is somewhat less effective. His basic point that "Matthew has irrevocably broken with the leadership but not with the people as a whole" (p. 304) would seem to be generally consistent with those who have understood the Gospel's trenchant attack on the Pharisees in terms of a struggle between Jewish groups: the hostility that an exclusivistic, peripheral group feels toward a competitor that is becoming increasingly central (e.g., J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990]; A. Saladarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994]). Indeed, the competitive claim of superior leadership implicit in Matthew's "sheep without a shepherd" motif dovetails quite nicely with this scenario. Nonetheless, Cousland ultimately resists classifying Matthew within Judaism: Matthew itself "is *extra-muros*," even if "very much focussed on those who are still *intra-muros*" (p. 304). This conclusion hangs largely on two hooks. The first is the interpretation of the fruit-producing *ethnos* referred to at the close of the Vineyard parable as contrasting with Israel as a whole. To be sure, many would interpret this difficult passage in this way; but Cousland's reading, which is alive to Matthew's specification of the chief priests and the Pharisees as the target of the parable, requires a subtle distinction between their and the crowds' relation to the kingdom that creates—but does not address—a new problem: In what sense was the kingdom already possessed by Israel's leaders, but not its people? More fundamental is an apparent terminological slide from "emergent rabbinate" and "formative Judaism" to, simply, "Judaism." The terms are not clearly defined relative to one another, but Cousland seems to use them interchangeably, thus implying an outright identification of "Judaism" with rabbinic leadership that is problematic even in the decreasingly diverse post–70 C.E. situation. Would *any* group that challenged the rabbis' leadership at this time have ceased, thereby, to be "Jewish"? In any event, the absence of any discussion of what, empirically, the Matthean group's "conscious dissociat[ion of] itself from formative Judaism" (p. 287) entails leaves Cousland's argument too abstract to be particularly helpful. How did they interpret the Torah, and what impact did their interpretation have on the non-Jews who joined their group? From the other side: If Matthew is "standing outside, trying to pull [the Jewish people] out of the building" (p. 304), what aspects of their "Jewishness" would they be required to relinquish at the door?

This is an illuminating study that significantly advances the discussion of the crowds' role in Matthew, and thus makes an important contribution to the study of Matthew's narrative more generally. For those interested in the specific question of Matthew's relationship to Judaism, this study furnishes, if not a wholly compelling statement, some raw materials that should prove useful for future discussion. It is highly recommended to all readers of Matthew.

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Going Outside the Camp: The Sociological Function of the Levitical Critique in the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Richard W. Johnson. JSNTSup 209. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. Pp. 177. $95.00.

Legitimation in the Letter to the Hebrews: The Construction and Maintenance of a Symbolic Universe, by Iutisone Salevao. JSNTSup 219. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002. Pp. viii + 448. $145.00.

A relatively small number of book-length studies have taken an avowedly sociological approach to Hebrews in the few decades since critical scholars began adopting social-scientific methods and models for studying the NT. Two new monographs attempt to fill this gap. One employs Mary Douglas's group-grid model to analyze the author's critique of the Levitical system, while the other draws on the insights of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in the field of sociology of knowledge. Both works throw into relief the promise as well as the pitfalls attending the appropriation of the social sciences to shed light on the NT and the world that produced it.

Richard W. Johnson seeks to elucidate the sociological function of the Levitical critique in Heb 7:1–10:18, to flesh out the type of society implied or projected by the critique, and to note the differences between this ideal society and the first-century Hellenistic Judaism from which the author and audience emerged. He aligns himself with the mode of inquiry exemplified by Douglas, whose paradigm relating the character of a given society to the cosmology of that society focuses special attention on the function of ritual and attempts to understand why some societies deemphasize or reject ritualism. This feature of the group-grid model laid out in chapter one makes it particularly well suited for studying the cultic section and eliciting indirect information on the larger purpose and cultural background of the letter.

Notwithstanding the limitations of any study relying on literary sources and the degree to which Johnson compounds the problem by looking almost exclusively at Philo and Josephus (with brief glances at Paul, Luke-Acts, and rabbinic literature), the description in ch. 2 of Hellenistic Judaism in the first century as a strong-group, strong-grid society within the larger Greco-Roman world should meet with few objections. The clear boundaries marking out Jews as a distinct subculture over against Gentiles (strong group) can be seen in the writings of pagans familiar with Judaism such as Tacitus, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus. Defining characteristics include aniconic monotheism, devotion to the temple, and above all adherence to the laws of Torah, such as observance of the Sabbath, feasts, dietary laws, circumcision, and endogamy. Temple and Torah likewise function as grid markers by means of which interactions between Jew and Jew are regulated. Johnson's thumbnail sketch of a stratified Jewish society in this period will strike few observers as overdrawn.

By contrast, the "implicitly described ideal society" found in Hebrews and analyzed in ch. 3 is weaker in terms of both group and grid than first-century Judaism. Johnson classifies Hebrews as a weak group because the author's use of boundary imagery, while pervasive, is almost always in reference to boundaries that are transgressed. Such "emphatic boundary-crossing language" (e.g., 4:11; 6:19–20; 9:12, 24; 13:11–14) implies that the community is open to interaction with outsiders (p. 75). It is undeniable that the author makes extensive use of boundary crossing language, and it is highly probably that the implied society is open to outsiders. The latter, however, does not follow inexorably

from the former because the boundary markers in Hebrews identified by Johnson are not really of the sort that separate outsider from insider as do those separating Jew from Gentile detailed by Johnson in ch. 2. Simply, from the prevalence of such generic boundary language it does not follow that the society implied by Hebrews lacks a strong sense of group identity. Johnson's neglect of key warning passages (6:1–6; 10:26–31) shows how a narrow focus on language blinds one to relevant concepts suggestive of less permeable boundaries. These warnings about the possibility and dire consequences of apostasy indicate that the author wants his audience to realize that, while the "membrane" is sufficiently porous to permit entry into and exit from the community, there is to be no continual "osmosis." No second conversion will allow one to recross the boundary back into the community. Johnson also goes to great lengths to explain away any signs of stratification within the community—such as the repeated reference to "leaders" in Heb 13—that would conflict with his construal of the letter as weak grid. His strongest arguments are those he gives the shortest shrift: the implied society is much less stratified than contemporary Jewish society, and the author is explicit in denying priestly prerogatives to the Levitical class.

The task of ch. 4 is to uncover the cosmology implicit in Hebrews' critique of the Levitical cult and to determine its coherence with the paradigmatic weak-group, weak-grid cosmology. (Johnson provides a number of charts that help the reader plot the author's response relative to the group and grid axes.) The correlation is a positive one, as Johnson ably demonstrates that in Hebrews the "levitical priesthood is dethroned from its noble status, the Holy of Holies is no longer an exclusively hieratic precinct, sin as a forensic matter is subordinated to internal, ethical issues of the conscience, and the inefficacy of the levitical sacrifices is declared emphatically" (p. 129).

Qumran (1QS) and *1 Clement* provide Johnson with precedents for finding a sociological function connected with evaluations of the Levitical system in Heb 5. Again, the solution is to be found in the weak-group, weak-grid quadrant of Douglas's graph of paradigmatic responses to foreigners. Such societies have more interest in and are more willing to engage with outsiders, and therefore experience less resistance to the incorporation of converts into the community than in first-century Judaism, which does not appear to have conducted significant missionary activity and often placed obstacles in the path of potential converts. Johnson's attentiveness to the specifically conversionist aspects of Hebrews is an important contribution to our understanding of the author's aims in writing. The Levitical critique derives from theological convictions, but Johnson's analysis hints that the heart of the matter is the sociological function it serves, namely, to ease the transition of converts into the group. This is an accurate characterization of the effect of the author's argument, but as an explanation of the Levitical critique itself, it is inadequate. Why is the author concerned to describe a society that appeals to and accepts outsiders in the first place? To say that it is because he is a member of a weak-group, weak-grid society is to beg the question, thus Johnson is wise to issue a final caveat: it is reductionistic to view the sacrificial system and its treatment in Hebrews merely "as a means to mold individuals into the requisite societal structures" (p. 150).

Although portions of Johnson's monograph read like an attempt to validate Douglas's model, he successfully uses it as a heuristic device to cast fresh light on familiar passages in Hebrews. Iutisone Salevao also takes a new approach to answering old ques-

tions about the letter by employing the concept of legitimation as developed by Berger and Luckmann. His work is, to my knowledge, the most ambitious attempt yet to read Hebrews through a social-scientific lens. Salevao's thesis is that the author constructs his theology in such a way as to provide a justification of the readers' community. It is perhaps an overstatement to say, as he does, that most interpreters treat the author's theology "in a vacuum or . . . in a manner divorced from the social context of the text" (p. 2), but it is true that no other commentator on Hebrews has undertaken the task in the same way or with the same degree of thoroughgoing methodological self-consciousness. The theoretical framework out of which the study unfolds is the subject of a lengthy opening chapter (pp. 11–94). Salevao demonstrates mastery of the burgeoning literature on the sociological approach to the NT by its proponents as well as its critics, and is fully aware of the dangers of reductionism and reification endemic to many studies with similar aims. To orient the reader, most helpful in this opening chapter is a brief section where the author makes his case for the *prima facie* applicability of the legitimation model to the kind of data one finds in Hebrews (pp. 69–72). This section is especially important given his stated intention "not to provide new information, but to enable a new way of analyzing the data we already have" (p. 93).

In seeking to reconstruct the sociohistorical situation of the readers, Salevao begins the second chapter by surveying basic questions of authorship, date, destination, and occasion. He subscribes to a traditional version of the "relapse" theory, which sees the audience, located in imperial Rome, as predominantly Jewish Christian and hesitant to make a decisive break with Judaism. Hebrews thus addresses challenges on two interrelated fronts: external pressure experienced as persecution (out-group conflict) and internal disunity manifested by a break in fellowship (in-group conflict). Salevao examines the author's manner of maintaining the community's symbolic universe and consolidating its plausibility structures by considering the social functions typically served by such conflicts (pp. 149–54). He observes that out-group conflict has a group-binding function, that competing ideologies intensify conflict, that closer relationships tend to produce harsher conflicts, and that conflict often leads to the creation and strengthening of group structures (p. 151). While clearly relevant to the situation addressed in Hebrews, it should be noted that the persecutors, almost certainly non-Jewish, are the source of the out-group conflict previously identified by Salevao, which means that the general principle that "closeness translates into intensity of conflict" would not apply in this case. Any animus on the part of Hebrews toward Judaism, moreover, appears to be directed not at contemporary Jews but at the religious system itself, and an antiquated version of it at that. In-group conflict, Salevao states, usually involves a charge of heresy that positively serves to solidify the group and define its organization. But one must be cautious in assuming that such a deviant group has arisen in a concrete form against which a strong leadership feels the need to consolidate its power. The heretical perspective may simply be the result of a more passive process of slackening commitment to group ideals and convictions, without having coalesced into a definable renegade movement within the group.

Because Hebrews is frequently neglected by scholars seeking to understand the parting of the ways between Christianity and Judaism late in the first century, Salevao's attempt to situate the letter within this process of differentiation and self-definition is to be applauded. He pursues the task in ch. 3 by analyzing the sectarian characteristics of

the community and of the author's response to the problems facing it. The correspondence between the data of Hebrews and the sociological type is impressive though not perfect. For example, the author's emphasis on brotherhood is typical of the egalitarian nature of the sect model but is in tension with the evidence of a rudimentary leadership structure associated with the church model. In addition, the audience is atypical of sectarian groups in that they do not come exclusively from the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder—not prior to "the plundering of their possessions" (10:34), at any rate. Hebrews represents a reform movement within Judaism that has developed into a conversionist/revolutionist sect separate from and independent of the local synagogue. Its theology is influenced by the community's sectarian consciousness, and "to establish and maintain separation from the religious body from which it originated, it requires an ideology legitimating that separation" (p. 195). The principal components of the author's ideology are anti-Jewish polemic, antithetical comparison of Judaism and Christianity, and reinterpretation of traditions so as to make the church the sole legitimate heir to those traditions. Salevao's characterization of the author's treatment of Jewish tradition as not simply negative but "hostile" is perhaps conditioned by his own hypothesis of active social conflict with neighboring Jewish groups (pp. 217–18). The author's emphasis on a new covenant superior to the old one and the obstinacy of the exodus generation is, one could argue, only slightly more hostile toward Judaism than is the psalmist (95:7–11; cf. Heb 3:7–4:11) or Jeremiah (31:31–34; cf. Heb 8:8–12). Apart from such minor lapses, however, Salevao avoids circularity and a "sociological determinism which postulates social conditions as the cause of ideas" (p. 249) in his wide-ranging analysis of the clues provided by the letter.

Detailed exegesis of Heb 6:4–6 takes up the bulk of ch. 4. According to Salevao, the controversial doctrine of the impossibility of a second repentance rooted in these verses is an integral part of the author's legitimating apparatus. Its social function is a therapeutic one, that is, to ensure that potential deviants remain within the institutionalized definitions of reality by discouraging them from emigrating from Christianity to Judaism. In warning the readers of the irrevocable consequences of apostasy, the author appeals to the finality of the Christian economy of salvation with its conviction that Christ's death is once-and-for-all, as is the believer's appropriation of the blessings of the new covenant. Salevao connects the doctrine with other prominent motifs in the letter—pilgrimage, purity, and covenant—in a convincing manner. He is also careful to point out that while the doctrine is a response to social conflict, its status remains that of a theological affirmation and not a social mechanism (p. 295). There is no way of knowing whether a primitive form of excommunication was put into practice in the community.

A final chapter considers the superiority/inferiority dialectic in Hebrews and its legitimating function in the encounter between Judaism and Christianity by examining the author's use of typology and such key terms as "new," "better," and "perfect." When alternative symbolic universes clash, one's own is shown to be less than inevitable, even inferior if the competing system is allowed to stand. Hebrews therefore has a pressing need to address the situation in which members of the community are reverting to Judaism, a more established construal of reality than that offered by the church. But the need to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over Judaism—the "nihilatory function" of the argument (pp. 343–44)—cannot have first arisen with the defection of some of its members as Salevao seems to suggest. It required no such crisis or a palpable social

threat from mainstream Judaism for the author to deem the Christian definition of reality preferable to any and all rival construals. Had he not long ago decided that the Christian (or what came to be known as Christian) symbolic universe was in some fundamental respect superior to the preexisting Jewish one, neither he nor his readers would have converted in the first place. Especially if they were Jewish Christians with a grounding in the tradition, the nihilation of other forms of Judaism of which Salevao speaks must have already taken place at some level for the author and audience due to the radical nature of the basic Christian claims about Jesus in connection with the God of Israel. Here the theoretical framework confirms what common sense and experience suggest, namely, that groups and individuals tend to think that their own current beliefs are better or truer than those of others. The urgency of the situation described by Salevao thus better explains the doctrine of the impossibility of a second repentance than it does the author's broader claims about the finality of the Christian revelation.

In this study Salevao is in dialogue with all the relevant English-language scholarship on a wide array of critical issues, and he is to be commended for bringing new voices into the conversation. One may quibble with particular aspects of his correlation of social context and theology, but all students of Hebrews will come away from his attempt "to put the body and soul of Hebrews together again" (p. 414) with a deeper appreciation of the author's accomplishment.

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Thomas and Tatian: The Relationship between the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron, by Nicholas Perrin. SBLAB 5. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002. Pp. xii + 216. $29.95.

Nicholas Perrin's monograph *Thomas and Tatian* represents a revised version of his Ph.D. dissertation completed at Marquette University under the guidance of Julian Hills. As should be clear from the title, Perrin's work has been inspired by Gilles Quispel's similarly titled monograph, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), a fact that Perrin himself asserts in his preface. But unlike the earlier work, Perrin's monograph seems to me to be seriously mistitled for reasons that will become evident toward the end of this review.

In an introductory chapter, Perrin begins with a survey of scholarship on the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Synoptic Gospels. Perrin finds that such scholarship has envisioned only two possible answers for this question. Either the *Gospel of Thomas* is dependent directly on the Synoptics for material they share, or *Thomas* is based on an independent tradition on which the Synoptics also drew. With scholars on the *Gospel of Thomas* split between these two positions it appears that the scholarship is at an impasse. For this reason, Perrin offers a third alternative, that of indirect dependence of *Thomas* on the Synoptics. That is, the *Gospel of Thomas* is influenced by Matthew, Mark, and Luke via their harmonized form appearing in Tatian's *Diatessaron*. To move *Thomas* scholarship beyond its current impasse, Perrin hopes to demonstrate that the *Gospel of Thomas* is of late-second-century Syriac provenance, and that it was influenced by Tatian's Syriac Gospel Harmony.

With his thesis before us, Perrin turns, in ch. 1, to a survey of scholarship on the Syriac origin of the *Gospel of Thomas*. In order for *Thomas* to be dependent on Tatian's *Diatessaron*, it must be of Syrian provenance, it must have been written in Syriac, and it must have been written after ca. 173 C.E., the approximate date of origin of the *Diatessaron*. On the issue of date, Perrin argues that scholars have been unduly influenced by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt's opinion of a date ca. 140 C.E., which rules out any possibility of Diatessaronic influence. If uncritical acceptance of Grenfell and Hunt's date has prejudiced scholarship on the *Gospel of Thomas* against the possibility of a first-century origin (as James Robinson argues), Perrin believes that it has equally prejudiced scholarship against a late-second-century origin. He then turns to the works of G. Quispel, A. Guillaumont, and T. Baarda among others to show that an Aramaic, and in some cases a specifically Syriac, substratum in the *Gospel of Thomas* has been successfully demonstrated even if it has been largely ignored by *Thomas* scholars, who, as Perrin points out, are more comfortable working with Greek and Coptic texts.

With these preliminary matters behind him, Perrin turns, in ch. 2, to his own contribution to the argument for a Syriac origin for the *Gospel of Thomas:* the analysis of catchwords in the composition of this sayings Gospel. It is Perrin's contention that the *Gospel of Thomas* does not represent a random series of 114 logia of Jesus, but rather that this collection has been intentionally structured by a string of catchwords that link the various logia together into a coherent document. By catchword Perrin means "any word which can be semantically, etymologically, or phonologically associated with another word found in an adjacent logion." The bulk of the monograph (encompassing pp. 57–155) is then given over to a tabulation of the catchwords that Perrin identifies in the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas,* the Greek text (represented by the Oxyrhynchus fragments along with Perrin's own reconstructions of the lacuna), and a hypothetical Syriac text. The results show that 269 catchwords appear in the Coptic text, 263 in the Greek, but 502 in the Syriac. This provides strong confirmation for Perrin that the *Gospel of Thomas* was composed in Syriac. But of course this raises the methodological question of how Perrin goes about creating this hypothesized Syriac original. Is it not likely that he will offer reconstructions that introduce the very catchword associations he is looking for?

To his credit, Perrin recognizes the difficulties inherent in his approach, and even raises the question himself of whether his reconstructions will be tendentiously skewed. He responds that since Syriac offers a limited range of lexicological options, this is not as big a problem as first appears. But he continues with the striking statement: "Since I am arguing that the *Gospel of Thomas,* like the Old Syriac, drew on the *Diatessaron,* I have restricted myself to reproducing, where applicable, the phraseology of the Old Syriac/Diatessaronic tradition. Where the Old Syriac clearly departs from the *Diatessaron*, I follow the latter." There are two problems here. First, the argument seems circular. Perrin has not yet established the *Gospel's* dependence on the *Diatessaron*. Until he does he cannot use this dependence as a way to reconstruct a hypothetical Syriac original. We do not yet know that a Syriac *Gospel of Thomas* would resemble the phraseology of the Old Syriac/Diatessaronic tradition. Second, if Perrin follows the *Diatessaron* where it clearly departs from the Old Syriac, where does he get this Syriac text of the *Diatessaron?* The original Syriac text of Tatian's Harmony does not exist; it too must be reconstructed, a very difficult process in its own right and one fraught with many potential

pitfalls that Perrin largely ignores. Perrin, however, continues undaunted with the rhetorical challenge that the onus falls on the one wishing to argue against his choice of Syriac words in his reconstruction.

Perrin's argument from catchwords for a Syriac *Gospel of Thomas* is cumulative; it is based on an overall assessment of all the apparent catchword associations running throughout the entire sayings collection. Thus, I will refrain in this review from quibbling over just a few selected examples and leave it to the readers to draw their own conclusions after working through the entire technical analysis. It is, however, worth noting Perrin's observation that half the logia in the *Gospel of Thomas* that contain the word "fire" (*nurā* in Syriac) are paired with logia containing the word "light" (*nuhrā* in Syriac). Because these two Syriac words are homophones, Perrin feels it is not accidental that logia containing "fire" are frequently paired with logia containing "light." This sounds like impressive evidence for an original Syriac *Gospel of Thomas* until one realizes that only four logia out of 114 actually contain the word "fire," meaning that the confluence of logia containing "fire" and "light" occurs only twice, a phenomenon that could easily be coincidental. This is not to say that Perrin's catchword analysis is of no value. The analysis is thorough and deserves a considerably more detailed assessment of the 502 Syriac catchword associations than can obviously be achieved in this short review. Perrin even invites such a detailed assessment when he writes, "The number of Syriac catchwords is considerable. Even if a third of the *Stichwörter* adduced in the chart were called into question (I believe the challenge remains for the one wishing to discount any one of them), the evidence would still favor a Syriac text." Rhetorical statements like this seem to demonstrate Perrin's intimate awareness of the fragile nature of his argument.

Following his catchword analysis, Perrin shows that paranomastic wordplay is a regular feature of Syriac literature and cites analogies of the word play he has adduced in a Syriac *Gospel of Thomas* with what occurs in the *Odes of Solomon*. He further asserts that the existence of wordplay in *Thomas* establishes the genre of this sayings Gospel as the ancient Near Eastern hermetic tradition known from both Egypt and Mesopotamia.

In ch. 3, Perrin finally turns to the main part of his thesis as established in his title, the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Diatessaron*. He begins the chapter by arguing that Thomas is not just a compiler of texts, but rather "an active and at times intrusive editor of texts." This assertion is based on an analysis of passages where the *Gospel of Thomas* includes unique elements in sayings otherwise similar to Synoptic texts. In each case Perrin argues that the element unique to *Thomas* introduces a Syriac catchword into the logion that links it to preceding and/or following logia. Thus, Thomas edits his sources to create the catchword associations that Perrin argues form the structural framework of the text. This argument seems valid and the evidence presented is interesting. However, having established the *Gospel of Thomas*'s dependence on earlier written sources, Perrin then argues that Tatian's *Diatessaron* is that source for material shared by the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Synoptic Gospels. The problem is that this dependence is merely asserted, but never established. Perrin writes, "If Thomas did use Tatian one might expect to see this borne out in future historical, text-critical and source-critical studies of the two texts. While a comprehensive investigation along each of these lines remains outside the scope of my inquiry, these remain promising fields of exploration." How can such an investigation be outside the scope of inquiry of a mono-

graph of which the stated thesis is to establish the dependence of the *Gospel of Thomas* on the *Diatessaron*, and thereby to solidify the argument for an original Syriac *Gospel of Thomas?* Perrin instead falls back on a default argument. Since *Thomas* was written in Syriac in the late second century, and since it is based on earlier Syriac Gospel texts, it must be based on the *Diatessaron,* because as far as we know this would have been the only Syriac Gospel source available at this time. While this may be true, it seems highly problematic that a monograph that advertises itself as an investigation into the relationship between two documents then excuses itself from engaging in a detailed text and source-critical comparison of those two documents!

In fairness to Perrin, he is dealing with two very challenging texts that both have produced an enormous secondary literature. He could not be expected to be an expert in both, and throughout the work it is clear that he is far more conversant with scholarship on the *Gospel of Thomas* than with work on the *Diatessaron*. For example, when Perrin lists Syriac writings believed to have been influenced by the text of the *Diatessaron* he fails to mention the Gospel citations in the *Demonstrations* of Aphrahat, one of the more significant eastern witnesses to the text of Tatian's Harmony. Moreover, when surveying scholarship arguing for a Greek original for the *Diatessaron*, he ignores Carl H. Kraeling's monograph on the Dura Fragment (*A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura* [London: Christophers, 1935]), perhaps the premier argument for an original Greek *Diatessaron*. Finally, Perrin attempts to show that in *Gos. Thom.* 45, elements from Matthean parallels appear in a saying that seems to be based on Luke 6:44–45. Perrin argues that the harmonization of Matthean and Lukan elements in *Gos. Thom.* 45 is consistent with the harmonized form of this text in Diatessaronic witnesses. Unfortunately, he does not reproduce the text of even a single one of these witnesses so that the reader might be able to assess his argument. Had he done so, the reader would be able to see that in the Arabic Harmony, a Diatessaronic witness that is considered an accurate source for the sequence of the *Diatessaron*, Luke 6:44 and 45 are separated by Matt 7:17–18, a text omitted in *Gos. Thom.* 45. Moreover, this same sequence is attested also in Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*. It appears that *Gos. Thom.* 45 does not in fact harmonize Synoptic materials in the same way as the *Diatessaron*. Since this is the only piece of textual evidence Perrin cites in support of the *Gospel of Thomas*'s dependence on Tatian, the principal thesis of the monograph remains largely uninvestigated and completely unsupported. For Perrin, the *Gospel of Thomas* is dependent on the *Diatessaron* by default; such dependence is not established via the presentation of positive evidence, which raises the question of why this work bears the title that it does.

Finally, far too many errors have gotten past the copyediting process. For example, on p. 25, we read, "In conceiving GT as *an* tightly woven . . . ," on p. 42, "witnesses to Luke 17:20 *is* ambivalent," in n. 27 on p. 61, "repetition of whole phrases and sentences *in* not out of character . . . ," and on p. 171, "no manifest connection appears between GT 57 and 57 [*sic*], 88 and 89, 104 and 105." By analogy we can suppose the first pair should read 57 and 58. On p. 180, we read, "Jesus enjoins giving to Caesar what is Caesar [*sic*]." Finally, in n. 6 on p. 173, "the" is omitted in the phrase "This is way in which," while on p. 186, "is" is omitted in the clause "how does one account for the fact that GT 45 generally closer. . . ." Obviously, the manuscript of this monograph deserved a much closer reading before going to press.

Despite the considerable problems with this work, it is generally well written, and

it is worth engaging the arguments put forth. While Perrin does not come close to delivering on the stated thesis of the work—demonstrating the dependence of the *Gospel of Thomas* on the *Diatessaron*—he has revived the theory of *Thomas* as a Syriac composition and extended it through his analysis of catchwords. Though most *Thomas* scholars will probably not find this argument convincing, the evidence Perrin presents should not be ignored. It deserves closer scrutiny and an informed response. Perrin explicitly lays down the gauntlet. Will *Thomas* scholars accept the challenge?

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Tatian and the Jewish Scriptures: A Textual and Philological Analysis of the Old Testament Citations in Tatian's Diatessaron, by Robert F. Shedinger. CSCO 591 (Subsidia 109). Leuven: Peeters, 2001. Pp. viii + 190. €70.00.

A dissertation submitted at Temple University (Philadelphia) in 2001, this book seeks to "demonstrate that many of [the] divergences [between the OT citations in the Greek Gospels and the OT citations in the Diatessaron] are not the result of Tatian's editorial work, but that Tatian generally took over the Old Testament citations in the form he found them in his sources." According to Shedinger, the sources used by Tatian preserve "an older form of the [OT] citation[s] . . . one that is closer to the original text of the gospels" (p. 2).

Shedinger's method is to compare the OT citations in the Gospels with his reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text. His evidence, presented in chs. 3–5, consists of sixty-nine readings (the reviewer has numbered them seriatim, to facilitate reference). These sixty-nine readings are, however, of little value, for they are a raw, unvetted collection of *possible* "Diatessaronic" readings. But, as we will see below, reliable conclusions can only be based on *probable* Diatessaronic readings—"probable," because all other realistic explanations have been considered and reasonably excluded. The task of separating the useful "probable" readings from the useless "possible" readings is normally performed by the researcher. Here, however, it is left to the reader. When screened, only two of the sixty-nine readings survive (##19 and 26); both have been published before. Leaving aside the extremely difficult problem of how one would distinguish Tatian's own redactorial changes from what he took over from his sources, the surviving readings do not support Shedinger's conclusions.

One of the most irritating problems with this book is inconsistent methodology. Since its inception in 1814 (Johann Christian Zahn), the most self-evident principle of Diatessaronic studies has been that Diatessaronic readings can be identified with certainty only where the Diatessaron's text *deviates* from the standard Gospel text. The reason is self-evident logic: (1) the Diatessaron's text must be reconstructed from about a score of "witnesses" (the "Eastern" family includes witnesses in Syriac, Arabic, and Persian; the "Western" family includes Latin, Old High German, and Middle Dutch; dates range from ca. 350 to ca. 1550); (2) it is well known that *all* these witnesses have undergone "vulgatization"—that is, the earlier, *deviating* Diatessaronic reading has been excised and replaced with the "standard" ("vulgar") reading current when and where the

witness was composed or copied; (3) therefore, when the text of a Diatessaronic witness *agrees* with the standard Gospel text, it is impossible for a researcher to know whether the reading is the result of "vulgatization" or not. Consequently, the Diatessaron's text can only be identified reliably where it *deviates* from the standard Gospel text.

Shedinger uses this accepted method in chs. 3 and 4. However, without explanation, he turns it on its head in ch. 5, where he offers twenty-one readings in which, according to Shedinger, the Diatessaron's text was *identical* with the Greek Gospels' text; he speaks of "Tatian's fidelity here to the Greek text of the Gospels" (p. 150). There are two problems with the readings in ch. 5. The first is the use of two fundamentally incompatible models side by side (chs. 3 and 4, versus ch. 5), without explanation or justification. The second is that—although he discusses vulgatization (p. 26)—Shedinger obviously does not understand its significance or effects, for, if he did, then he would have eliminated all twenty-one readings in ch. 5.

Inconsistent methodology is also a problem with the lexical standards Shedinger employs to obtain his readings. Because *accurate, scrupulously honest* lexical comparisons are the foundation of Diatessaronic studies, they must be like Caesar's wife: above suspicion. Diatessaronic studies are paradoxical in that one first searches for *deviations* between the Greek Gospels and the Diatessaronic witnesses; these mark places where potential Diatessaronic readings may lie. One then shifts gears, and searches for *agreements* among the Diatessaronic witnesses; do multiple witnesses offer the identical deviating variant? Lexical standards should, of course, be consistent for both activities. Shedinger's standards are, however, wildly different.

When looking for *deviations* between the Greek Gospels and the Diatessaronic witnesses, Shedinger's lexical standards are very discriminating and rigid. In reading #1 he distinguishes between "ruler" (= Matt 2:6b) and "king"; in #25, between "robbers" (= Matt 21:13 par.) and "thieves." (Your reviewer would be chary of such fine distinctions, for the semantic ranges clearly overlap.) But when looking for *agreements* among the Diatessaronic witnesses, Shedinger's standards change. In #10 (Matt 19:18 par. [the Greek reads "adultery"]), two Diatessaronic witnesses read "fornication," and two read "impure." But rather than distinguish between the two—as he did when dealing with "robbers" and "thieves"—Shedinger regards "fornication" and "impure" as representing the *same* "Diatessaronic" variant (he never stipulates precisely what the variant is). In #8 (Matt 13:35 [the Greek reads "I will utter"]) Shedinger says that "I will bring to light" and "I will reveal" and "I will make clear" all represent a single "Diatessaronic" variant. In #13 (Matt 27:9–10) one Diatessaronic witness reads "I was valued," and two (related) witnesses read "I was bought"; to Shedinger they represent the same variant.

There is something intrinsically dishonest about this. If the standards are so *strict* that "ruler" ≠ "king" and "robbers" ≠ "thieves," then "impure" ≠ "fornication" and "I was valued" ≠ "I was bought." Alternatively, if the standards are so *loose* that "impure" = "fornication" and "I was valued" = "I was bought," then "ruler" = "king" and "robbers" = "thieves." Shedinger has changed the rules in the middle of the game—to suit his purposes: when he needs *differences,* his standards are rigid; when he needs *agreements,* his standards are lax. He wants to have it both ways.

This lexical chicanery trips over itself in #9 (Mark 10:19 [the Greek reads *aposterēsēs;* first meaning: "defraud"]). Shedinger's "Diatessaronic" reading consists of three Eastern witnesses that read "oppress" and three Western witnesses (Vetus Latina MSS *a*

c k) that read "deny" (*abnegabis*). Although one might think that "oppress" and "deny" are as distant from each other as they are from the standard Greek reading "defraud," according to Shedinger they are not: they represent the same "Diatessaronic" variant. But in his haste to find a "Diatessaronic" reading he failed to notice that his Western evidence—the Latin reading *abnegabis* ("deny")—is *actually the standard Greek Gospel reading,* for the *second* meaning of *apostereō* is "deny" (*vid.* 1 Cor 7:5 [cf. the UBS *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the NT*, 23 ["deny, refuse"]). Defective, self-serving lexicography can generate an infinite number of "Diatessaronic" readings, but they will be rejected by scholarship; here, about ten readings must be rejected.

For generations, competent Diatessaronic researchers have known that a variant reading found in only *one* family of witnesses (say, only among Eastern witnesses) may be the product of a "local text," and have nothing to do with the Diatessaron. To guard against such imposters, H. J. Vogels suggested (in 1919) that only readings found in *both* Eastern *and* Western "witnesses" should be considered Diatessaronic; by their very nature, "local text" variants would fail this test and be eliminated. Vogels's rule has been normative in the discipline since the early 1960s. Although Shedinger knows the rule, he ignores it, without justification; problems result. Consider reading #4 (Matt 11:5 [Greek: "the poor *are given good news*"]): "the poor *are made happy.*" According to Shedinger, this variant is "Diatessaronic" because it is found in Matthew and Mark (in two related manuscripts [eleventh and twelfth centuries]) in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (Syr^pal), and in the Persian Harmony (manuscript from sixteenth century, translated from a Syriac *Vorlage* in/pre-thirteenth century); it is found in no Western witnesses. But without any Western support, might this be a "local text" variant? Consider the facts: (1) The variant is unattested before the eleventh century; this *empirical textual evidence* suggests its genesis is late. (2) Cross-Gospel harmonization of parallel passages is *a ubiquitous phenomenon;* this means that a common, well-known mechanism exists to explain the presence of the variant in both Matthew and Mark in the two (related) manuscripts of Syr^pal. (3) The Persian Harmony's *Vorlage* was *Syriac;* this establishes *geographic and linguistic proximity* among the documents carrying the variant. (4) The Persian Harmony was translated at about the same time that the two Lectionary manuscripts were copied; this establishes *chronological proximity.* Obviously there is a distinct possibility (probability?) that this is a "local" Syrian variant, generated about the eleventh century. But if this is possible, then the reading cannot be called "Diatessaronic," for the evidence is ambiguous at best. Five readings are eliminated by this rule.

Another twenty-two readings are textual and grammatical trivia: e.g., #18 (Matt 15:4), substitute "and" for "or" ("father *and/or* mother"); #28 (Matt 4:7 par.), insert "and" into the phrase "the Lord [+ *and*] your God"; # 32 (Matt 15:8), substitute "its" for "their" ("but *its/their* heart"); #6 (Matt 11:10 par.): omit "your" from "*your* way"; #12 (passive voice becomes active); #21 and #35 (active voice becomes passive); #27 (past tense becomes future). Because of the diverse languages and dates of the witnesses, researchers regard such minor textual "noise" as normal. Books listed in Shedinger's bibliography point this out, and even quote the objections of scholars such as Robert Murray ("I find many of the individual cases produced . . . too niggling and unimpressive" [*HeyJ* 14 (1973): 312]) and Bruce Metzger ("[S]ome of the coincidences in small similarities between [Diatessaronic] witnesses may have originated accidentally or from

independent exegetical modifications" [*JTS* n.s. 27 (1976): 481]) to precisely this sort of reading.

Shedinger knows his evidence is weak, for he writes: "Admittedly, these two variants . . . are very minor" (p. 51); "This difference is admittedly small" (p. 87); "This is a minor variant *that could be understood simply as a translation preference*" (p. 81, italics added); etc. If he knows this, then mere logic should tell him that such readings are useless: if he admits that a variant may be "simply . . . a translation preference," then how can it be "Diatessaronic"? (We are back where we began: Shedinger does not understand the distinction between "possible" readings [whose place is in a researcher's raw notes] and "probable" readings [which are publishable].)

Shedinger's knowledge of relevant scholarship is also deficient. This is apparent from the fact that *every* problem identified above (the methodological and logical problems, the readings based solely on Eastern witnesses, on unreliable lexical comparisons, on textual and grammatical trivia, etc.) is well known and is repeatedly cautioned against in the literature. Further evidence of this deficiency is apparent in Shedinger's use of the Persian Harmony. Although he cites the edition of Giuseppe Messina (*Diatessaron Persiano* [BibOr 14; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1951]), he appears ignorant of the fact that Messina devotes *eight pages* (pp. lxviii–lxxvi) of his Italian "Introduction" to the precise topic of Shedinger's monograph. Messina noted that the OT citations in the Persian Harmony differed from those in its *Vorlage,* which was the Syriac Gospel tradition: the Persian Harmony's citations were closer to the Targumim and the Hebrew/Syriac OT. Messina concluded that *the medieval Persian translator, as he made his Persian translation in the thirteenth-century,* "improved" the OT citations he found in his Syriac *Vorlage* by consulting a Christian Targum and/or the OT in a Semitic language. Unaware of Messina's work, Shedinger assumes that the variants in the Persian Harmony's OT citations preserve the second-century text of Tatian. Since Messina's conclusions invalidate Shedinger's use of the Persian Harmony, Shedinger should rebut them, but he does not. An English summary of Messina's conclusions—including two of Messina's examples (one of which is also found here)—is available in a monograph Shedinger frequently cites, but apparently this also escaped Shedinger's notice.

Finally, Shedinger's understanding of the development of the texts he is studying is naïve. We have just seen the consequences of his ignorance of the transmission-history of the Persian Harmony; consider now his understanding of the transmission-history of the Gospels in the second century and Tatian's sources. In reading #2 (Matt 4:16) the word "region" (or "land") is omitted from *some* Diatessaronic witnesses; Shedinger claims it is "Diatessaronic." According to Shedinger, this omission "is due simply to the fact that the *original text of Matthew* lacked this reference" (p. 45 [italics added]; the "original text of [the Gospels]" is a recurring topic [pp. 53, 73, 78, 93, 122, etc.]). This is an astonishing claim. Leaving aside the fact that (1) the reading is an omission (and one can *never* stipulate the cause of an omission [a lacuna in the exemplar? *homoioteleuton?* a distraction? *parablepsis?* the "original text of Matthew"?]); and setting aside the fact that (2) the same omission is also found in Clement of Alexandria and the Ethiopic versions—and so violates the second criterion Shedinger has adopted for identifying Diatessaronic readings ("The reading should *not* be found in any non-Diatessaronic texts" [p. 34]), and therefore should not—by Shedinger's own criterion—be considered "Diatessaronic"; and ignoring (3) the difficulty of determining what the

"original text of Matthew" read, what *evidence* is there upon which to conclude that this is the "original text of Matthew?" It boggles the mind.

No biblical textual critic—much less anyone familiar with the Diatessaron—was on the supervising committee. Directing a dissertation beyond the range of one's competence is always hazardous; here it is disastrous. If the quality of a series is to be maintained, then submissions must be thoroughly reviewed by competent referees; obviously no such review took place here. Ultimately, however, an author bears responsibility for his work. Little of the bibliography was read; even less was understood. Essential scholarship was ignored. The author proceeds as if two centuries of research had not occurred. The methodology employed is frequently contradictory, inconsistent, and even nonsensical. The lexicography is often tendentious, self-serving, and sometimes simply inaccurate. Logic and detached self-criticism are absent.

This volume does not advance the field of Diatessaronic or Syriac studies. If future researchers were to imitate the methods, procedures, and standards used here, then Diatessaronic studies would return to where they were before Johann Christian Zahn put quill to paper in 1814.

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